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THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE 1925

The Official Report of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work held in Stockholm, 19-30 August, 1925

EDITED BY

G. K. A. BELL

DEAN OF CANTERBURY

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PREFACE

THE contents of the present volume are intended to give a permanent record in English of the Universal Christian Conference held at Stockholm last year. A similar volume is being published in German under the editorship of Dr. Adolf Deissmann. The English and German volumes are in close agreement with one another, and the two editors have been in constant and harmonious communication throughout. But certain speeches will be found in the German edition which do not appear in the English, and *vice versa*; and in various other ways the two books supplement one another. Both volumes were projected at the meeting of the Continuation Committee of the Stockholm Conference on August 31, 1925.

It has not been possible to find room for everything which it was originally hoped to include, for all the speeches given in the course of the Conference, or for every single one of the papers read. But the task of exclusion has been made more difficult than is often the case by the high quality of many of the addresses which were perforce rejected to enable the book to be of even moderate size. The editor can only hope that those whose names only appear, without their speeches, will sympathize with his difficulties and forgive him.

For similar reasons of space the editor has been unable to include the reports of the five commissions and eleven sub-committees appointed by the International Committee before the Conference proper began; though he has quoted in full the only Recommendation from any Commission brought before the Conference for adoption, that dealing with the Continuation Committee. He trusts however that the book provides a fair and comprehensive record of the Proceedings of the Conference itself, from August 19-30th, 1925.

The original texts of all the messages, official statements, speeches, and sermons are deposited in the Bureau (Ekumeniska Arkivet) at Upsala, where, as the source of the material printed in the pages which follow, they can be compared with the translations into English. The translations, which have been printed here, are nearly always those which were provided at the time of the Conference, with occasional corrections; except that some of the translations from the German have been very carefully revised by the Rev. W. Blackshaw. The speeches are printed according to the text supplied by the Bureau at Upsala, and are printed in full, except a few which have been abbreviated or summarized and are noted by an asterisk in the Table of Contents.

The section in the Introduction on the History of the Conference by Professor Brilioth, Ph.D., has been reprinted with the author's kind permission from the excellent *Handbook* furnished to each delegate.

The editor would like to tender his sincere thanks to all those who have helped in the preparation of the volume, and particularly to the Archbishop of Upsala, who has rendered great assistance in many ways; to Dr. Adolf Deissmann, who has not only co-operated with regard to the general character of the Report, but has given prompt and valuable help in reading the proofs; to the Rev. G. H. Fendick for his kindness and thoroughness in correcting the proofs; to the Rev. W. Blackshaw for his trouble and skill as translator; to the Editorial Committee; to Mr. P. H. Steele for various aid; and to his friends of the Ekumeniska Arkivet.

G. K. A. B.

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INTRODUCTION

A. THE PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE

The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work was held in Stockholm, August 19-30, 1925. All Christian Communions were invited to take part; and, in fact, the Conference was attended by over 500 representatives of the greater number of Christian Communions coming from thirty-seven different nations. Its aim was defined by the International Executive Committee at Zurich in 1923 in the following terms:

> 'The Conference on Life and Work, without entering into questions of Faith and Order, aims to unite the different churches in common practical work, to furnish the Christian conscience with an organ of expression in the midst of the great spiritual movements of our time, and to insist that the principles of the Gospel be applied to the solution of contemporary social and international problems.'

The purpose of the Conference was therefore different from that of the World Conference on Faith and Order in so far as it did not concern itself with questions of Faith or Church Order, but only with questions of a more directly practical character. It also differed from the World Alliance for promoting International Friendship through the Churches, since it dealt with questions besides those bearing on peace and international goodwill. But the help of the World Alliance was from the start cordially recognized by

the promoters of the Conference on Life and Work, which indeed owed very much in all sorts of ways to that organization. Further, the Conference on Life and Work did not deal with directly missionary questions; but here again its promoters recognized the great value of the work done by the Edinburgh Conference on Foreign Missions in 1910, and by the body which grew out of that Conference and is known as The International Missionary Council.

The actual subjects which formed the basis of discussion, though necessarily with various sub-headings, were as follows:

1. The Purpose of God for Humanity and the Duty of the Church.
2. The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.
3. The Church and Social and Moral Problems.
4. The Church and International Relations.
5. The Church and Christian Education.
6. Methods of Co-operative and Federative Efforts by the Christian Communions.

It was understood from the first, as clearly stated in the Letter of Invitation, that any Resolutions passed were not to be in any way binding on the Christian Communions represented at the Conference, 'unless and until they are presented to and accepted by the authorities of each communion.'

B. THE HISTORY OF THE CONFERENCE

(By Professor Yngve Brilioth, Ph.D., Upsala.)

1. *The Preliminary Stage*

The first of the steps that led up to the Conference was taken in the first year of the war. In November, 1914, an

appeal for Peace and Christian Fellowship was sent out by churchmen in several neutral countries.

> ' The war is causing untold distress. Christ's Body, the Church, suffers and mourns. . . . We, servants of the Church, address to all those who have power or influence in the matter an earnest appeal seriously to keep peace before their eyes, in order that bloodshed may soon cease. We remind especially our Christian brethren of various nations that war cannot sunder the bond of international union that Christ holds in us. . . .'

This appeal was signed by representatives of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Primates of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, as well as by leading churchmen and organizations in Holland and Switzerland, and also by two subjects of belligerent states, the Archbishop of Åbo (Finland) and Bishop Farancz in Siebenbürgen.

At the Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in 1916, proposals were made for some sort of Ecumenical gathering of the Christian Communions.

Without previous mutual consultation the Swiss Church Federation, and Christians in Hungary, Great Britain, Scandinavia and other countries made similar proposals almost simultaneously.

At Whitsuntide, 1917, the Scandinavian Primates (the Archbishop of Upsala with the Bishops of Seeland and Christiania) together with Church leaders in Holland and Switzerland, again issued a similar appeal, in which they declared themselves ' prepared to serve as intermediaries for keeping up or restoring communications, especially in religious and Church matters, disturbed by the war,' and this was followed later in the year by an invitation to Christians in various countries, belligerent as well as neutral, to meet in conference. This invitation was

welcomed in many quarters. It was also addressed to the Pope, who sent a message in answer through the Cardinal Secretary of State, saying that whatever was attempted in order to restore peace and goodwill was 'summo pontifici gratum et acceptum.' Delegations were being prepared in Germany, Hungary, Great Britain, France, the United States and other countries and by the Church Authorities in Constantinople and Athens. However, difficulties with passports made it impossible for members from the western belligerent nations to attend. Consequently a conference of neutral Churchmen alone was held at Upsala, 14th-16th of December, 1917. Here a memorandum was drawn up, in which certain points regarding Church unity, social life and so on were recommended 'for consideration and for guidance in the continued work of the Church.' The following sentences may here be quoted:

> '... The Church ought to be the living conscience of nations and of men.... The Church ought to employ all its resources in working for the removal of the causes of war.... Christians ought to feel their share in the responsibility for public opinion.... The Church ought to work for international understanding.... The Church has to vindicate the sanctity of Justice and Law in Christ's Name, and to demand its further development....'

In the summer of the same year a significant step towards a universal Christian meeting was taken in Great Britain by members of the Anglican Church and other Communions through the creation of *The British Council for Promoting an International Christian Conference.*

Renewed attempts (the invitation to a conference being issued twice again during 1918) to bring together Christians from nations engaged in the war did not meet with success, although the idea was welcomed and enthusiastically advocated in several countries. This, as well as the eagerness for a closer Alliance of Christian Communions shown

by the chief Patriarchate of Orthodox Christendom in the East in its letter on a Κοινωνία τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν encouraged the President of the Swiss Church Federation to bring the matter before the Committee of the World Alliance, at its meeting in Oud Wassenaer near the Hague, in October, 1919. On his proposal the General Secretary of the American Federal Council and the Archbishop of Upsala were invited to prepare the matter for the committee. The memorandum presented by the Archbishop recounts the attempts that had been previously made and sketches the plan and programme of an ' Ecumenical Conference ' that he wished to be called if possible in 1920. It is here set out that united practical effort does not require a definite consent in matters of Faith and Order, and the chief objects for which the Conference ought to meet are suggested as follows : (*a*) Common doctrine and endeavour as to international Brotherhood and the organized Unity of Nations. (*b*) Christian principles and action for social renewal of society. Further, (*c*) A common voice must be created for the Christian conscience. ' I advocate an Ecumenical Council representing Christendom in a spiritual way.' Finally an invitation is extended to the proposed Conference to meet in one of the Scandinavian countries, probably in the capital of Norway, on behalf of the Primates of Norway, Denmark and Sweden.

In the resolution passed regarding this memorandum by the International Committee of the World Alliance (dated Oct. 2, 1919), the Committee

> ' Expresses its deep sympathy with the proposal for an Ecumenical Conference of the different Christian Communions to consider urgent practical tasks before the Church at this time, and the possibilities of co-operation in testimony and action. The Committee expresses the conviction that such a Conference, if it can be arranged, will prove an inestimable blessing to mankind. That this resolution be

referred to each National Council with the request that it be communicated to the Churches in their respective countries.'

Although the World Alliance did not see its way to undertake the arrangement of the Conference, this resolution provided a solid basis for a continuance of the work, and enlisted the sympathy and support of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and of trusted Churchmen among priests and laymen in many different countries, —and this has undoubtedly been of immense value. When a small committee met in Paris on Nov. 17, 1919, in order to prepare for the Conference, it was natural that the task of arranging a preparatory Conference for the next year should be entrusted to an American, Dr. Frederick Lynch of New York.

This brings us to

2. *The Preparatory Stage*

The invitation to the preparatory Conference was sent out by the Federal Council, and the Conference met at Geneva on August 9-12, 1920 (immediately before the meeting of the preparatory Conference on Faith and Order). It was attended by ninety members of fifteen countries, and was also visited by a commission from the Orthodox Church. The chair was taken successively by Prof. E. Choisy, Geneva, Dr. A. J. Brown of New York, Dr. McClymont of Edinburgh, the Bishop of Seeland and Dr. Cramer of Holland. The idea of an ' Ecumenical Conference ' was raised by the Archbishop of Upsala, and the motion of Dr. Lynch ' that there be called two or three years hence, or at such a time as the Committee of Arrangements may decide, a Conference of Churches '—thus the motion runs in its amended form—was finally accepted by the Conference after a discussion that must rank amongst

the most critical and dramatic incidents in the history of the movement. It ought to be recorded that this decision was reached under the chairmanship of Dr. Brown, and after speeches, amongst others, by the late Rev. E. Giampiccoli, moderator of the Waldensian Church. The rest of the Conference was taken up with discussion of the programme and organization of the Conference. Various recommendations were made as to subjects to be included. A motion was adopted that the invitation should be extended to all Christian Churches, and it was recommended that certain religious organizations should also be represented. An invitation was extended to hold the Conference in Sweden. Finally a committee of arrangements, consisting of twenty-five persons, was appointed, and power was given to the committee to add to its number. The Committee of Arrangements met twice in Geneva (on August 12 and 13) and it was then agreed that three groups should be formed within the Committee, for America, the European Continent, and the British Empire. The Committee also adopted the name ' Universal Conference of the Church of Christ on Life and Work,' for the future Conference. This was subsequently altered (at the Peterborough meeting) to ' Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work.'

The preparatory work was carried on at a series of sessions of the Committee and its sections.

The first was held at Peterborough (England) on April 19-22, 1921, under the presidency of the Chairman of the British Section, Dr. Woods, then Bishop of Peterborough (now of Winchester). It was here resolved that a fourth Section of the Committee should be formed for the Orthodox Church, and the British and European sections were considerably increased, the latter particularly with a view to the representation of the various countries. Steps were taken to secure co-operation with the British Conference on

Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (COPEC) for which the preparations were then in progress. This has made it possible to regard the Copec Conference as one of the most important preparations for the Stockholm Conference. Attempts were also made to get into touch with similar regional Conferences. Further, it was resolved that the question of Foreign Missions should not be included in the programme, ' not only in view of the vastness of the subject, but also of the fact that the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference is still in existence.'

Shortly after the Conference of the World Alliance, held at Copenhagen in August, 1922, the International Committee met at Hälsingborg, Sweden, on August 12-15; all the four sections being represented. This meeting laid a new foundation for continued work, (1) by a reconstruction of the International Committee, and (2) by a definite agreement as to the programme.

(1) It was resolved that the provisional Committee formed at Geneva should cease to exist, and that a new International Committee should be formed to serve until the meeting of the Conference. It was agreed that this Committee should consist of ten members from the British Empire, ten from America, twelve from the Continent of Europe—which number should eventually be increased, yet so as not to exceed eighteen—and six from the Orthodox Church (later on increased to ten). The Canadian Churches were given liberty to add two members either to the American or to the British Group.

An Executive Committee was formed, consisting of the four Presidents of the International Committee, the Vice-Presidents, the General Executive Secretary and the Associate Secretaries, and the Chairman and Secretaries of the four Sections. The Executive Committee was given

power ' to fill vacancies in the official staff and on the Committees that are not otherwise provided for, and to act when called upon for advice and direction by the Secretariat. . . . The Chairman of the European Section of the International Committee shall act as Chairman of the Executive Committee.'

(2) As to the programme, this now took its final shape, including the six main subjects that came before the Conference. The date of the Conference was also fixed at the Hälsingborg meeting for August, 1925, and, on the motion of the American General Secretary, Stockholm was finally selected as the meeting-place.

The wish that the Conference should include all Christian groups was again emphasized. As to the Roman Catholic Church, it was reported ' that steps had been taken by the Bishops of Seeland and Christiania and Upsala, on their own responsibility, to ascertain the attitude of that Church toward co-operation with the Conference, and that the answers received do not warrant further action. Documents and statements presented by others confirmed this judgment. No further action was deemed necessary.' The relations to the World Conference on Faith and Order were also discussed and defined. A letter was sent to the Secretary of that Movement.

It is not possible here to record in detail all steps taken subsequently to the Hälsingborg meeting. The Executive Committee was to meet in Wittenberg, but actually met in Zürich. At another convention in September, 1923, in Amsterdam, the Executive Committee discussed the Proportionate Representation of the Christian Communions on the basis of statistics and a falling scale, prepared by a commission in Upsala, at work since 1921. In November of the same year, 1923, an important meeting of the American section of the International Committee also took place in

Philadelphia, U.S.A., at which the Archbishop of Upsala, M. Jézéquel and representatives of the British and Orthodox sections were present.

At the opening of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship—a spiritual effort unique of its kind in the history of the Church—the Chairman, the Bishop of Manchester, expressed the relation of 'Copec' to the Universal Conference, and the British section of the International Committee had indeed identified itself with 'Copec.' In connection with this British 'Copec' Conference, the Executive Committee, enlarged by the presence of several members of the International Committee, met in Birmingham on April 10-11, 1924. Reports were here received from the representatives of the four sections. It was agreed to ask several of the countries taking part in the Conference to help by preparing different parts of the programme.

It was also resolved at Birmingham that a delegation should be sent to the Eastern Church ; a resolution carried out twice by the General Secretary Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Alex. Ramsay, Organizing Secretary of the World Alliance, and by the Rev. Herman Neander, a Swedish priest, well known for his work amongst the prisoners of war in Germany, Austria, Russia, Siberia and Japan. The number of delegates from the different sections was settled on the basis of statistics prepared earlier : (1) European section, 175 delegates ; (2) British section 135 ; (3) American section 150 ; (4) Eastern section 83. It was also agreed that 'the officers and members of this International Committee should be ex-officio members of the Conference.' Certain allied organizations were invited to send one representative each, as follows : Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Evangelical Alliance, Students' Christian Movement, International Missionary Council, World Alliance for International Friendship, Sunday School Movement, Salvation

Army, Christian Endeavour Union and Brotherhood Movement. Agreement was also reached as to the form of the letter of invitation that should be sent to the heads of all the Christian Communions. It was also voted that this letter should be signed by the four presidents, the vice-presidents, the general secretary and the associate secretaries. In this form the letter of invitation was issued in April, 1924. On behalf of the Executive Committees, special invitations were to be sent to a few persons deemed useful for the scope of the Conference. Certain recommendations were further made at the Birmingham Meeting, but full power was given to the Executive officers to complete the programme and make all necessary arrangements.

The official languages of the Conference were limited to German, French and English. It was agreed that 'set speeches and addresses' should be printed in three languages beforehand, and that translations that might be necessary during the Conference should be condensed.

On the basis of the Hälsingborg and Birmingham resolutions the programme was worked out in detail by the Executive Committee and its officers, in co-operation with the European and British sections which met in Zürich on April 22-23 and at Farnham Castle on June 18-20, 1925. The results are to be found in the time-table of the Conference.

Amongst those who devoted their intercessions and whole-hearted endeavours to this bold undertaking of trust and love some have passed away. The following must be mentioned in grateful remembrance: the Dean of Copenhagen, who strongly emphasized the spiritual and devotional basis of Life and Work, the Rev. John MacGilp, M.A., an eager worker from the very

beginning, who met his death after the Birmingham Meeting in a motor accident, and Mr. Robert Gardiner, the soul of the Faith and Order Movement, but convinced that the Life and Work Conference ought to come first and strengthen mutual confidence.

Almost at the end of the preparations for the Conference came the sad news of the death of the Lord Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Burge). His sudden decease meant a grievous loss to the work of the Conference.

C. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

1. *The Officers*

The Conference was under the joint presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Archbishop of Upsala, and the Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D.D. The four Vice-Presidents were the Rev. C. S. Macfarland, D.D. (General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America), the Very Rev. J. A. McClymont, D.D. (Ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland), Dr. Kapler (President of the Council of the Evangelical Church Federation in Germany), and the Metropolitan of Thyateira (Mgr. Germanos Strinopoulos). Each of the four Presidents, or his deputy, acted as Chairman for a day in turn : the Bishop of Winchester acting as deputy for this purpose for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Metropolitan of Thyateira for the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Vice-Presidents or others presided at the evening sessions.

The Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, D.D. (New York), was General Executive Secretary, and Professor E. Choisy (Switzerland), the Rev. T. Nightingale (England) and Dr. Adolf Keller (Switzerland) were Associate Secretaries.

2. *The International Committee*

The general direction of the Conference was in the hands of an International Committee of seventy-seven members divided into four Sections—American, British, European and Orthodox. The Chairmen of these Sections were the Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D.D., the Bishop of Winchester, the Archbishop of Upsala, and the Metropolitan of Thyateira. A smaller International Executive Committee consisting of the Officers of the four Sections with the Archbishop of Upsala as Chairman acted as the organ of the larger Committee and as the Business Committee during the Conference, to which all matters coming on the floor of the Conference were referred without debate. The offices of the Conference were in the Musical Academy, which was also the Headquarters of the International Bureau.

3. *The Commissions*

The International Committee met in Stockholm on Sunday, August 9, when Divine Service was held in the Storkyrkan (Cathedral) and a Sermon was preached by His Magnificence the Bishop of Saxony, Dr. Ihmels. On August 10 the International Committee appointed five Commissions and eleven Sub-committees to prepare Reports on the six main subjects, with a view to bringing them effectively before the Conference. The Commissions and Sub-commissions assembled at various places in the country round Stockholm, only one remaining in the city. They had before them various Reports which had already been prepared by the different national and international sections. The Commissions' own Reports were presented to the International Committee on Monday, August 17. These Reports were subsequently printed and circulated to all members of the Conference.

4. *Order of Proceedings*

The United Christian Conference began with a Service for the delegates in the Storkyrkan on Wednesday, August 19, 1925, at 11 a.m., when the Bishop of Winchester preached the Sermon to a very large congregation. After the Service the delegates adjourned to the Royal Palace, where, following some introductory words by the Archbishop of Upsala, H.M. the King of Sweden declared the Conference open, and speeches were made by the Patriarch of Alexandria, Dr. Arthur J. Brown, the Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Kapler, on behalf of the Orthodox, American, British and European sections of the Conference. This was followed by a reception in the Palace. The first formal Sessions were held in the Blasieholms Kyrkan at 4.30 in the afternoon.

Each morning the Session was opened with prayer by one of the delegates, and hymns were sung from the special hymn-book of the Conference entitled *Communio*, the work of the Archbishop of Upsala, Emil Liedgren, D.D., member of the Chapter in Västerås, and Otto Olsson, Organist in the Church of Gustaf Vasa, Director of Music and Professor in the Musical Academy, Stockholm. This hymn-book, which contained some sixty hymns translated into many languages, was an indispensable companion of the meetings each day. In addition to daily prayers and the Services arranged for the two Sundays during the Conference which are described below, special Services were held every day in Jacobs Kyrka, including a celebration of Holy Communion according to the English rite at 8 a.m., and a series of Addresses on the Lord's Prayer at 1 p.m., by different delegates. The Holy Communion was also celebrated during the week at the English Church.

The morning and afternoon Sessions were held in the

Musical Academy from 9.30-12 and 2-4, and the evening Sessions (without discussion) 5-7 and 9-10.30 in the Blasieholms Kyrkan, except on the last few days, when they were transferred to the Musical Academy. The official languages were English, French and German. The set speakers named in the programme as a rule read their speeches, and printed translations in the other official languages were distributed to the audience. Other speakers had their speeches translated after delivery by Pastor Köchlin (Basel).

5. *Literature*

Every delegate received a copy of a very clear Programme, printed in the three official languages, a list of delegates, a handbook to the Conference containing information as to the history of the Conference, the Church Life of Sweden, Art in Sweden, and other matters of interest. Each delegate also had a badge and an identification card. In addition to the Reports, printed translations, and other material circulated from day to day, there was a special illustrated Daily Bulletin, entitled *Life and Work*, describing the previous day's proceedings. And in the field of literature mention must also be made of the valuable work done by Councillor Fritz Henrikson of the Swedish Foreign Office both before and during the Conference.

6. *Resolution and Message*

In view of the great variety and complex character of the subjects, as well as the short time for discussion, no Resolutions were passed on the main subjects before the Conference with a single exception. Instead of Resolutions the general mind of the Conference was carefully embodied in a Message prepared during the whole Conference by the

International Committee, acting as Business Committee, and adopted on the last day. The single exception was the Resolution, also adopted on the last day, by which the Conference agreed to appoint a Continuation Committee.

7. *Hospitality*

The delegates were the guests of the Swedish Committee, which arranged for their accommodation in hotels, private houses and flats in Stockholm with a care and kindness which were beyond praise. The Swedish Committee also arranged for the very generous hospitality given to the members of the Commissions which met before the Conference to draw up Reports. In addition, various facilities were afforded by the City of Stockholm and the Swedish Government which were much appreciated. The Crown Prince and the Crown Princess attended the Conference throughout and showed the deepest interest in the proceedings, and together with them the citizens of Stockholm took the greatest pains to make the visit of the delegates from all parts of the world as happy as possible. Apart from private hospitality, expeditions were arranged to places of interest, and banquets were given, notably by the City of Stockholm in their famous Hotel de Ville, and by the University of Upsala after the closing Service on the last day.

OFFICIAL LETTER OF INVITATION

ΣΥΝΕΡΓΟΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ

UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON LIFE AND WORK.
ALLGEMEINE KONFERENZ DER KIRCHE CHRISTI FÜR PRAKTISCHES CHRISTENTUM.
CONFÉRENCE UNIVERSELLE DU CHRISTIANISME PRATIQUE.
COMMUNIO IN SERVIENDO OECUMENICA.
Οἰκουμενικὸν Συνέδριον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ ζωῆς καὶ ἔργου ἢ Κοινωνία τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν.

DEAR BROTHERS IN CHRIST,

YOU have doubtless heard that as a result of Conferences held at the Hague in 1919, and in Geneva in 1920, arrangements have now been made for holding a Universal Conference of Christian Communions at Stockholm during the month of August, 1925.

We believe that there is a longing on the part, not merely of the trusted servants of the Church, but of all followers of our Lord and Master, to see Christendom so far united as to be able to work together in applying the principles taught by Him to the problems which confront us both in national and international life. These problems bewilder and baffle us so long as we are content to seek solutions which rely upon motives lower than the highest that we can discern for them. No Christian can doubt that the world's greatest need is the Christian way of Life not merely

in personal and social behaviour but in public opinion and its outcome in public action. The responsibility for helping to meet this need which rests upon all who name the Name of Christ cannot be exaggerated.

The common purpose of our Conference therefore will be to discover lines along which we may all unite in endeavouring to meet this grave responsibility.

In our deliberations we do not propose to deal with matters of Faith and Order, although we are not unmindful of their importance. Our prayer and our hope is that through this Conference a new impetus will be given to the various movements and strivings for reunion, but the world's need is so urgent and the demand for common action on the part of all Christians so insistent at this juncture, that we cannot afford to await the fulfilment of that great hope of a reunited Christendom before putting our hearts and our hands into a united effort that God's will may be done on earth as it is in heaven. To this end we will consider such concrete questions as that of industry and property, in relation to the Kingdom of God ; what the Church should teach and do to help to create right relations between the different and at times warring classes and groups in the community ; how to promote friendship between the nations and thus lay the only sure foundation upon which permanent international peace can be built. In short, we hope under the guidance of the Spirit of God, through the counsel of all, to be able to formulate programmes and devise means for making them effective, whereby the *fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all peoples* will become more completely realized through the Church of Christ.

The following subjects have been decided upon, after very careful consideration, as best expressing these ideas, and they will therefore form the basis of our studies pre-

liminary to the Conference, and upon them will be based all actions and resolutions :

1. The Church's Obligation in view of God's Purpose for the World,
2. The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.
3. The Church and Social and Moral Problems.
4. The Church and International Relations.
5. The Church and Christian Education.
6. Methods of Co-operative and Federative Efforts by the Christian Communions.

Much work has already been done on these subjects, in particular in connection with the reports of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship held at Birmingham, England. Careful preparation is also going forward in the countries of continental Europe and in the United States of America.

It is distinctly understood that the Resolutions passed will not be in any way binding on the Christian Communions represented at the Conference, unless and until they are presented to and accepted by the authorities of each Communion.

The Conference will meet in Stockholm from August nineteenth to August thirtieth of next year (August 19-30, 1925) and during that time its members will enjoy the hospitality of the Swedish people, whose King and leading men are taking a keen interest in the enterprize. Indeed a high and widespread appreciation of the Conference is being manifested throughout the whole Church in the North.

Therefore at the request of the International Executive Committee of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, we who are its officers have the honour and very great pleasure of inviting your Communion to be represented by members appointed for this purpose, who will add their prayer and counsel to our common deliberations.

This letter goes forward to you as the official invitation and call for the Conference. For purposes of administration and in order that all Communions may be adequately and justly represented, the Conference has been organized in four sections, one for Europe, one for the British Empire, one for America, and one for the Eastern Orthodox Church. From the section of which your Nation and Communion is a part, a statement of the number of your apportioned delegates is being sent.

The Conference, we believe, will afford a unique opportunity for stirring the mind and conscience of Christendom and for acquiring a clearer common vision on our Christian duties in the world to-day, and we therefore confidently trust that your Communion will not only appoint its full number of delegates, but will do all in its power to secure for the Conference the interest, sympathy and prayers of its members.

We depend for success from first to last upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Accepting this letter as a message from your fellow workers, will you kindly send your formal reply to the General Secretary, Henry A. Atkinson, 4 Avenue Calas, Geneva, Switzerland, to whom or to the Bureau on Life and Work, Sancta Clara, Stockholm, Sweden, requests for additional information may be addressed.

Signed on behalf of the International Committee:

THEODORE WINTON:	† GREGORIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS.
ARTHUR J. BROWN.	
MOELLER.	J. A. M'CLYMONT.
† GERMANOS THYATEIRA.	CHARLES S. MACFARLAND.
HENRY A. ATKINSON.	J. E. CHOISY.
THOS. NIGHTINGALE.	ADOLF KELLER.
NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.	

Stockholm, the Bureau on Life and Work, April 1924.

LIST OF DELEGATES

I. AMERICAN SECTION

(i) Members Ex Officio

Rev. A. J. Brown, D.D. (Joint President) ; Bishop Luther B. Wilson, D.D. (Vice-President) ; Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, D.D. (General Secretary) ; Rev. T. A. Greene ; Rev. G. C. Hunter, D.D. ; Rev. P. Ainslie, D.D. ; Rev. N. Boynton, D.D. ; Bishop James Cannon, Jr. ; Rev. S. H. Chester, D.D. ; President W. H. P. Faunce ; Rev. J. H. Franklin, D.D. ; H. G. Leach, LL.D ; Rev. F. Lynch, D.D. ; Rev. W. A. Brown, D.D. ; Rev. C. S. Macfarland, D.D. ; Rev. F. Burnham, D.D. ; Rt. Rev. C. H. Brent, D.D. ; Rev. F. E. Grunert ; E. C. Miller, LL.D. ; Prof. G. W. Richards, D.D.

(ii) Delegates appointed by Church Bodies.

African Episcopal Zion

Bishop J. S. Caldwell, D.D., and (*Alternate*) Bishop P. A. Wallace, D.D.

Christian Church

Rev. F. G. Coffin, D.D. ; Mrs. F. G. Coffin.

Church of God

President C. J. Blewitt, and (*Alternate*) Rev. H. W. Dowding.

Coloured Methodist Episcopal

Rev. W. Y. Bell, D.D.

Congregational Churches

Rev. S. P. Cadman, D.D. ; Miss H. A. Lee ; Rev. W. H. Day, D.D. ; Rev. C. B. Emerson, D.D. ; R. H. Fiero ; Rev. R. B. Guild, D.D. ; Rev. G. E. E. Lindquist ; Rev. E. T. Root ; C. H. Seaver ; Rev. R. B. Houghton ; and (*Alternates*) Dr. H. H. Hastings ; Mrs. R. B. Guild ; Mrs. H. A. Atkinson ; Mrs. C. H. Seaver ; Mrs. F. B. Smith ; Rev. H. Y. Williams.

Disciples of Christ

Rev. P. Ainslie, D.D. ; Rev. H. Armstrong ; Rev. A. E. Cory, D.D. ; Rev. J. R. Ewers, D.D. ; Dr. G. Frank ; Rev. H. D. C. Maclachlan, D.D. ; Rev. R. T. Noor ; Rev. H. O. Pritchard, D.D. ; Rev. R. L. Sadler ; Rev. F. W. Burnham, D.D., and (*Alternates*) Mrs. P. Ainslie, Mrs. H. Armstrong ; Rev. C. E. Lemmon ; G. A. Campbell ; Mrs. G. Frank ; Mrs. F. W. Burnham.

Evangelical Church.

Rev. R. Kuecklich.

Evangelical Synod of North America

President J. Baltzer, D.D. ; President S. D. Press, D.D.

Friends

Dr. T. R. Kelly ; Prof. E. Russel.

Lutheran Augustana Synod

President G. A. Brandelle, D.D. ; Rev. G. Rast, D.D.

Lutheran Free Church

Rev. O. H. Sletten.

Methodist Episcopal

Bishop A. Bast; Rev. F. Homan, D.D.; Rev. L. H. Hough, D.D.; Bishop J. L. Nuelsen, D.D.; Bishop E. G. Richardson; Rev. W. M. Tippy, D.D.; Rev. G. W. Downs, D.D., and (*Alternates*) Prof. F. O. Beck; Rev. B. Keip; Bishop E. Cranston; Rev. J. W. Langdale, D.D.; Rev. J. B. Randolph, D.D.; Rev. M. Smith, D.D.; Mrs. G. W. Downs; W. A. Womer, M.D.; Rev. W. W. Van Kirk.

Methodist Episcopal South

Bishop W. N. Ainsworth; Mrs. W. N. Ainsworth; Bishop W. Beauchamp; Rev. R. H. Bennett, D.D.; Mrs. R. H. Bennett; Rev. L. S. Barton, D.D.; President W. F. Quillian; Mrs. H. R. Steele; Dr. A. J. Weeks; Rev. G. P. Warfield; Rev. J. A. Harmon.

Northern Baptist Convention

Rev. D. P. Gaines; Dean Shailer Matthews; Rev. O. J. Price, D.D.; Mrs. C. Westfall; Rev. J. Mauck; Rev. E. E. Francis, and (*Alternate*) Mrs. D. P. Gaines.

Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Rev. S. Beach, D.D.; President W. H. Black, D.D.; Miss M. E. Hodge; Rev. J. A. Marquis, D.D.; Rev. J. T. Stone, D.D.; Rev. H. C. Swearingen, D.D.; Mrs. D. E. Waid; R. P. Wilder; Rev. C. F. Wishart, D.D.; Prof. L. T. White, D.D.; and (*Alternates*) Rev. H. B. Master, D.D.; Mrs. H. C. Swearingen; Mrs. C. L. Thompson; Rev. M. D. Kneeland, D.D.; W. V. V. Hayes, M.D.; Dr. C. W. Cherry; Miss K. C. Hodge; Mrs. W. Jennings; Rev. F. M. Weston, D.D.; Mrs. W. A. Brown; Miss E. G. Brown.

Southern Presbyterian Church.

Rev. E. T. Drake ; R. E. Magill ; Rev. J. L. Mauzé, D.D. ; Rev. S. L. Morris, D.D. ; Rev. B. E. Wallace, D.D. ; Mrs. W. C. Winsborough ; Rev. T. W. Sloan, D.D. ; Rev. C. L. King, D.D. ; Miss R. Gibbons ; T. W. Currie ; Miss S. L. Vinson ; Mrs. B. E. Wallace ; Miss S. Magill ; Rev. W. L. Hickman ; Mrs. S. H. Chester.

Protestant Episcopal Church

Rt. Rev. C. H. Brent, D.D. ; Rev. C. T. Bridgeman ; R. W. Brown ; Rt. Rev. J. H. Darlington, D.D. ; Rev. W. C. Emhardt, D.D. ; Rev. N. B. Nash ; Rt. Rev. J. de W. Perry, D.D. ; Rev. F. W. Tomkins, Jr. ; Rt. Rev. W. L. Rogers, D.D. ; and (*Alternates*) Miss H. C. C. Brent ; Rev. H. Fort ; Rev. L. Nichols ; Rt. Rev. W. H. Moreland, D.D. ; Mrs. F. W. Tomkins ; Mrs. E. A. S. Darlington ; Miss K. B. Darlington.

Reformed Church in America

Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. ; Rev. J. H. Raven, D.D. ; and (*Alternate*) Rev. J. H. Brinkerhoff.

Reformed Church in the U.S.

Rev. H. H. Ranck, D.D. ; Prof. J. B. Ranck ; and (*Alternate*), F. H. Clutz.

Reformed Episcopal

Rt. Rev. R. L. Rudolph, D.D.

Seventh Day Baptist Church

Dean J. N. Norwood.

United Brethren

Rev. F. J. Richardson.

United Lutheran

Rev. J. A. Clutz, D.D.; Rev. E. P. Pfatteicher, D.D.; Rev. M. G. G. Scherer, D.D.; J. B. Franke; and (*Alternates*) Dr. E. B. Burgess; Rev. A. Steimle, D.D.; J. A. Haas.

(iii) DELEGATES-AT-LARGE

Hon. R. W. Bliss; Mrs. R. W. Bliss; G. Berry; Mrs. W. V. V. Hayes; Miss R. McCulloch; Mrs. A. J. Brown; Rev. S. Gulick, D.D.; P. B. Anderson; Mrs. A. H. Reinhardt; C. V. Vickrey; Rt. Rev. T. J. Garland, D.D.; Mrs. A. G. Spencer; F. B. Smith; F. Whiting.

II. BRITISH SECTION

MEMBERS EX OFFICIO

The Bishop of Winchester; Miss L. Gardner; Rev. A. E. Garvie, D.D.; Rev. R. C. Gillie, D.D.; Sir Henry Lunn; Very Rev. J. A. McClymont, C.B.E., D.D.; Rev. T. Nightingale; Mrs. Woods; the Dean of Worcester.

England

Church of England

Sir William Ashley; Miss Boswood; Rev. Fr. P. Bull; Rev. H. Buxton; Dr. H. Caiger; the Dean of Canterbury; the Dean of Carlisle; W. D. Caroe; Rev. H. Cecil; Miss Charles; Rev. J. H. Cooke; C. Davies; Rev. Canon J. A. Douglas; Rev. G. H. Fendick; Rev. E. D. P. Kelsey; Rev. P. T. R. Kirk; the Bishop of Lichfield; Rev. Canon MacCulloch; the Archdeacon of Maidstone; Rev. J. P. Malleson; Rev. E. J. Martyn-Roberts; Rev. Canon J. C. Morris;

Prof. M. Morris ; Rev. Canon Newsom ; Rt. Hon. Lord Parmoor ; the Bishop of Plymouth ; Rev. R. R. Raymer ; Rev. H. N. Rodgers ; Rev. J. E. B. Sawbridge ; Rev. A. L. J. Shields ; Rev. E. Southam ; Miss C. Smith ; Miss H. A. Spence ; Miss D. H. Standley ; Rev. Fr. R. H. Tribe ; Rev. H. C. T. Walker ; E. F. Wise.

Baptist Church

Rev. G. Laws.

Congregationalists

Rev. J. V. Bartlet, D.D. ; Rev. J. Beeby ; Rev. W. Blackshaw ; Sir R. M. Hyslop ; Rev. H. Knowles ; Mrs. M. Morris ; A. Porritt ; Rev. W. Reason ; Rev. M. Spencer ; Miss Stafford.

Society of Friends

H. Corder ; F. J. Tritton ; Mrs. A. Wilson.

Presbyterian Church of England

J. MacLennan ; Rev. Carnegie Simpson, D.D.

Unitarian Church

Rev. D. Agate ; Rev. R. N. Cross ; Mrs. Woodhouse.

Wesleyan Methodist Church

Rev. H. Carter ; Rev. A. W. Harrison ; C. Nye ; Rev. E. B. Perkins ; Rev. A. H. Stacey ; Rev. J. G. Tasker, D.D. ; Rev. W. Woolmer ; Rev. H. B. Workman, D.D.

Primitive Methodists

A. B. Hillis ; Mrs. L. Page ; Rev. E. H. Pittwood ; Rev. T. Robson ; Rev. E. B. Storr.

United Methodist

G. E. Bolshaw ; Rev. D. Brook, D.C.L. ; Rev. J. Lineham.

Independent Methodists

R. Henshall.

Wesleyan Reform Union

J. H. Freeborough.

Young Women's Christian Association

Miss H. Ellis.

Toc H.

Barclay Baron.

Scotland

Church of Scotland

Miss Cornwall ; Rev. J. T. Cox ; Rev. W. Fulton, D.D. ; Rev. J. Hamilton; Rev. J. MacGilchrist, D.D.; Rt. Hon. Lord Salvesen ; Rev. S. Smith ; Rev. D. Watson, D.D.

United Free Church of Scotland

Rev. J. R. Fleming, D.D. ; Rev. J. Mansie ; Rev. W. D. O. Rose ; Rev. A. K. Walton ; Dr. J. M. Webster.

Wales

Calvinistic Methodist Church in Wales

Rev. E. O. Davies ; Rev. E. R. Jones.

Welsh Independents

Prof. D. M. Edwards, D.D.

BRITISH EMPIRE

Africa

East—The Bishop of Mombasa ; Rev. J. F. G. Orr.
South—J. C. Sickesz.

Dutch Reformed Church

Rev. D. S. Botha.

Australia

Queensland

Rev. J. Mursell.

South Australia

The Bishop of Willochra ; Rev. C. B. Cockett.

Victoria

Rev. G. Paul.

Canada.

Prof. C. Bieler, D.D. ; Madame B. d'Aubigné Bieler ; Rev. R. Johnston, D.D.

Hong Kong

K. J. Maconachie.

India

East—The Bishop of Bombay.
West—Dr. E. D. Lucas.

Burma

The Ven. W. H. Cowper-Johnson.

Malaya

Rev. J. A. B. Cook.

Ireland

Church of Ireland

The Archbishop of Dublin.

Presbyterian Church

Rev. P. McKee ; T. O. Millar.

Methodist Church

T. St. John Bagnall.

Invited Guests

Mrs. G. Cadbury ; Bishop Gwynne ; Lady Parmoor.

Press

Rev. E. Shillito ; Rev. G. Napier Whittingham.

Staff

O. Morland ; Miss W. V. Bamford ; Miss D. Baring.

III. EUROPEAN SECTION

Austria

Evangelische Kirche A. und H.B.

Dr. Victor Capesius; Superintendent J. E. Koch; and (*Substitute*) Senior D. Paul Spanuth.

Belgium

Union des Eglises Evangéliques Protestantes de la Belgique

M. Le Pasteur F. Busé.

Eglise Chrétienne Missionaire Belge

M. le Pasteur Emile Hoyois.

Czechoslovakia

Synod of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren

Very Rev. F. Zilka; Rev. J. Soucek (President); Dr. F. Hrejsa; and (*Substitute*) Rev. Dr. F. Bednar.

Evangelical Lutheran Church of Slovakia

Bishop Jur. Janoska, D.D.; Bishop Samuel Zoch; Rev. Feodor Ruppeldt.

Reformed Church

M. Georges de Patay.

Deutsche Evangelische Kirche

Kirchenpräsident Wehrenfennig.

Denmark

Church of Denmark

Rt. Rev. H. Ostenfeld, D.D.; Rt. Rev. V. Ammundsen, D.D.; Rt. Rev. C. Ludvigs; Very Rev. H. Ussing, D.D.; Prof. O. J. Andersen, D.D.; Rev. C.

Skovgaard-Petersen ; Principal A. Poulsen ; Chief Inspector O. Skjerboek ; Dr. A. T. Jörgensen ; Rev. O. Ricard ; Principal J. Appel ; Mr. Fibiger ; Rev. S. Hoffmeyer, D.D. ; and (*Substitute*) Rev. R. Thomsen ; also (*Invited*) Prof. H. Westergaard.

Esthonia

Church of Esthonia

Rt. Rev. J. Kukk ; Rev. H. B. Rahamagi, D.D. ; Rev. E. Tennmann ; Rev. I. Lattik ; Rev. H. Kubu.

Finland

Church of Finland

Rt. Rev. J. Gummerus, D.D. ; Rev. A. Hjelt, D.D. ; and (not officially appointed but delegated by Suomen Kirkon Seurakuntatyön Keskuslito) : Rev. L. Ingman, D.D. ; Rev. P. Virkkunen, D.D. ; Rev. U. Paunu, D.D. ; Mr. M. Pesonen ; Rev. T. Valtari ; Sister A. Tensikkala ; Rev. S. Sirenius ; Rev. A. Lehtonen, D.D. ; and (*Substitute*) Miss F. von Hertzen ; also Swedish delegates (not officially appointed but delegated by Förbundet för Svensk Församlingsarbete) : Rt. Rev. Max v. Bonsdorff, D.D. ; Rev. S. W. Roos ; and (*Substitute*) Mr. L. Kihlman.

France.

Fédération Protestante de France

Pasteur Scheer ; and (*Substitutes*) M. le Prof. H. Monnier ; Pasteur Jézéquel ; Pasteur G. Lauga ; Lt.-Col. F. de Witt-Guizot ; Pasteur Altorffer ; P. Fuzier ; Pasteur L. Appia ; J. Dumas ; M. Ernwein ; Pasteur C. Merle d'Aubigné ; Pasteur E. Gounelle ; and (*Substitutes*) A. Roux ; Pasteur Vidal ; Pasteur Jarillon ; and (*Invited*) Pasteur W. Monod.

Germany

Evangelische Landeskirchen und Freikirchen

(i) Members Ex Officio

Dr. Kapler ; Dr. Simons ; Bishop D. Ihmels ; Dr. Deissmann ; and (*Substitutes*) Dr. Conrad ; J. Richter, Prälat D. Schoell ; D. Scholz ; Lic. E. Stange.

(ii) Delegates nominated by the German Evangelical Church Authorities. (Von den Deutschen evangelischen Kirchenregierungen gewählte Abgeordnete.)

Herr Streiter ; Dr. Dibelius ; D. Klingemann ; Dr. Kähler ; D. Kockelke ; Dr. Böhme ; D. Lampe ; Dr. von Merz ; Bischof D. Mordhorst ; D. Reichardt ; Dr. Diehl ; D. Wurth ; D. Möller ; Bischof Kortheuer ; D. Buettner ; Dr. Lemcke ; Herr Dihle ; Dr. Kalweit.

(iii) Delegates directly nominated by the Council of the German Evangelical Church Federation. (Vom Deutschen Ev. Kirchenausschuss unmittelbar gewählte Abgeordnete.)

Prof. Titius ; Frau von Tiling ; Pfarrer Maetzold ; D. Thiele ; Dr. W. Stählin ; Herr Just ; Herr Stoltenhoff ; Prof. Mahling ; Herr Steinweg ; D. Mumm ; Herr Herz ; D. Schneemelcher ; D. Burghart ; Pfarrer Philipps ; Herr Hinderer ; Prof. Gonser ; Dr. Tilemann ; D. W. F. von Pechmann ; Rektor Adams ; Herr F. Behrens ; D. Zoellner ; Pfarrer Le Seur ; Herr Hosemann ; Herr Wolff ; Prof. Rendtorff ; D. Geissler ; D. Nold ; D. Doehring ; Frau P. Mueller-Otfried ; D. Spiecker ; Pfarrer Werbeck ; Emma von Bunsen ; D. Schlunk ; Prof. Bachmann ; Frau Lic. C. Barth ; Graf von Arnim-Boitzenburg ; Pfarrer von Bodelschwingh ; Prof. Mirbt ; Herr A. Springer ; D. Engelhardt ; Frau M. Behm ; Dr. Brunstäd ; Herr Baltrusch ; D. Laible ; and (*Substitute*) Dr. von Heintze.

Evangelische Brüdergemeine

Bischof Marx.

Hauptausschuss Evangelischer Freikirchen Deutschlands

Herr Th. Mann ; Herr F. W. Simoleit ; and (*Substitutes*) Herr Van den Kerkhoff ; Herr C. Schuler ; and (*Invited*) Reichskanzler Dr. Luther ; Dr. Simons ; D. Siegmund-Schultze ; D. Füllkrug.

Holland

Reformed Church of the Netherlands

Prof. Dr. J. R. Slotemaker de Bruine ; Dr. G. J. Weyland ; Prof. Dr. J. A. Cramer ; Prof. Dr. W. J. Aalders ; Rev. Dr. W. J. M. Engelberts ; Rev. Dr. R. J. van der Meulen ; Rev. Dr. J. C. Roose ; Rev. H. J. Dijckmeester.

Reformed Free Church

Rev. G. Keizer, D.D. ; Rev. J. G. Kunst.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod

Rev. J. A. Rust, D.D.

The General Mennonite Society

Prof. Dr. J. G. Appeldoorn.

Evangelical Lutheran Church

Rev. A. Klinkenberg, and (*Substitute*) Rev. C. F. Westermann.

Hungary

Eglise Helvétique (*Reformed*)

Bishop L. Ravasz, D.D. ; Bishop G. von Antal, D.D. ; Prof. A. de Boer ; Rev. J. Victor, D. Litt.

Eglise d'Augsbourg (*Lutheran*)

Bishop A. Raffay ; Baron Adalbert von Kaas ; Dr. Béla Leffler.

Iceland

Church of Iceland

Rev. B. Jonsson ; Rev. F. J. Rafnar.

Italy

Waldensian Church

Rev. V. A. Costabel, and (*Substitute*) Professor E. Comba.

Latvia

Church of Latvia

Rt. Rev. Karl Irbe, D.D., Bishop of Latvia ; Bishop Poelchau, D.D.

Lithuania

Superintendent Kibelka.

Norway

Church of Norway

Rt. Rev. Jens Gleditsch, D.D. ; and (*Substitute*) Rev. L. Koren ; Rt. Rev. Peter Hognestad ; Rev. Lyder Brun, D.D. ; Professor O. Moe, D.D. ; Rev. H. K. Leisegang ; Rev. Hille ; Rev. J. F. Gjesdahl ; Rev. Stub ; Rev. Arne Fjellbu ; and (*Substitute*) Rev. N. B. Thvedt, D.D. ; and (*Invited*) Governor Gregers Gram.

Poland

Evangelical Lutheran Church

General Superintendent Julius Bursche ; Prof. J. Szeruda ; Dr. Busek.

United Evangelical Church of Posen

General Superintendent D. Blau ; Superintendent Hildt ; Konsistorialrat Nehring ; Pastor Sarowy.

Roumania

Eglise Helvétique (*Reformed*)

H. E. Stephen Ugron ; A. Stephen Toth.

Spain

Spanish Evangelical Church

Don Salvador Ramirez.

Sweden

Church of Sweden.

Most Rev. Nathan Söderblom, D.D.; Dr. Nils Widner; General O. B. Malm; Major A. Sjöstedt; Prof. Y. Brilioth; Rt. Rev. J. A. Eklund, D.D.; Rt. Rev. Ludvig Lindberg, D.D.; Carl Swartz; Dr. Karl Fries; Erik B. Rinman; Prof. O. Nordenskjöld; Rt. Rev. Edvard Rodhe; Dr. Manfred Björkquist; Dr. N. Beskow; Rev. H. Hallen; Rev. J. Lindskog, D.D.; Rev. O. Centerwall; and (*Substitutes*): Rt. Rev. Einar Billing, D.D.; Rev. G. Aulén, D.D.; Sister Elsa Brandström; Dr. Verner Söderberg; Rev. O. Holmdahl, D.D.; Rev. Nils Dalberg; Rev. Bengt Jonzon, D.D.; Rev. S. Thysell; Rev. O. Bolling; and (*Invited*) Dr. Selma Lagerlöf; Professor J. G. Andersson.

Swedish Mission Society

Principal J. Nyrén; Mr. Sven Bengtsson; and (*Substitutes*) Dr. K. E. Laman; Mr. J. Lundahl.

Swedish Baptist Mission

Dr. J. Bystrom; and (*Substitute*) Principal C. E. Benander.

Methodist Church in Sweden

Dr. J. Julén.

Switzerland

Federation des Eglises Protestantes de la Suisse

President O. Herold, D.D.; Rev. F. Ferrier; Rev. A. Keller, D.D.; Professor E. Choisy, D.D.; Mr. U.

Amman ; Dr. Baumgartner ; Rev. H. Bolli ; Rev. R. Bornand ; Rev. W. Hadorn, D.D. ; Rev. R. Handmann, D.D. ; Dr. L. Köhler ; Rev. A. Lequin ; Prof. A. Thiebaud ; Colonel Souvairan ; and (*Substitute*) Rev. A. Köchlin. (*Invited*) Rev. Daulte ; Dr. Max Huber.

Yugoslavia

Evangelical Lutheran Church

Senior Peter Wack, and (*Substitutes*) Senior S. Schumacher ; Pfarrer J. Jahn.

Other Churches

Czechoslovakian National Church

Most Rev. Karel Farsky, D.D. (Patriarch) ; Rt. Rev. J. Rost Stejskal, D.D. ; Rt. Rev. Gustav Prochazka ; and (*Substitutes*) Prof. Alois Spisar ; Ferdinand Prasek, M.P.

Old Catholic Church

Prof. H. Keussen, D.D.

IV. THE ORTHODOX SECTION

Patriarchates of the Holy Orthodox Church

The Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria, Photios ; The Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos (representing the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Church of Cyprus) ; The Archbishop of Nubia, Nikolaos.

Church of Bulgaria

The Metropolitan of Sofia, Stephan ; The Bishop of Znepole, Paissij ; Dr. Stefan Zankow ; Dr. Nikolai Glubokowskij.

Church of Greece

The Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos ; Dr. Balanos ; Prof. Alivisatos.

Church of Jugoslavia

Archimandrite V. Pribischeitsch ; Dr. Irinej Georgevitsch.

Church of Roumania

The Metropolitan of Transylvania, Nicolae ; The Metropolitan of Bukowina, Nectarie ; The Bishop of Ramicul Valcea, Vartolomeu ; Arkimandrite Julius Scriban ; Professor Dr. G. Ispir ; Mrs. Ispir ; Rev. Dr. I. Lupas ; Rev. T. Scolobet.

Also

Rev. Furnajieff, of Bulgaria (Evangelical), Sofia, acting as Secretary of this group.

V. OTHER CHURCHES

Syrian Church

Bishop Georgios of Jerusalem.

China

National Christian Council of China

Mr. Gideon Cheng ; Miss Y. J. Fan ; Rev. Johan Skold ; Rev. Fritz Holmgren ; Rev. K. L. Reichelt.

India

National Christian Council of India

The Bishop of Bombay ; Rev. E. B. Lucas, D.D.

South India United Church

Rev. J. H. Maclean.

Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church

Rev. P. Sandegren, and (*Substitute*) Rev. U. Almgren.

Church of the East (Assyrian)

The Metropolitan of Malabar and India, Mar Timotheus.

Japan

Rt. Rev. S. Motoda, D.D. (Bishop of Tokyo); Rev. T. Tsuga.

South America

Rev. Andre Jensen.

VI. INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Fellowship of Reconciliation

Rev. O. Dryer.

Salvation Army

Commissioner G. Mitchell.

World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches

Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, K.B.E.

World Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s.

Oliver H. McCowen, C.B.E.; and (*Substitute*) W. A. Visser 't Hooft.

World's Young Women's Christian Association

Lady Parmoor; and (*Substitute*) Mrs. Patrick Graham.

World's Student Christian Federation

H. L. Henriod.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1925

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

SERVICE IN THE STORKYRKAN

The Conference commenced at 11 a.m., with a Special Service for the Delegates in the Storkyrkan (Cathedral) at Stockholm, when the Sermon was preached by the Bishop of Winchester (the Right Reverend F. T. Woods, D.D.).

SERMON

The Bishop of Winchester

' Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.'
St. Matthew iv. 17.

Change your mind ! Adopt a new outlook ! Get a fresh point of view ! That was Christ's challenge to His own generation. That is the challenge which in His name we make to the men and women of these modern days. To accept that challenge is Life. To reject it is death. Civilization has two alternatives. It can go down or it can go up. It cannot remain where it is. ' Facilis descensus Averno. Difficilis ascensus per Christum.'

We believe in that descent. We believe in the Kingdom of Heaven. We are conspirators for its establishment. That is why we are here. That is the meaning of this Conference.

Other Christian Conferences there have been and are. Faith and order. Fellowship through the Churches. Our concern is the same and yet different. The same, in that we work ' ad majorem Dei gloriam.' Different, for our concern is not the doctrine of the Church, not the government of the Church, but the establishment of the sovereignty of Jesus Christ through the whole range of human affairs. Our creed can best be expressed in one sentence—' On His vesture and on His thigh is a name written, King of Kings and Lord of Lords ' (' In vestimento et in femore suo scriptum, Rex Regum, et Dominus dominantium ').

I

To admit that sovereignty is for most men a spiritual and mental revolution. Our business is to promote that revolution. For on its accomplishment, or even partial accomplishment, depends the fate of the twentieth century. A new age is being built. Epoch making is a mysterious process, but we are allowed a hand in it. The nineteenth century was a wonderful epoch. In science, in commerce, in mechanical invention it was one of the great ages of history. But the material outran the spiritual. The movements of the century were tremendous, but for the most part they were centred in selfishness. National selfishness, commercial selfishness, industrial selfishness. And the wages of selfishness is death. Death in the great war. Death in the cut-throat competition of commerce. Death in the hideous antagonisms of industry. But we want Life. The whole world wants life. Multitudes are searching for it. Some think that they will find it by knocking to pieces our present civilization. Destroy, destroy, they cry, and then hope for something better. Some see salvation in keeping things as they are. A great army of grey-headed men, the defenders of the *status quo*—their motto, ' No change ! '

But we must change. If you are ill, you go to the expert, the specialist. The human race is ill. It must go to the Specialist, the Prince of men, the great Physician. His advice is plain enough.

Change your mind. 'Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.' In the nineteenth century, for all their cleverness and energy, they forgot this. They built churches, but they piled up armaments. They sang Christian hymns, hymns of love, but in commerce and in industry they were more often hymns of another kind. They talked much about Christian civilization, but they forgot to apply their Christianity. The result was that the spiritual was kept separate from the material. Doctrines, Churches, Sundays, Services, they naturally went together in one carriage. Politics, commerce, industry went in another carriage. They were all very polite, but they kept their distance. They did not mix. When the politician was planning a policy he hardly ever thought of asking himself, 'Is this Christian?' When business firms were competing with one another, the principles of Christ were often locked away in a cupboard. When matters of finance or questions of labour were under discussion, men did not always seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. And we were to blame. We of the Churches. We forgot the salvation of Society. Yet the individual often achieved much. In politics, in industry, in social life, there were then as now, men in every nation who put their Christianity in the forefront of their work, and kept it untarnished. It is perfectly true that God does not save the world by Committees but by persons. But men forgot that the change of mind which Christ called for was not only a change of the individual mind but a change of the community mind. That in redeeming the world He redeemed men not only personally but socially: that when a man comes to Jesus he changes not only his individual

outlook but his social behaviour : that because the Gospel is a Gospel of forgiveness and love, for that very reason it involves for the community a new way of love and service : that the Church is responsible not only to preach but to live that Gospel ; that only in so far as the behaviour of the community conforms to this way of life can it be called a Christian community, whether it be a nation, or a group within the nation. This new way of life means, so far as it goes, the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven : it means the introduction into this weary world of truer principles, happier relationships, better methods ; it means that human beings thus submitting to the sovereignty of Jesus, introduce the Kingdom of God upon earth, and thus prepare for that great day when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

II

This establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven may seem to some a mere Utopia impossible of achievement. And pessimism is one of the great dangers of our day. Some people despair of the human race. Human nature being what it is, they say, things cannot improve. That is blasphemy against God and man. We are concerned not only with human nature as it is, but as Christ can make it. As a witty Englishman once said, ' the extraordinary thing about a Christian is you never can tell what he'll be up to next.' When once a man or a community is redeemed there is no limit to what they can become. And we have our Christian pessimists. Men who, believing in God, think of His kingdom as belonging to another order altogether. This world is too bad, they say ; it must end in destruction. Only after that will the kingdom be set up. So thought the writers of Apocalypse, both ancient and modern. This

view is summed up in the great hymn of St. Bernard of Morlaix :

> Hora novissima tempora pessima sunt : vigilemus !
> Ecce minaciter imminet arbiter ille supremus !
> Imminet, imminet ut mala terminet aequa coronet
> Recta remuneret anxia liberet aethera donet.

Indeed, history itself in one sense bears witness to it, for the course of the world has been neither steady nor quiet. There have been times when matters have come to a crisis. Some great movement has reached its zenith, and there has been an earthquake before any new beginning could be made. We at least of this generation have known how true this is, for we have lived through one of the most terrific explosions in the long story of the world. There have been great scholars of our time who have maintained that this was the main burden of our Lord's message, and that as to problems of conduct, personal or social, He merely provided an ' interim ethic ' which should be sufficient to carry men through to the great dénouement. The temptation to this point of view is strong enough in all conscience in our day. We find the nations still suspicious of each other, still spending colossal sums of money on armaments. We find movements on every hand, nationalistic, industrial, social, largely based on self-interest, almost wholly concerned with the tangible and material aspects of life, leaving out of count those great moral foundations upon which alone any true life can be based.

Yet the Kingdom is God is here. There has been a marvellous change of outlook. Increasingly men and nations are consciously and unconsciously doing homage to Him Who is their Lord. As a direct result of the gradual spread of the ideas which He came to inculcate, the whole standard of righteousness has been rising in the world at large. A few examples will make this clear. The sanctities

of treaties, the tendency towards a larger recognition of international law, the whole movement towards a better relationship between the peoples as exemplified in the League of Nations, a movement equally definite in those countries at present outside the League. The same phenomenon is obvious when we look at such matters as the conditions of labour, the growing condemnation of any standard of values which exalts things above souls or property above personality. We have only to recall the extraordinary progress made in the last half century in the treatment of women, the care for motherhood, the education of the children. We may sum it up, in fact, by saying that a new community-conscience is fast being formed and that this is already making itself felt as something to be reckoned with both in the dealings of nations with one another, or groups and persons within those nations. A new bulwark has been built against every kind of tyranny, and this has been the result of centuries of personal influence and active propaganda on the part of those who believe in the Kingdom of God.

Both of these great points of view are right. The Pessimist and the Optimist can join hands. In the progress of the Kingdom of God there has been and there will be catastrophe.

The world has already seen many Days of Judgment. Yet God does not despair of the world. He loves it now as He loved it when the Mother laid her Babe in the Manger, and when the Cross was set up on Calvary. At this moment He is at work to redeem it. What else do our Churches exist for? What else is the meaning of this Conference? We are here because we have been called to work with God. We are here to study God's Mind; to investigate God's Will. That mind is knowable.

The fact is that in Christ, His Life, His Character, His

Behaviour, we are admitted to the mind of GOD. In the laws of nature we see something of the mind of GOD. Gravitation it may be, or relativity, or the laws of electricity or of the ether. No one but a fool would think of opposing these laws or disobeying them. But it takes an even greater fool to defy the mind of God as unveiled in the behaviour of JESUS CHRIST. Look for a moment at that behaviour. His amazing patriotism, for example. No greater patriot ever breathed. But His patriotism never stopped short of the whole human family. 'Nil humanum alienum putavit.' He loved His own nation because He believed it was capable of doing a real service to this larger family. Is that our patriotism? If not, then change your mind, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Look again at His neighbourliness. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' And who is my neighbour? Everyone to whom He is neighbour; the Supreme neighbour Who loved them and died for them. Does anyone dare to narrow that neighbourliness? In business, in industry, in the relations of capital and labour, of employer and employed? Look at Jesus and learn that GOD wills fellowship. Is that our standpoint as we gather here? If not, Repent ye, for the Kingdom of GOD is at hand.

Once more look at His revaluation of Life. His tariff of life's goods is so different from ours. Money, comfort, position, success—all low down on His list. And at the top—kindness, service, sacrifice, in one word, LOVE. Have we adopted His valuation? If not, then Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

Aye, that is the glory of it all. The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. For the man, for the Church, for the Conference that humbly seeks to know the mind of GOD and to act upon it, the whole resources of Heaven are available. The power to see the larger vision, and seeing it to accomplish

it in the ordinary affairs of daily life. And we shall need that power. To set up the Kingdom of God in this complicated civilization of the twentieth century is a colossal task, a task which demands thought, skill, patience, wisdom. But, I repeat, in Christ we can do the impossible. Therefore, in this opening act of worship we do our homage to Him. We believe that His Spirit will guide us in our deliberations. We confess that in Him alone is our hope. For He is ' Rex regum, Dominus dominantium. Sursum corda. Habemus ad Dominum.'

RECEPTION AT THE PALACE

Immediately after the Service the delegates proceeded from the Church to the Palace, where they were received by THEIR MAJESTIES KING GUSTAF and QUEEN VICTORIA.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA

(The Most Rev. Nathan Söderblom, D.D.)

YOUR MAJESTIES,

WHEN the Spirit of God visits humanity, it is the same flame that is kindled in human hearts, although land and water separate them. Such is the origin of this meeting of Christendom. The misery of the world, our fellowship around the Cross of Christ, the call of the Master to us to realize through Life and Work the visible unity for which He prayed, has, after many vicissitudes, hindrances, prayers, counsels and other preparations, brought Christian men and women together from almost every part of the globe. God grant that the flames kindled in our hearts may be purified and united here into a fire of love and justice that shall

enlighten Christendom with a new clearness of the eternal and Divine truth and that shall warm the souls and the Church with the ardent compassion of Christ. That must be our prayer now and henceforth.

May it please Your Majesty to open the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work.

THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

By H.M. The King of Sweden

Your Beatitude, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with the greatest satisfaction I bid you, representatives of the Church from the old world and the new, from orthodox and evangelic Christendom, welcome to the Capital of Sweden.

Sixteen hundred years ago, the trusted men of the Church of that time met at Nicea to give expression to their faith in our Saviour and in the being and revelation of God. The meeting now held here, more than one and a half thousand years later, has a not less important aim. It will endeavour to make clear what Christianity ought to do and can do, faced with the burning questions of our time, which demand the joint and conscious efforts of all the best forces to reach a happy solution.

Social questions and international problems occupy constantly those entrusted with legislation and the government of the different peoples and with the various other functions in public life. But even if they may succeed in passing good laws and in effecting well-advised measures, that does not mean that the end in view is gained; because laws and statutes are more or less ineffective as long as they are not founded on goodwill in the hearts of men and on a mind which puts love and justice above and before selfishness.

It is therefore in the hearts of men that we must lay the foundation for peace and for mutual trust within the community as well as between the peoples. It is the high purpose of your Conference to contribute to the realization of this ideal with all the spiritual means at the disposal of the Church.

I express my best wishes for a good and happy result of your work. May it be granted you during your proceedings here in Stockholm to see clearer than hitherto the way which the Church has to go in order to realize the spirit of Christ in our present world, torn by unrest and strife.

I hope that your stay here may be agreeable in every way and that you, on returning home, may bring with you bright and pleasant memories from this country and its capital.

But, more important still, by coming together here you, and, through you, the Christian communions and denominations which you represent, are brought closer to one another. Nothing can better serve unity and concord than that men should be animated by high ideals and with self-sacrificing zeal and earnestness should devote their thoughts and their lives to their realization.

With these wishes and hopes I declare the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work open.

SPEECHES IN REPLY

Representing the Orthodox Section

His Beatitude, The Patriarch of Alexandria (Photios)

Your Majesty,

Since God has granted me the privilege of appearing before you on this day, the happiest of my life, I am filled with admiration for your most gracious words. As Your

Majesty so well described the noble aim of this Universal Conference, these holy words of St. Peter came to my mind : 'Fear God, honour the King!' words, in which the Apostle has assigned to the king the first place in the world after God.

The quiet tones of your speech, Your Majesty, brought before my eyes, as in a wonderful picture, the vision of those blessed kings whose story the Holy Scriptures tell and whom all the world justly admires. And I saw, as in a trance, the great Emperor Constantine opening with a speech inspired from above the first Ecumenical Synod, whose decisions have confirmed the truths of the Christian faith in the world.

But what is it that has lifted me to the height of these historic and sacred visions ?

It is the coming together of this Universal Conference of men of God, noted for their wisdom, and assembled to-day in the presence of Your Majesty, whose words I have listened to with the greatest respect at the opening of our deliberations.

How sacred is this hour, when the blessing of God rests upon this wonderful work, to which Your Majesty is so graciously willing to give your patronage. May God by His Grace guide the work of this Conference towards right decisions which come from the truth, bear witness to the truth and whose benefits will profit all mankind.

I offer Your Majesty my congratulations on being granted by God a privilege so great. It is most auspicious that your good and God-fearing people have you for sovereign. I pray with all my heart that you may live to see the accomplishment of the work of this Conference and its labours bearing fruits of comfort and hope for the salvation of all peoples from one generation to another. AMEN.

Representing the American Section

THE REV. ARTHUR J. BROWN, D.D.

(Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, U.S.A.)

YOUR MAJESTY,

THE American delegates gladly join their brethren from other lands in appreciation of Your Majesty's welcome on behalf of the people of Sweden. Our hearts are stirred as we visit a land whose scenery is world-famous, whose soil teems with historic associations, whose Government and people possess qualities which command universal respect and whose hospitality is most bountiful and delightful. We have come with high expectations. For four years this Conference has been planned for and prayed for. Now that the long looked-for day has come, we meet in deep solemnity of spirit, confident that God, who has led us to this place of privilege, will bless our fellowship and guide our deliberations. We count it an auspicious beginning that our opening session is honoured by the presence and voice of Your Majesty. We are grateful to His Royal Highness the Crown Prince for the interest which he manifested when our International Committee met in Helsingborg three years ago, and for his participation in the preparations for the Conference as Chairman of the Swedish Committee on Arrangements. Nor can we ever forget the inspiring leadership of His Grace the Archbishop of Upsala, who conceived the idea of a Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work and who has toiled indefatigably and with splendid enthusiasm to make it a success.

What do we desire to do in the Conference ?

First, To make more clear the world-wide task of the Church and to face it as a whole.

Second, To consider in all frankness and penitence the defects in ourselves and our methods.

Third, To promote closer fellowship of the scattered churches of the world.

Fourth, To rise above provincialism and sectarianism, and take wide views of the Kingdom of God and of our relation to it.

Fifth, To assure the churches of continental Europe, divided and crippled by the Great War, of our brotherly interest and to counsel with them regarding the reconstruction of their shattered activities.

Sixth, To consider how the Gospel of Christ may be more effectively applied to those moral, social, industrial and international questions which are confronting every nation.

Never have these problems been so acute. The World War let loose all the primitive passions of suspicion and hatred, of greed and lust. Seven years after the armistice conditions are still unstable and men are talking of the next war. The whole structure of civilization is menaced. How shall relief come? Not by armaments, which only intensify the war spirit. Not by any merely human devices. Christ and Christ alone has shown the way.

We would therefore summon the churches in all lands to apply themselves with stronger faith, with more resolute purpose, and with more fervent prayer to the great redemptive work which Christ has laid upon His Church. No mechanical schemes for getting different churches and races to work together for the common good will succeed until a new atmosphere of fellowship and prayer is created. In such an atmosphere many present difficulties would evaporate, and many things now impossible would become easy. Because we believe this splendid purpose is worth striving for, we have journeyed far over land and sea to Stockholm for the devout consideration of these great issues.

And now that we are face to face with our task, we pray that the God of all grace may sanctify us and use us for the

upbuilding of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Our hearts have been warmed by Your Majesty's gracious words of welcome and encouragement. In our prayers for daily guidance, we shall not forget to ask that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon Your Majesty and the people of Sweden who have so kindly received us.

Representing the British Section

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

ON behalf of the delegates from the British Empire I beg to tender you our respectful thanks for the gracious words of welcome which you have addressed to us.

We represent the Free Churches, the Presbyterian Churches, and the Anglican Communion, both in Britain and in the various parts of our Empire.

We recall with peculiar pleasure and satisfaction the close link which subsists between your Royal House and ours, in Princess Margaret of ever blessed memory, and in the Crown Princess who, as we are told on all hands, has already endeared herself to the hearts of your people.

It is significant that this Conference, unique as it is in the annals of the Church, should meet in this beautiful country and in this famous city. For it is the moral beauty of civilization that we seek, and we know that it will only be attained by that strenuous work to which in this bracing land of rocks and waters and forests you are so well accustomed.

We deeply appreciate the open-handed hospitality with which you are receiving us here, a hospitality for which the Swedish people are so justly famous. But it is not merely the hospitality of house and home that we so much value.

It is that inner hospitality of heart and mind—that sympathy with our purpose—of which we are already assured.

For nowhere more than in Sweden can we find a truer appreciation of the vital problems of these days both for democracy and for the social life of the world. It is our task to face these problems, and more than that to help to set our life and work on the only basis which will endure, and thus to secure that true liberty and fraternity on which the future of the world depends.

Sir, we thank you.

Representing the European Section

DR. KAPLER

(President of the Evangelical Church Federation of Germany)

YOUR MAJESTY,

IN the name of the European Section of the World Conference on Life and Work, I beg to express to Your Majesty our deepest and most respectful gratitude.

We owe our gratitude for the gracious words of welcome with which Your Majesty was pleased to open the Conference. But we do not thank Your Majesty merely for this festive and august occasion. The Reception with which Your Majesty has honoured our Conference is for us a symbol of the high esteem with which Your Majesty and under Your Majesty's direction the Royal Family and the People of Sweden regard the World Conference. As the idea of holding it originated in this country, and as the main preparations have been made here with great wisdom and untiring devotion, so also the material conditions for the eventual success of this important and difficult work have been devised only by the incomparable self-sacrifice and generous hospitality of the Swedish people. We are constrained to express with all respect and with great joy

our sincerest thanks to Your Majesty as the highest Representative of Sweden.

At the opening of the Conference we feel that we are taking part in a movement of the greatest significance for the history of the Church. Since the days of the Council of Nicea, the 1600th anniversary of which Christendom is celebrating this year, no ecumenical Christian Conference of this magnitude has taken place. We make no comparison. Every epoch has its own problems. If at Nicea the Fathers strove to obtain a clear and definite conception of the Christian Faith, to-day we aim at estimating this faith in the terms of those vast problems which are presented by the social life of men and by the social life of nations. We do not want our Christian faith to remain as a venerable relic in a shrine, which is only opened on solemn occasions. Our desire is that it should exert an influence on the social life of men and nations, so that the distress, which through the Great War and its aftermath, has grown to such enormous dimensions may be subject to the light and to the healing power of the spirit of Jesus Christ.

We are fully conscious of the immense difficulties of our task. We certainly do not forget the numerous and the far-reaching differences in the interpretation of the Christian faith which characterize the various churches. Respect for one another's differences provides a starting-point for sympathetic understanding and for co-operative effort in the work of the Conference. But we are confident—and the number of churches from all countries represented here confirms this—that what the churches share in common is large enough for us to join hands in the common service of their Lord and Master and to fulfil the tasks which the Conference has set itself to perform. But even if we leave out confessional differences, there are immense difficulties

in the way of realizing the high ideals of the Conference. It seems as if the perverseness of the world and the hard-heartedness of the natural man, together with the social hindrances and national antagonisms which have their roots in these, form insuperable obstacles to our work. We must and we will face these difficulties, keeping before us the words of the Apostle: 'Let us watch and be sober.' The word 'watch,' however, implies the command that we should be *active*. In spite of all difficulties we are to look to God and, strengthened by our faith, to recognize and carry out our duty with all our hearts. Indeed, what else can our duty be than to fulfil the Will of God, as it has been revealed to us through and in Jesus Christ? We do not know what the results of our efforts will be. As Christians we do not need to know this. But with humility and good hope we will leave the results to Him, in whose name and in whose service we are gathered together here.

The work of our Conference concerns the whole world; for the real source and cause of all human distress is the same everywhere—mankind's estrangement from God. But natural and historical conditions, especially the terrible war and its aftermath, have had the effect that in our time at least the European Continent is the most difficult and yet at the same time the most needy sphere for the kind of service which this Conference is out to perform. And so the Christian Churches of Europe have a special reason to pray for the Conference and to thank those who have made it possible.

We pray God may graciously acknowledge the work, which we in our weakness are commencing, and that He may out of the fullness of His grace bless Your Majesty, the Royal Family, the Church and the whole Swedish nation.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (5–7 P.M.)

FIRST MAIN SUBJECT

I. THE PURPOSE OF GOD FOR HUMANITY AND THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH

M. LE PASTEUR WILFRED MONOD

(Professor of Practical Theology at the Free Faculty of Theology, Paris)

'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ; wherein he hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence, having made known to us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself: that in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth.'

BELOVED and honoured brethren in the faith, at the beginning of an assembly which will mark a date in the annals of Christianity, this declaration of St. Paul expresses the divine aim proposed for the children of the Lord on earth. It is neither Roman, nor Orthodox, nor Protestant; it is Evangelic; it rises above and beyond all ecclesiastical denominations. These inspired words lit a flaming pillar in the night where the human race was seeking its way, and this light still marches before us; it draws us towards wondrous horizons; it permits us to declare that the history of the universe has a meaning, a moral value, and a spiritual import.

To be true to the revelation of the Bible, it is not enough to state that individual souls are called to salvation; we must contemplate in all its extent, in its cosmic frame, the plan of a collective redemption; the pathetic ascension of mankind (mounting or remounting towards the light) should

appear to us as the realization of a programme desired by the Holy Spirit. We must now look to the achievement of creation and attain the humanizing of humanity, the formation on earth of a family in which the Son of Man will be 'the first born among countless brothers' formed in His image; because He is the Head of the body of the Church, and it is by Him and in Him that 'all things, both in heaven and in earth,' should be, finally, 'gathered together.'

'Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.'

An Avowal

Why are hundreds of delegates, officially appointed by the Churches of the whole world (except by the Church of Rome) assembled at Stockholm?

Because Christendom has barely awakened from a terrible nightmare which has left it troubled, weakened, and bitterly humiliated; because the 'Great War' has reduced and diminished it in its own eyes; because it has been 'thrust down to Hell' like Capernaum.

Evidently our presence here, in this solemn hour, proves that we are the zealous servants of the ideal of the Sermon on the Mount, won over to the 'righteousness' which should 'exceed that of the Pharisees'; in vocation and in obedience we are the resolute champions of peace. And yet, if our Master rose up in this assembly, if He looked us in the eyes, and if He, the Judge, pronounced an infallible judgment, would He speak in these words: 'Behold the pure who, like the seven thousand in Israel, have not bowed the knee unto Baal'? Alas! during the bloody battle we were more like Naaman, captain of the host, a convert

of the true God, who yet openly practised heathen rites in the temple of Rimmon.

As disciples of Jesus Christ we cannot, we should not, escape from feeling acutely a collective humiliation. 'For there is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all in all.'

Whether or not one distinguishes between aggressive and defensive war, between conquest and crusade, whether one considers war as a crime, an absurdity, a calamity, or as a fearful moral obligation in certain given circumstances—war is always, in any case, a greater or lesser evil; it is never the Good. This shines on the holy countenance of the Son of Man, not on the murderous face of the Gorgon. An Ecumenical Conference of the Christian world is, in advance, unanimous in this regard. The attitude we all hold is that of Zinzendorf before the famous painting which rent his soul, when he read, under the figure of Christ crucified, this haunting question: 'Behold what I have done for thee, what hast thou done for me?'

Oh, Holy Victim, ask rather of contemporary Christianity what it has committed against Thee! It has lacerated the coat without seams; it has crucified anew the Son of God; and we have blocked our ears to keep from hearing the utterance of the Last Judgment: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.'

In the Coliseum of the world, crowded with ironical or bewildered pagans, millions of baptized and communicants have pitilessly torn each other to death, as in a combat of blind gladiators in the circus of Nero. The thunder of divine reprobation, recorded by Isaiah, rolls to-day in a stormy sky: 'Yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear; for your hands are full of blood.' . . . *Kyrie eleison*!

A Resolution

When St. Peter had three times denied his Master, he wept, repented and was received back into grace; the Risen Christ re-established the renegade in his office, by commanding him to feed the sheep of the sovereign Shepherd. In the same way, Christianity will be conscious of its forgiveness in the measure in which it is able to protect the flock against the wolf. Oh! that it may cast itself between the rising generation and menacing warfare, that murderous war whose eyes are flaming in the twilight of our civilization.

Even if disillusionment, fright and despair should come upon the world like a rushing tide, the duty of the Church of Jesus Christ is to proclaim its faith and to sound the hymn of salvation. For, after all, Christians taken singly have not the feeling of having denied the Master expressly and deliberately; they have rather the impression of having been drawn by immense political and social turmoils, in a direction where their own inner spirit would never have led them. And yet, far from abandoning themselves to the idea that the disciples of the Saviour were the plaything of an inflexible Fate, they discover heroically, even in the excess of their disgrace, a supreme reason for raising their heads and for prophesying the coming of the Son of Man.

Why? Let us re-read the Gospel. Around the Messiah, lunatics raged and demoniacal blasphemers laughed scornfully; a true mobilization of the powers of darkness at the approach of the 'Prince of Peace'; but this explosion of rage was only an avowal of weakness; the forces of Satan trembled for their empire. May not the world war also be a diabolical explosion provoked by the progress of the ideal of the Messiah in the earth? The Spirit of God, in and outside the Church, was inspiring more and more in

thinking and praying people the vision of a unified humanity ; the scientific International, the labour International, the moral and spiritual International, were opening before the twentieth century magnificent perspectives of brotherly accord and of productive collaboration between peoples. The World's Student Christian Federation was proclaiming its decision to evangelize the world in a single generation. In 1910 the Missionary Conference at Edinburgh renewed, in its own way, the miracle of Pentecost, and divided the globe between the heralds of the Glad Tidings. The commentators and theologians had rediscovered by gigantic labour the idea of the Kingdom of God, buried, like Pompeii, under the ashes of secular error. The Kingdom of God : ' Thy Kingdom come ! ' The Kingdom of God, supreme goal to which all the Churches and all the nations should remain subordinate as mere *means*. The dawn of a new era was awakening. Moral and social questions were gaining on ecclesiastical problems, and on questions of dogma or ritual. The Lord's prayer, overflowing the banks of religion, would pour itself over all life to enrich it. Even the axis of a certain traditional Christianity ran the risk of being suddenly overturned.

Then the demon who is called ' Legion ' (a martial title) cast himself, raging, against the banner of the Future. The echoes of his cries still resound. But the lunatic will be exorcised by the Son of Man ; and we are here, all of us, bound to signify to him his doom.

Where then shall we find the necessary audacity for such a proclamation ? In the essential fact that we are unyieldingly determined to change the methods which led us to the catastrophe. I repeat and I insist that, when the world war broke out, individual Christians had the tragic feeling that Christianity, as such, lacked the organ indispensable for affirming collectively its common ideal. All

parties spread their colours, but the universal Church, which has however but one standard, did not succeed in raising it triumphant, above the other banners. And yet Christ had prophesied, in speaking of the emblems of the Church : ' And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.'

How many times, seemingly, events turned out to disprove most tragically the prophecy of the Liberator ! But it could not suppress by magic the essential drama of the Redemption in the economic, political, social or ecclesiastical domain, nor the painful effort of the Spirit to mould an obstinate reality, nor the slow, maternal task of Love which wishes to save ! Perpetually is the impious crime repeated : ' He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.'

However this may be, the fact remains that Christianity as a whole, when the fatal bolt set Europe on fire, showed itself incapable of throwing out the call to a waiting world, or of accomplishing that symbolic act, that gesture of protest which at least would have liberated millions and millions of souls.

It is a fact that the governments before the fatal year 1914 feared the concerted manifestations of organized Socialism in case of war ; but they had not the slightest fear for the opinion of the Churches. Christianity, to them, was not a concrete reality, but a mass of impotent individualities and a chaos of rival denominations. In brief, so far as war was concerned, the states felt themselves free to act, without taking into account any possible opposition on the part of the Churches.

The Churches have had enough of this. They do not wish to be treated any longer, so far as the collective life of nations and the destinies of mankind are concerned, as a negligible quantity. Aided by divine inspiration, they

have therefore resolved to re-unite in a momentous session the three great sections of universal and universalist Christianity, Roman ' Catholicity,' Greek ' Catholicity,' and Protestant ' Catholicity.' Unfortunately the Papal Church has declined to join ; it is therefore not represented at all effectively in the present assembly ; but we are persuaded that it is with us in spirit. In refusing the invitation to partake, it has remained loyal to the unyielding attitude imposed upon it by its dogmatic postulates ; but it has not condemned the sacred goal towards which we are striving with the most deliberate fervour ; this goal is consistent with the millennary dream of Roman Catholicism, under the spell of the vision illuminating the sacerdotal prayer : ' One flock, one shepherd.'

In reality, if we look beneath the surface, all the Churches of the world are spiritually gathered here, with heavy hearts at the thought of our individual unworthiness, but elated at the thought of the superhuman task entrusted to our Congress, I was about to say to our Council. In spite of the reefs which lie across our way, a glorious faith animates our hearts. All unknown to the world which does not recognize us, our bark ' bears Caesar and his fortune,' that is to say, Jesus, the Messiah, predestined leader of mankind, for ' He must reign ' : Δεῖ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν.

Such is the motive-force which draws Christianity towards untrodden shores. The very fact that we are assembled together signifies, not only noble aspirations, but actual realization, a real success ; for such a gathering of the representatives of the universal Church is something quite different from a well-prepared meeting in a place chosen for its geographical position. Our assembly is not only an assembly of isolated individuals, a simple gathering together of persons sitting side by side. At this moment one of the mysteries which characterize most exactly the

life of the Spirit in the heart of humanity is being accomplished, a mystery which already finds its evangelic expression in the aphorism of our common Master : ' For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' It is the religious interpretation of a law which psychologists have formulated in other terms : when men are gathered together in obedience to an ideal, their energies do not simply become added together, but they are combined and increased one by the other, they become radio-active and fertile, they create. Just as in barren country one may establish suddenly, through a telephone station, a sort of nervous centre, an artificial brain to serve as an organ of thought—in the same way, by a concentration of inspired souls, capable of prayer, an immeasurable force is set free, undreamed-of potentialities enter into action, a corporate personality manifests itself. Then, in this atmosphere of living energy, words cease to be speeches, they become the creative and redeeming Word, that of the Book of Genesis, and of the prologue of the Gospel according to St. John.

This experience of revelation is granted to us now. Scarcely are we now met together in the same spirit of humility and in the same spirit of faith that the divine promises are already being accomplished for our good. We were overcome by repentance, and suddenly a supernatural joy runs through our veins, and our passionate confession is expressed in the immortal Credo : ' Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee.'

But let us take care : so soon after the world war, every creed sounds like a resolution, or a programme.

Assuredly, honoured and beloved brothers, we will not forget that the promoters of the present Conference placed milestones wisely along the practical course from which it should not deviate ; leaving aside all questions of dogma,

of ritual, and of purely ecclesiastical objects, it will concentrate its attention on the field of *Life* and *Work*. But Christian life and work have their source in our religious communion with Jesus Christ, just as the rays of gold, in primitive painting, flow from the wounds of Christ crucified. Since we are imperatively called by the Holy Spirit to establish the programme devolving upon the Church after the war, this programme must be derived from our Credo. Henceforth more than ever before, this should then be directed towards practical aims : ' He has given His life for us ; in turn, we should give our life to our brothers.'

To obtain this weighty result, there is no need to revise our Creeds and our Symbols. Christianity will never cease to contemplate in adoration ' the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.' But it should regard with increasing understanding the magnitude and the severity of the struggle for the extermination of iniquity. Let, therefore, Christendom meditate at the foot of the Cross upon the prayer taught us by the Saviour, the prayer which cements the different parts of the Christian Church, the prayer which could even unite all the followers of all religions, all those who pray sincerely in the whole world, a prayer which contains not one single formula of Christian theology, but blossoms in its fullness on the religious and social plane of evangelic Messianic faith.

Christianity is prepared to-day to find in the Lord's Prayer (which is the ecumenical chart, *par excellence*, of the Church) the essential doctrine of the Bible, that of the Kingdom of God. This doctrine, interpreted in the light of Israelite prophecy, combines a Creed and a Programme. The Creed could be thus expressed : *The Spirit is the supreme reality*. The Programme could be formulated as follows : *The Spirit wishes to become incarnate*, or, even, in more scientific language : *The law of the Spirit on earth*

is incarnation. This law is the screen lit every year by the millions of candles of Christmas trees, and on which the governing words of Christianity stand out, ' Emmanuel, or God with us.'

What does this revealing statement signify? That Christianity is, before all, a life, a way of being, an orientation; that it is moral conversion and spiritual regeneration by the redeeming Spirit. This life opens out towards Heaven and towards earth. Towards Heaven, inasmuch as it is already the ' life eternal.' Towards earth, for it inspires in those who possess it the resolution to break down all obstacles in the way of its complete manifestation on earth. ' Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.'

In the Lord's Prayer, the request, ' Our Father! ' corresponds to the Creed; the demand, ' Our Bread! ' corresponds to the Programme. But how much this has been neglected by the Churches! It is permissible to observe that actual ' Christianity ' possesses a Messiah without a Messianic theory (without Programme); while actual ' Socialism ' possesses a Messianic theory without a Messiah (without Creed).

This being the case, the Church of Jesus Christ will ultimately exercise an effective influence upon the course of the world's affairs, when it pushes up to the goal of its sublime and daring mission: to effect a synthesis of the Creed and the Programme.

Brothers, we are met together to encourage each other to undertake, unhesitatingly, the redeeming task which the Eternal wishes to entrust to us.

The Burning Bush burns before us, without being consumed, a mystery; and from the heart of the flames we hear, as Moses did, the double call sound, the call of indignation and pity which transformed the solitary shepherd into

the liberator of an oppressed people. Yes, 'Our God is also a consuming fire,' for 'God is Love.'

The Biblical epic cries out in every line that the salvation of humanity is in the hands of humanity itself: such is the practical aspect of the pathetic law of the Incarnation. Men, without the Spirit which purifies and inspires them, are but the branches cut off from the Vine; but the Spirit, without the men who serve as its voluntary organs, is a vine deprived of branches, unable to bear fruit on the earth. We are then gathered together to learn to say with one mind, with complete intelligence and in perfect consecration: 'Our Father!' and 'Our Bread!' A double request, in which echoes the very voice of humanity, symbolically represented by this Ecumenical Congress of the Church.

Oh! do not be afraid of over-estimating the importance of our impressive opening act. In the first place, the true Evangelic prayer does not find adequate expression in the mere request to '*My* Father!' but rather to '*Our* Father!' In the second place, the true Christian prayer cannot be satisfied by the individualistic request, '*My* Bread!' It says rather, '*Our* Bread!'

Henceforth, in the intense light cast by the Burning Bush, as by a furnace, the new tasks of the Church take on surprisingly sharp outlines. For we clearly recognize (whether we will or no and even with trembling) that if the actual Church brings to the world the message of Peace, it must show sufficient and clear fearlessness to expose the hidden root of war. Otherwise it will be following after those false prophets who proclaimed: 'Peace! Peace!' and there was no peace.

The Church has, most certainly, arrived at the parting of the ways: one leading to a definite collapse of our civilization; the other, to the Gospel of the Kingdom of God.

Before 'building the tower,' let us sit down and count the cost. Shall we have the courage to go the full length of the revelations of the Holy Spirit, that Spirit who extorted from Jesus the violent cry of divine impatience: 'I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled!' To pray, saying 'Our Father!' sincerely, surely leads us with unyielding logic, towards the reform of a certain traditional idea of the 'Fatherland'? This gentle word is derived from the word for 'father' (*Pater*), and implies the reality of a great family of brothers, covering all humanity. The patriotism implied in the 'Our Father' is not nationalistic, but national; it is not imperialistic, but large-hearted; it is not directed against the brothers, but towards the Father.

And, again, to pray saying 'Our Bread' sincerely, does that not inevitably lead us to reform a certain traditional idea of 'ownership'? As ownership is a guarantee of individual liberty and the means of personal development, the disciples of Jesus Christ should, consequently, extend these benefits to all the sons of the Father. Whoever, praying '*Our* Bread!'—eats to satisfy his hunger, must feel that his prayer is unanswered, as long as all his brothers are not satisfied. He must then accept the following ideal in all that concerns his economic privileges: 'The Son of Man must increase, but I must decrease.' Then follows the conclusion that, from the Christian point of view, the supreme aim of social activity is not selfish profit, but the collective good. Since the dying Saviour bequeathed to us, as a spiritual heritage, this eleventh commandment: 'Love one another, as I have loved you,' it is plain that the normal basis of a brotherly society will be the co-operation of hearts and wills, not the anarchical struggle for existence in the chaos of unlimited competition—veritable civil war, the generator of all foreign war.

At this very instant, in all our big cities, miserable children, the innocent victims of our social system, are lacking necessaries. Weigh this word! Their bodies, minds, hearts, and souls are lacking the necessaries of life. Oh! Christianity cannot serve at the same time God and Moloch!

Such, honoured brothers, are some of the moral implications to be deduced from the Lord's Prayer, which is at once our Confession of faith and our Decalogue, the solemn and radiant symbol of the blossoming of the Creed into a Programme. These elementary aphorisms express our common convictions, forged on the anvil of the 'great tribulation' of the world. We enter upon our duties proclaiming the universal ideal which St. Paul raised for ever before the Church: 'And He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers . . . for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God. . . . speaking the truth in love, we may grow up into Him in all things which is the head.'

Such are the fundamental principles, the unshakable bases of our deliberations. '*Truth* in *Love*!' Let us salute the very title of our pan-Christian Congress convoked in the cause of *Life* (truth) and of *Work* (love)!

And how will our holy resolves be brought to the knowledge of the people? It is evident that it is our duty to enter into contact with the guiding forces of public opinion from pole to pole.

An Appeal

Among the 'Powers' which rule the world, the most irresistible to-day is public opinion. The Christian Church, in the future as in the past, must use all the moral and

religious forces contained in the Catechism, the School and the Pulpit ; but it must also, in the future much more than in the past, have recourse to the ' loud speaker ' of the Press. The primitive Church gave out into general circulation several small pamphlets throughout the empire of the Caesars, first the Epistles, then the Gospels. Let us learn from such a renowned example. Christianity must either resign itself to being ejected from the social and political domain by the powers of money, falsehood, and license, by the pagan deities, Venus, Bacchus, Mars, Mercury, and Mammon—or it must refuse any longer to be defamed, and entangled, by the hypocritical leaders and by the secret controllers of a Press sold to the highest bidder. Certainly an honest and courageous Press exists. But we know that the hidden chieftains of a financial feudalism buy papers by tens and hundreds, and direct them against the Evangelic ideal with as much assurance as firemen turning their battery of hoses against the seat of a fire. Henceforth, if the delegates of the Universal Church really understand the ' signs of the times,' why should they not organize, thoroughly and at any price, a bureau of impartial information capable of furnishing for the opinion of the world news both sincere and exact ? Thus Christianity would foil systematically the infernal manœuvres of the criminals who work secretly to spread alcoholism or dissipation, civil or international wars, and the seeds of fatal materialism.

And this organization, however prosaic in appearance, would constitute the most urgent and the most modern form of a moral and social evangelization answering the most crying needs of our unhappy generation. In that way, we would suddenly give to the world the impression that the Master is not still asleep during the tempest but that He is awake to rule the winds and the waves. We

would communicate to mankind the blessed thought that the affairs of this planet are being watched, in the name of Jesus, by men of God, the 'overseers' or the 'bishops' of the globe, delegated by the Ecumenical Church to serve faithfully the interests of the Kingdom of God on earth. For the heroic attempt to speak and spread the truth on earth would be supported by an active body, a directing Council, the instrument of a religious Federation of all the Churches, representing officially and authoritatively the whole of Christianity.

From now on, our voice is strong enough to address a unanimous appeal to the leaders of the great Internationals.

First, in communion with Chrysostom and Origen, with Pascal and Saint Francis of Assisi, with Luther and Livingstone, let us turn towards our absent brothers, the Roman Catholics, whose place among us has remained actually empty, but whose spiritual presence we have felt. Let us declare that their waiting attitude grieves us, and their definite secession would be in danger of weakening the testimony of faith and love which is demanded of Universal Christianity in the anguish of the present hour, for the salvation of the world. Romanism has been the champion in the past of the 'catholic' and the universalist ideal; may it remain loyal, in the future, to the glorious hopes that are the undying fame of its greatest leaders.

Let us turn as well towards the promoters of the noble International of thought, towards the scholars, philosophers, professors, intellectual trainers of mankind, heirs of those proud martyrs of independent thought who in the past laid the foundations of modern science. Let us reassure them as to our intentions, that they may not fear an offensive return to doctrinal tyranny. At the very time when the twentieth century Christianity is organizing itself to 'live' and to 'work,' it will not for a moment dream

of raising any sort of barrier on the road of unlimited research, for the Gospel does not contain a single word that defies reason or knowledge. The Church of Jesus Christ is, on the contrary, unanimous in affirming that if the methods of reaching a valid conclusion vary according to the different kinds of certitude, still one and the same spirit should dominate the kingdom of knowledge, the spirit of humble submission to proved facts, and of loyal consecration to the Truth which alone can reveal and deliver.

Let us turn too towards the Labour International, formed in the interests of those anonymous masses to which Jesus the carpenter belonged. How often the perfect Shepherd cried: 'I have compassion on them as sheep having no shepherd!' O that Christianity may find in its heart, in the presence of the 'multitudes who fainted and were scattered abroad,' utterance worthy of its Master! May it dare to proclaim, like the Messiah: 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity!' But may it, on the other hand, dare to remind the leaders of the Labour International that they are in the grip of a terrible misunderstanding, when they drive away the crowds from the Son of Man; when they ally with the power of money Him who was crucified by the rulers of Jerusalem; when, with tragic inconsistency, they repel, in the name of the 'City of the Future,' the herald of the 'Kingdom of God.' May they cease to confound the eternal Gospel with the Church which, to-day, like St. John the Baptist, desires only to be a united voice of testimony to the Saviour.

Let us turn towards the League of Nations, that marvellous institution, which incarnates the only new idea issuing from the world war. It is still weak like the child of Bethlehem in the manger; and like Him, it is menaced by the paid murderers of Herod. But it is destined, in its turn, to unfurl, like the Messiah, a banner which will unite

all the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, colour or religion. Let us salute its appearance. Let us encourage its unassuming and prudent beginnings. Let us, the predestined militia of the Peacemaker, promise to support it at all costs, to intercede in its favour in our private and public prayers, and to breathe into it a soul.

Finally, let us turn towards the Governments. Without descending into the arena of political parties, the Christian Church should declare itself the interpreter and the unconquerable prophet of the moral Law on earth, which applies to national groups as well as to individual consciences. Fortified by an unshakable conviction, let us inform the heads of States, let us notify Governments, that henceforth, every time that the shadow of an imminent conflict between baptized people darkens the sky, immediately the whole of Christendom will solemnly and unanimously raise its voice to proclaim the Gospel of God, to recall to the world the law of Christ, and to declare that war, without a previous and sincere attempt at arbitration, is the crime of crimes.

Like the humble monk, standing before the Emperor Charles V, the Church will cry out with its hand upon the Bible: 'Here I stand, I can do no other. God help me. Amen!'

Conclusion

Well-beloved and reverend brothers, our assembly is called together to move mountains by faith, even if they are white with the eternal snows.

Without doubt, the present period equals in importance the period of the Apostles and of the Reformers.

May the contemporary Church, repentant and purified, and resolved to suffer in order to save, organize a crusade against misery and war; may a new St. Francis inspire,

everywhere in Christendom, missionaries of a laical Third Order, charged with preaching a moral, social, and spiritual Gospel, which alone is able to keep off the horrible spectacle of another world catastrophe. From Stockholm let us send out messengers two by two, in imitation of the first disciples, through villages and towns, to announce like the prophet of old: 'Forty days more, and Nineveh will be destroyed! Without national and international repentance, our civilization will perish!'

'One Lord, one faith, one baptism'—such is our watch-word; and by this sign we will conquer.

One Lord—Jesus, the Messiah, who has suffered, who lives, and who will reign.

One faith—that which is the unifying force, 'which worketh by love.'

One baptism . . . 'There is one baptism, the baptism of the Spirit, the baptism of redeeming sufferance, with which we must be baptized. And what anguish seizes us, waiting for the consummation!' AMEN.

HIS MAGNIFICENCE THE BISHOP OF SAXONY

(The Rt. Rev. Ludwig Ihmels, D.D.)

THE subjects of discussion that will engage our attention during this Conference presuppose a clear understanding as to the task of the Church in view of God's purposes for the world. We shall be all the more likely to agree as to what these purposes are, if we take our stand on the evidence of Holy Scripture, which we all acknowledge as the sole rule and standard of faith and life. So that in all I have to say I shall endeavour to keep closely to the language of the Bible.

I

(1) I commence then with a text which might well be described as the Bible in miniature, and which, if all the rest was lost, would show us the way to blessedness : ' For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life ' (St. John iii. 16). Three things call for notice in these words. Firstly, when the Scriptures speak of God's purposes for the world they refer chiefly to mankind. All that we have to say therefore about the world in the Scriptural sense must keep God's purposes in view in relation to the world of mankind. Secondly, mankind, according to the Scriptures, is a sinful and lost mankind, which has been doomed to eternal death on account of its sins by the judgment of God. We can only understand God's loving purposes for the world, when we have ourselves reached the painful confession which Luther desired to bring home to the Church in his second Article : ' I am a lost and condemned man.' Thirdly, we learn from these words that God's loving purposes, though designed for all mankind, can only be realized by those who assent to them believingly or who feel themselves impelled to a trustful acceptance of them. Those who have this faith form the community of the redeemed.

(2) It is to St. Paul, however, that we must turn for an amplification of this witness of Jesus to Himself. In the mind of the Apostle all the purposes of God for mankind are embraced in the words : ' This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners ' (1 Tim. i. 15). The Cross stands on Golgotha in the midst of human history as the symbol of reconciliation. ' He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all ' (Rom. viii. 32). ' For He hath

made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin ; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him ' (2 Cor. v. 32). ' In whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace ' (Eph. i. 7).

(3) We should do well, in view of the aims of this Conference, to group these sayings of St. Paul's round the witness of Jesus to Himself in the Synoptic gospels. Jesus aimed at one thing that He might set up the Kingdom of God among men. This was the purpose of His whole life and work among the troubled and the burdened, among the lost and the sinful. This, according to the Synoptic gospels, was the purpose of His death. Both His life and His death were *one* service for the redemption of mankind. He went to His death with the consciousness that, through it, a new covenant would be made which would rest entirely on the forgiveness of sins. His last words were, ' It is finished,' and the resurrection was God's ' Amen ' to this victorious cry of His Son. Through the death and resurrection of Jesus, the Kingdom of God has been actually established among men. But it is through the Spirit of God that this Kingdom becomes actual in human history, because He dwells in the hearts of men.

(4) The Kingdom of God, however, means the Kingship of God. It is not an Ethical Society, formed as an association of men and women and extending its influence by merely human means. In its essential nature it is simply God's kingship over the hearts of men, which subdues them to itself, unites them with God and then also unites them with each other.

(5) The Kingdom of God comes necessarily into relations with the natural and social order amid which those are living who submit to the Divine Sovereignty. Further, these conditions are God's conditions in the same sense as

the created world is God's world. Nevertheless the Kingdom of God, from the fact that it originates in the purpose of redemption, is something quite different from the natural and social order by which it is surrounded. It is not a world that has been elevated by moral education, but a world which is an absolutely new creation. The Kingdom of God is in contrast with the order of the world only in so far as the latter is under the influence of sin. In other respects it acknowledges the right of the natural order to its own laws, but would leaven it with the spirit of Christ. At the same time it must be made clear that it is the fellowship within this order that is capable of being sanctified and enriched by the Kingdom of God.

(6) The leavening of the natural life with the spirit of the Kingdom of God in this age must remain incomplete alike for each and for all on account of sin. It is nothing but self-deception to suppose that the Kingdom of God will reach its perfect development in this age. Nay, just as the individual Christian, even though he has the first fruits of the spirit, must long for the promised adoption and redemption, so the whole creation must await with us for the revelation of the glory of God in the day of Jesus Christ. As the Kingdom of God only enters into the world and into each human life as an entirely new creation, so will it only be completed by our Lord's Second Coming. The society that Jesus founded must never forget that the whole testimony of revelation concludes with the words, 'Behold I come quickly.' All the labours of Christ's people certainly have a decisive influence in bringing about that coming, though we can never know when it will be. Our work and our prayers, our expectations and our zeal in service are in reality but a confirmation of that entreaty, 'Even so, come, Lord Jesus.'

II

(7) Thus we learn from Holy Scripture, that the Church has only one task, which is to bear witness to Him who was and is and is to come. In Christ the Kingdom of God has become a reality in the world ; in Him it is built up, in Him it is made complete. Nothing could be more mistaken or more disastrous than to suppose that we mortal men have to build up God's kingdom in the world. We must be careful how we express this. We can do nothing, we have nothing, we are nothing. Even if the Lord calls us to be His instruments and sanctifies us by His Spirit, this can only mean that He will give us grace to manifest Him in the congregation by word and sacrament, that He may bring our hearts into subjection to Himself and constrain us to the obedience of faith. But we can only be His instruments if we have the conviction that our God so administers His government of the world as to bring men individually and collectively to Jesus Christ. We may believe this even of the present troubled age in which we are living. In fact this assembly even in its incompleteness is a reminder that God is working amid the confusion and distress that surrounds us to gather together His scattered children under the Cross of Him who died to make them one. We do not indeed know ' the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power ' (Acts i. 7), and we do not desire to know them ; but we desire to be Christ's witnesses with the assurance that the coming of the Lord draweth near and that He looks for a Church that awaits Him.

(8) From what we have already said two points emerge. First, all Christian witness, whether in public or in private, whether by the clergy or by the laity, must be christocentric. As St. Paul said, ' We preach not ourselves but Christ Jesus the Lord.' All preaching must of course be theocentric,

but it can only be truly theocentric when it is christocentric. For our Lord said, ' No man cometh to the Father, but by Me ' (St. John xiv. 6). The second point is that the aim of all our witness for Christ must be to arouse personal faith. For when God offers Himself to us for fellowship in the Church's preaching of Christ, then He deems one thing of supreme importance, that men should learn to believe in this gracious offer. Put in another way, if the disturbed conscience turns to the grace of God, then only one thing can be said : ' Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, and thy house ' (Acts xvi. 31). A community of faithful people is what God desires, and all the work of the Church must be directed to this end.

(9) At the same time the Church cannot possibly ignore the fact that the call to fellowship with God comes to people in a certain definite social situation. Therefore St. Paul said to the Church at Corinth : ' Let everyone abide in the same calling wherein he was called ' (1 Cor. vii. 20). The Church must accordingly urge upon its members the importance of living their lives and preserving their faith in God within the natural and social order to which they belong. In so far as those who share the same conditions are also fellow-Christians, their common life must necessarily be influenced by or permeated with the Spirit in which they are one. Hence arises the obligation on the Church to develop social ethics. The real difficulty in this connection is that, leaving out of account marriage and the life of the family, which still show signs of Christian influence, those who belong to a particular social organization are never all personally Christians. It behoves the Church to be ever on her guard against forcing Christian ordinances on those who stand outside her pale. At the same time she must realize her duty to provide ordinances as shall be ' school-masters to bring us to Christ ' and to help those who are

beginners in the Christian life to keep their faith alive. These should be the guiding considerations regarding the Church's attitude to social questions in the narrower sense of the word. We agree that the Church should give a lead in the application of Christian principles to industrial life. At the same time we urge that she should be careful to avoid all interference with the technical details.

(10) Amid all such work the Church must never for one moment deny that Christianity is religion and nothing but religion. The Church can exercise the right kind of influence upon moral conduct and further the ends of a Christian social order only when she helps those who have believing fellowship with God through Christ to exhibit this fellowship in the whole range of moral life. It ought not even remotely to appear as if the moral life were a thing apart and that the religious life was so to speak added to it. Faith is put to the proof in actual life, and fellowship with God must influence the entire range of moral experience. Therefore the Church cannot possibly accept the secularization of specifically Christian ideas, as though these could remain the same after they have been uprooted from the ground of personal faith. Doubtless the Church should joyfully recognize it as one of the fruits of her labours that ideas which are Christian in origin are held in public life by those who have little or no Christian experience. But she must make no mistake that all true Christian life, whether in the individual or in society, can only spring from faith. This is the reason why the transformation of society by Christianity can only be achieved by the conversion of the individuals who constitute society.

(11) We gather therefore from the previous paragraph that all the Church's efforts should be directed to arousing personal faith. Such faith can only remain vigorous and healthy when it continues in conscious connection with the

Christian community which gave it birth. The community of those who possess this faith is the final goal. In conclusion let me repeat, all the work of the Church must spring from faith in Him who was and is and is to come.

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(Ohio, U.S.A.)

The boldest spirit must face the task confronting him on this platform with something akin to consternation. Who is sufficient either for the solemn and sonorous trumpet-call of this tremendous theme, or for the vast and varied company of God's people who must find a voice in the utterance of this hour? Our subject has no human limitations. Here we drink from a cup which, like that of Thor, has the capacity of the illimitable sea; and I must approach it as representing a constituency so colossal in size and so complex in its problems and tendencies as to render futile all attempts at accurate analysis or formulation.

The Protestant Churches of America enrol nearly thirty million men, women, and children as actual members. Reckoning numbers as the Roman Church computes them, that is to say, including all baptized and adhering constituencies, this would mean a Protestant population of nearly sixty-five millions. Ministering to these there is an army of nearly two hundred thousand ordained clergymen. This vast company worships in more than two hundred and twenty thousand buildings which represent an aggregate cost of five billions of dollars. These men and women, divided into many denominations and societies, yet love and worship one Lord, read one Bible, aspire toward a common group of Christian virtues, and sit at a communion table where the same elements are used. They contribute

annually four hundred and fifty millions of dollars for religious purposes. Of this amount, forty millions are expended in the extension of religion throughout the frontiers and among the varied unchurched peoples and submerged races which make up what, for want of a better name, is known as our ' home mission ' service. Thirty-nine millions are annually expended in the promotion of religion across the seas, in what we are still prone to call ' foreign mission ' service.

This vast body of Christians in America is divided into some one hundred and fifty odd denominations, and if we should apply Kant's test, I fear it could not be said that these one hundred and fifty parts of the great body were mutually reciprocating means and ends. Instead of mutual reciprocation, there is often hurtful competition and suicidal overlapping. Not yet has our spirit of unity begun to approach that great ideal which lay embedded in the heart of Christ's intercessory prayer, a unity so manifest that the world might see it. We have not even learned as yet to pray together and to argue apart. And because we have not learned this, various Churches in America are riven in twain by certain theological discussions. These discussions relate not to the vivid and challenging tasks of the present, but rather to theories of the very distant past and the very distant future, to questions as to the method by which the world history began and by which it is to end, to disputes as to the method by which man had his entrance on the stage of history and the method by which he is to make his exit. And all the while the din and clamour of the ominous present falls upon unheeding ears. The Church in America is halting and uncertain sometimes in her message concerning industrial rights and wrongs. She is not yet clear-minded as to the modern music which should be adapted to the cradle song

of Bethlehem, nor as to how we shall manage to sing that chorus amid the resounding noise of the world's munition factories.

We have our tabernacle evangelistic campaigns set to jazz music. We have multiplying groups of Bible-training schools which seek no adequate intellectual preparation for their students. We have vast rallies of young people, great religious canvasses in large cities, much machinery without adequate power for its operation, and sometimes, alas, we have our evolution trials. Casual observation of all this complex religious activity would impel one to throw up hands of perplexity, if not of despair, and to echo the negation of Ahimaaz, 'I saw a great tumult but I knew not what it was.'

If a student of American church life is impelled sometimes to laugh and sometimes to weep, in the end there will come to him a real spirit of reverence and gratitude to Almighty God as he honestly tried to understand this strange spectacle. Let me try for a moment to evaluate for you from the American point of view the measure of our realized responsibility in view of God's purpose for His world. There will be lights and shadows in this picture, but has not God's purpose been working out through a succession of lights and shadows ever since time began?

Among many solid and fine phases of American church life are those systematic efforts which look toward the development of Christian life among the membership of the churches. Stated meetings for prayer have not disappeared. It is true that some churches seem to honour this custom in the breach rather than in the observance, but when one considers the complex organization of the modern Church and the many groups which meet in various places and on many occasions it is perhaps true that more of the Lord's children are coming together for social prayer

than in any previous period of the Church's history. Very vast and impressive are the agencies both for impressional and expressional development of the average Christian. The Sunday School, the Christian Endeavour Society, the missionary groups, the study groups, and the score of organizations affiliated with the Church though not controlled by it, are like the cells through which this great organism breathes, drawing in and giving out the life of God. Never has there been a time when the steady ministry of the gospel had a wider or more sympathetic hearing. I venture to assert this in face of those pessimists who tell us in mournful accents about those good old times that never were.

And then our Church in America is seeking to meet her responsibility for the fulfilment of God's great kingdom purpose by the development of an environment which will at once fit men for the Kingdom of God and stimulate their entrance into that Kingdom. David Smith in his *Life of Christ* quotes Dr. Duff, the missionary, as having seen, carven in stone over the doorway of an Indian mosque, words something like these: 'Jesus, on whom be peace, hath said this world is a bridge; you are to pass over it, and not to build your dwelling upon it.' Our business is of course to get men across the bridge and into the celestial city, but it is part of that task to make this earth a fit threshold for entrance into heaven. If men are but to pass over the bridge and not to build their dwellings upon it, we can only prepare them for the ultimate city as we make that bridge clean and safe and comfortable and well lighted and beautiful. Thus alone shall our journey across the bridge prepare us for the homeland on the other shore.

Now, we have not forgotten our task and responsibility for the bridge. We hold it part of our obligation to demand and encourage a Government which expresses in national

and international terms the ideals of Jesus. We hold it essential to the task of bringing many to the Kingdom, that they should be surrounded by an economic and industrial environment which shall be more interested in persons than in property, and which shall put the Golden Rule of service above greed for profit. We seek for the coming generation a physical and moral and educational environment which will develop in them that character to which the interests of the world that is to be may be entrusted. We see the city of the future as the old prophets saw it, with the boys and girls playing in the streets thereof. We would make the streets clean so that the boys and girls may be safe there. We would make the boys and girls strong and true so that they may be trusted in the streets.

It is perhaps fitting that at this point I should say a word about the most daring social experiment of modern times which America is conducting under her recent dry laws. It is a subject which I would touch delicately because we have not the least desire either to dictate to other nations as to their handling of this terrific social problem, or to stand before you with any claims of final solution. Our dry laws are still an experiment. So, for that matter, is democracy itself. So are all forms of social organization. We have our dubious moments in America about democracy, especially when we see *demos* parading our streets in white sheet and mask. And our handling of the drink problem is a social experiment so daring that it has attracted the attention of thinking men the world over.

Briefly let me try to make it clear that, for good or evil, this is fundamentally a Church movement. The Church has supported it, the Church has promoted it, the Church carried it through, and, with negligible exceptions, the Church is solidly back of it at the present hour. There were

of course valuable helps from science and from economics, from the big business man who experimented until he discovered to his own satisfaction that you can produce more goods and better goods in shorter time and with greater comfort and higher wages when the machinery was lubricated by butter-milk than when it was lubricated by beer. And when the hour of victory drew near, the politician, as was his wont, mounted the cart which the Church had already pushed well-nigh to the top of the hill. But you will not understand this situation unless you realize that to-day, broadly speaking, the churches of America are on the dry side, and that all the sinister, selfish, sordid forces of America, broadly speaking, are on the wet side.

Beyond the development of our own membership, however, and the preparation of a fitting environment, our churches are recognizing their supreme obligation to bring all men everywhere to the personal knowledge and acceptance of Jesus Christ. To this colossal and far-reaching objective we are addressing ourselves, I venture to say, with gathering impetus. All too slowly, and yet steadily, the tide of evangelism and of missions rises. We confront that service which, for want of a better name, we call home missions. We build and equip churches for needy communities all the way from Alaska to Porto Rico. We are establishing schools and training centres for our frontier populations, for our mixed races—some of them half civilized—for the dark places of our great cities where home and foreign work merge into one. We maintain an army of preachers and teachers and lay workers, of nurses and physicians and evangelists upon these fields.

Moreover, we would see the whole world wide through the eyes of Jesus. Our Christianity can only keep itself alive as it strives after a vision as broad and deep as the vision of our Lord. A hundred years ago a certain shrewd

American politician declared that we had not enough religion for ourselves and that we could not afford to export any. But we are steadily learning that religion is a commodity which we may only keep as we do export it. America has upon her foreign fields nearly seventeen thousand missionaries, and for the support of these she is giving annually thirty-nine million dollars. In the last quarter of a century she has trebled the number of her missionary workers, she has increased six times over her missionary offerings, and she has increased the communicant membership of her churches in the foreign field three times over. Significant phases of this movement, to which time permits only a passing allusion, are the tremendous influences wielded by organizations of women, by the great missionary organization of Christian laymen, and by the Student Volunteer and allied organizations among young people.

THE REV. A. E. GARVIE, D.D.
(Principal, New College, London)

(1) While there may be a morality which is independent of a religion, there is usually a close relation : and the value of the morality will depend on the truth of the religion. The *quality* of a religion depends on the *kind* of thought there is of God.

The morality of Christianity is a morality which has its motive and principle in religion ; and the character of the Christian religion is determined by the conception of God which is given in the redemptive revelation of God by Christ. Christ is not the bearer of a message from God, only, as Mohammed claimed to be the prophet of Allah. His revelation of God is not in word and deed only, but in all He Himself was, did and suffered as man. He is

Himself the Word of God Incarnate, the self-revealing activity of God under the conditions and within the limitations of the life of man. In Him the truth is 'embodied in a tale'; and He wrought 'the creed of creeds in loveliness of perfect deeds.' His perfect moral character—the holy love which, sinless, suffers for, forgives, and saves from sin, and His perfect religious consciousness as Son of God as Father in His immediate contact, intimate communion, absolute dependence, and complete submission in relation to God, are the sources of His perfect mediatorial efficacy in revealing God to man, and redeeming man to God. In Him culminates the progressive revelation of God of which the Old Testament is the literary record; He is central to the evangelical testimony and apostolic interpretation, of which the New Testament is the literature. He is the standard of judgment both for the Old Testament and the New; and that only is of final authority for Christian faith in the conception of God which either belongs to, or, whatever be its source, is consistent with this redemptive revelation of God as Father in Christ as Son and Saviour.

(2) What then is the conception of God which is given by Christ and in Him?

(i) God's Holiness, His moral perfection—*the ethical monotheism* of the prophets—is assumed. What is distinctive is that this holiness is also love—a perfection which is self-communicative. God seeks to bring men into fellowship with Himself that He may impart His likeness to man. This is surely what is meant by the concrete embodiment of the abstract quality of holy love in the relation of Fatherhood. God as Father is not mainly, or solely Creator, Preserver, and Ruler, although all these relations as subordinate elements enter into the Fatherhood, but He is chiefly, if not wholly, Father, because He sets

such a value on man, and has such an interest in man, that He purposes for man nothing other or less as his good than that he should have constant communion with Himself, and should attain complete resemblance to Himself, even His eternal perfection. This purpose of God for man expresses the very nature of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or *social personality* ; in the Son the likeness of God is revealed, through the Spirit the fellowship with God is realized. Christ as the divine-human Son is the first-born among many brethren, the beginning of the divine-human family of the redeemed race of man.

(ii) This purpose of God is in its fulfilment conditioned by man's freedom, his sin, and his suffering. (*a*) It is evident that the fellowship of man with God, and the likeness of man to God is personal, that is voluntary. God cannot by His omnipotence make men His children in this sense. Men must freely receive and respond to God's fatherhood. If man were puppet, and not person, God could not set such a value, or take such an interest, or purpose such a good. Love can give itself to, and find itself again only in a person, capable of loving. (*b*) The reality of freedom involves the possibility of sin ; love can be refused and resisted as well as received and returned. Holiness may be missed as well as gained. This alone explains God's permission and tolerance of sin. God did not will the actuality of sin, but only its possibility as the condition of the good which He purposed for man. (*c*) There is physical evil apart from, and not due to, sin : but with this we are not for our present purpose concerned, except to indicate that much, if not all of it, can be regarded as a condition of the discipline and development of man, a means of his education, and if need be, correction. But not only can a great deal of suffering be directly traced to sin as its consequence, but also the suffering that cannot

be so traced can be aggravated or mitigated by the attitude or the action of man. As the world is, man may use his pains and sorrows as steps to higher things, a moral and religious good which as far as we can now see he could not otherwise attain.

(iii) In the fulfilment of His purpose as Father, God respects man's freedom, grieves for man's sin (condemning the sin, and compassionating the sinner), and shares the sorrow of man. As free, man is *fellow-worker* with God, and God is *fellow-sufferer* with man, as suffering. (*a*) God fulfils the purpose for man, not apart from man, but by means of man. The love of God through the grace of Christ, must be received in the faith that becomes active in the love to God and man, which is the motive and the principle of the Christian morality. Man can hinder or help, delay or advance the fulfilment of God's purpose. In the endeavour to better the lot and the life of man this is a consideration which must never be lost sight of: it is not a human enterprise limited by human resources: but it is a divine intention that can command divine resources: and yet by its very nature as personal and concerned with persons cannot be achieved by these divine resources without human co-operation. (*b*) Again God fulfils His purpose for man in intimate relation with man. As Father He is not a God so exalted above man, as to be indifferent to anything that affects man. He is interested in man in the strictest sense of the word: He is *among* man's lot and life, sharer of man's whole experience, bearer of his burdens, and labouring in his labours. Whatever hurts man grieves God. Cruelty to man is injury to God: contempt for man is insult to God: neglect of man is indifference to God. Jesus' parable of the judgment reveals a God who is fellow-sufferer with man. This too is a consideration which enforces every human claim. (*c*) Central to the Christian

conception of God is the revelation of the Cross of Christ, the salvation of man from sin by the sacrifice of God. That God might reproduce His perfection in man, that is, realize His Fatherhood, man must be reconciled to God, and redeemed from sin ; the hindrance to his relation as child to God as Father, due to sin, must be removed ; the guilt of sin must be cancelled and its power over man ended. In the forgiveness of sin the divine judgment on the sin no longer falls on the sinner, who by his penitence and faith has separated himself from his sin, and attached himself to God ; and God's favour, no longer impeded by his sin, freely and fully rests upon him. By the new motive of gratitude for forgiveness the hold of sin is loosened, and by the Power of the Spirit, given to all united to Christ by faith as Saviour and Lord, is the victory over sin completed. This reconciliation and redemption comes to man in Christ's cross through the faith which the grace there displayed evokes. Without now attempting to show how this salvation of man is connected with this sacrifice of God, as Christian experience permanently and universally attests, it must suffice to indicate that in this grace God shows Himself fellow-sufferer with man, and in this faith man proves himself fellow-worker with God. This is the fellowship of man with God maintained, and the likeness of man to God attained ; the Fatherhood revealed and the Sonship realized.

(3) I have hitherto spoken of man, meaning thereby, mankind, not the individual only, but the race, and, in the last paragraph, of man as sinful. This is what the New Testament means by the term *the world*. It is mankind as a whole in estrangement from, and disobedience to, God. The term as so used suggests a double unity, the unity within the individual of all his necessities, interests, and activities, and the unity of individuals within the race.

When we think of God's purpose we must always preserve our sense of the unity in both respects. We must not separate physical necessities from spiritual interests, or individual from social good. It is *the whole manhood of all mankind* with which God's purpose is concerned. This consideration will save us from many an error and many a failure which the neglect of it in the past has involved in Christian life and work. (i) Science, whether physiology or psychology, is teaching us insistently the unity of manhood. Man is neither soulless beast nor disembodied angel ; and the care of the body is no less included in God's purpose of good for man than the care of the soul. No less is the development of the human personality dependent on economic conditions, social relations and political organization. Morality and religion cannot be separated from the rest of life as only parts of it. Morality is a quality of all human activity : and religion is the motive and the principle of morality. Nothing else and nothing less than the whole manhood must be taken into account.

(ii) The outcome of human history has been the increasing unification of all mankind. Commerce, conquest, colonization movements of men and their goods from land to land are bringing the ends of the earth together. Steamship, railway, telegraph, telephone, aeroplane and wireless are abolishing distance as a permanent division of mankind. The spiritual unification has not kept pace with the material. Racial prejudice, national antagonism, social discord, conflicting economic interests still divide mankind, despite the increasing mutual dependence. The physical unification becomes a growing danger without the spiritual. Proximity increases the sense of difference, and so provokes discord. Only as the unity of all mankind in the higher interests is secured, can this attendant evil of closer contact be averted. It is all mankind as one race that must be

regarded as the object of the love of God: under His Fatherhood it must grow into one family.

(4) There is one God who is Father, and one world which is embraced in His purpose of good: and accordingly there must needs be one Church as the human partner with God in the fulfilment of that purpose. (i) As I conceive the Church, as the society of all believers, there has been, is, and can only be *one* Church: the body of Christ, the community of the Spirit, and the temple of God. To forget, ignore, or neglect this seems to me to involve a fundamental misconception of what Christianity is—the source of the divine purpose in Christ in the unity of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the issue in the unity of the one redeemed family of man. This abstract truth imposes a concrete duty. The duty must not only be confessed, but practised. The invisible reality must as far as is at all practicable, be made a visible actuality. Without entering on the difficult questions of faith and order with which another Conference will be called on to deal, let me express my conviction that this does not demand a uniformity of creed, ritual, or polity. The world's need for the Church's united service is, however, clamorous. Whether it be in the sphere of economic conditions or of international relations, the reconciling spirit and the redemptive purpose of God in Christ call for the mediating service of the Church—as His body must become for Him one voice to deliver His message, one pair of hands to discharge His mission, one heart to feel the sorrow of man, and sympathize, as He does.

(ii) This primary demand involves, *secondly*, that the Church shall transcend in its interest and effort the divisions of race, nation and class. Differences may and even must continue, but they need not become the provocations of division, they may even be contributory to a larger, richer

unity in variety. So strong is the hold of these divisive conditions of life on sentiment and opinion, that only an intense possession of the Church by the Spirit of God, the redeeming and reconciling spirit, can make the bonds of a common Christian fellowship closer than these racial, national and social bonds are. The Christian universalism must more and more mark the interest and effort of the Church of Christ.

(iii) While thus transcending the limitations of the world as it now is, the Church must more and more become immanent in the world: not *of* the world, it must be *in* the world. As God in Christ has shown Himself to be the fellow-sufferer with man, so must the Church know the fellowship of Christ's sufferings, becoming conformable to His death. As He, the holy, harmless and undefiled, who was separate from sinners as regards any personal sin, yet so identified Himself with sinful mankind as, in Paul's startling words, to become *sin* and a *curse* for us, that is, to share to the full all in the lot of man that sin has brought upon him, so must the Church not stand apart, and hold aloof from this sinning, struggling, suffering world, but must know its need so intimately as to feel that need so intensely, that it will serve at whatever cost for the relief of that need. What the world needs, if God's purpose is to be fulfilled, is the Church crucified with Christ. Study, sympathy, service, sacrifice. This is the *via dolorosa* for the Church of Christ if it is to be the body of Christ in the world, through which He completes His work, and so fulfils God's purpose in Him.

(iv) If in the history of Christ on earth the Resurrection followed on the Crucifixion, in its history because it is the body of the Risen Lord, the Church is at the same time being crucified and raised to life again with Him. It knows the power of His Resurrection, the power by which

God raised Him from the dead, mediated by Him, even as it is knowing the fellowship of His suffering. What we need to realize is that, if the Church attempted to be crucified for the world without Christ and the power of His Resurrection as its strength and stay, it would perish. It cannot go the *via dolorosa* described above without the invisible, but not less real Companion. As in conference we face the problems of the world, clamouring for solutions, if the purpose of God is to be fulfilled, we must realize that we (the whole Church of Christ if it were even bending all its human energies to the vast tasks) would not be sufficient for these things. Our sufficiency must come from God: the Risen Saviour and Lord must impart His Spirit, the spirit of wisdom, and power, and love, the very life of God in the life of man. As for the Church the Resurrection of Christ was completed in Pentecost, so our Conference, however abundant and accurate our knowledge, however deliberate and confident our judgment, however sincere and intense our intention, will be vain, unless the love of the Father, revealed in the grace of the Son, is realized by us in the community (*Koinonia*) the common possession of the Holy Spirit.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1925

EVENING SESSION (9–10.30 P.M.)

I. THE PURPOSE OF GOD FOR HUMANITY AND THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH (*continued*)

THE METROPOLITAN OF SOFIA, BULGARIA
(Stephan)

NOT without emotion and fear do I rise to speak. I am deeply moved and rejoiced to see this impressive assembly,

in which, I am convinced, we all feel that the will of our Lord Jesus Christ reigneth. No doubt He has brought us together through His Holy Spirit, which enlightens, sanctifies and unites us. At the same time I am conscious of fear within, that I have not the words with which to express my feelings and inner experience in these happy moments so pregnant with Scriptural meaning.

This is a distinctive moment in the mutual acquaintance of the Churches of the world, the prelude of rapprochement and unity. Hence, human speech is inadequate to express the unseen grandeur, beauty, power, inspiration and light shed upon this assembly from on high.

Like the apostles of old on Mount Tabor, we can and we must rejoice and give thanks for what our eyes behold, and pray that we may even now spiritually see the King in His beauty, and join with the great apostle to the Gentiles in that inspired exultation, 'Now unto the King eternal, incorruptible, invisible, the only God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen' (1 Tim. i. 17).

May He unite our hearts and our endeavours for the great task of His Holy Church.

Ours is pre-eminently a work of mercy and truth, of justice and peace. The Church of Christ, according to the Scriptures, is the inexhaustible source of grace and strength through the perfect love of God. And in these moments of sacred inspiration I feel more than ever how the Spirit of God through His Church is destroying the wall of partition between the East and the West, and Christians from all countries are joining hands in the field of Gospel service. Do you not see how in the inter-church life the consciousness grows daily stronger and stronger, that we all are members one of another (Eph. iv. 25), children of our heavenly Father?

It is no secret that what was until recently regarded as impossible is now becoming an accomplished fact, namely

a united Church for Christ's Kingdom of righteousness and peace. Does not this sacred gathering carry you back to apostolic days? Do you not feel the atmosphere of the upper Chamber of Jerusalem? Does not this remind you of the Apostolic Council, and of that of the Nicean fathers? Do not your hearts burn, like those of the disciples on the way to Emmaus, while Jesus is among us, blessing our humble efforts and inviting us to union and love?

My dear Brethren, this moment really fills my soul with courage and fond hopes. I already see the vision of the good news spreading and taking possession of the channels of life, serving, guiding, saving men's souls, and calling upon all to seek the Lord and His righteousness, to live in the power and beatitude of His Kingdom.

What is the duty of the Church in view of God's purpose for the world? It is the duty of a loving mother, whose principal purpose is the spiritual perfecting of her children (Matt. v. 48). The Church is charged with the training and education of each individual and of the world collectively. In it are found abundant provisions of grace for life and work; under its beneficent influence the real liberty of man grows and bears fruit. It is appointed of God to realize universal equality and brotherhood; and it must bring us to that ideal city of God which was seen by St. John the Divine in Revelation xxi. In that eternal city there shall not enter anything unclean, but only those whose names are written in the Book of the Lamb.

Thus, the Church of Christ on earth is a continuous sermon, constantly preaching the Gospel, and ever sounding the divine ideal: 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill toward men' (Luke ii. 14). In this hymn of the angels lies the purpose of God for the world. It is the divine purpose for the Church to lead the human race to that manhood, strength and fulness of the love of

Christ, which, being the greatest thing in the world, can accomplish the greatest results for the Kingdom of God in the world. This is the theme of St. Paul (1 Cor. xiii.). This is God's remedy for ignorance, slavery, tyranny, war, egoism and vanity. It aims at gathering all nations at the feet of Jesus, making them *a spiritual family*, all one in Christ Jesus (John xvii. 21). It is only by the love of Christ that we can realize the great maxim of the great apostle when he writes: 'Bear ye one another's burden, and so fulfil the law of Christ' (Gal. vi. 2). May we be touched and inspired by that ideal.

In order to accomplish its purpose and mission the Church has in general followed these lines of activity:

(1) Enlightening the minds of its children that they may know their Creator and Preserver, and understand and worthily fulfil His purpose for their lives.

(2) Teaching its children purity of heart, since only the pure in heart shall see God. It takes purity of heart to love God and love one's enemies also.

(3) Strengthening the will of its children to do what is right with joy, to walk in the light, to fight the good fight of faith, ceaselessly to war against worldliness and darkness, and thus to win the crown of righteousness.

The ultimate purpose of the Church of Christ is to reconcile the world to God and bring a just and happy peace on earth.

The angels sang peace over the fields of Bethlehem. Our divine Lord, before He was lifted up, left peace to His disciples (John xiv. 27). Directly after His resurrection. He appeared to His disciples and brought them peace (John xx. 19). And it was with peace that He sent them to evangelize the whole world.

Love and peace are God's greatest gifts ; they make life worth living, give it meaning, and add to it joy unspeakable and full of glory. They are the wings with which man's spirit rises up to the very bosom of the Father. Love and peace live and reign for ever.

But this peace among the nations for which we long, and this love to God and our fellow-man, will not be established with guns and cannons, Zeppelins and tanks, fleets and submarines, nor with insincere treaties and crafty diplomacy.

Real and lasting peace on earth will come when all Christians can sincerely pray the Lord's Prayer, when all shall take as the basis of their life the will of God and the Golden Rule, when all shall be filled and inspired by the love of Calvary.

Shall we not turn our eyes toward Him, in whose name is our communion and co-operation one with another, and raise up the banner of love by which we shall conquer ?

And now I feel constrained to add that we should raise our hearts in earnest prayer to the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, in this world-conquering mission of our Lord. There is no reason why this great Christian communion should not be among the front ranks in this endeavour for the glory of God and the good of humanity.

I conclude with an earnest prayer to the gracious Lord to bless this sacred gathering and the work of the Conference. It is *His peace* and *His love* that we pray for. May He, faithful to His promises, guide us by His Spirit, that we may realize the duty of His Church in view of His purpose for the world. May we love the Lord and His Church more and more, may we serve Him through it faithfully and devotedly, even as the Holy apostles and fathers remained faithful to the end. AMEN.

The Archbishop of Dublin

(The Most Rev. John A. F. Gregg, D.D.)

This is a conference on Life and Work. It is a conference meant to lead to action.

And yet, though it is intensely practical—should I not say because it is intensely practical, we must not be content to deal with the surface of things. We must go to the depths. We must see things, or rather men, in their ultimate relations.

This is the supreme practicalness. They that would act, must think.

But we are not merely philosophers. We have not come to speculate. We have met as men who are bound into a unity by a common tie which enables us to approach the problem of our perplexing social world from a single point of view: bound together by a community of conviction about which we shall not argue, but which we all take for granted, our faith in Jesus Christ.

Whatever may be the precise form of our confession of faith in Him, we believe Him to be central to the world.

We believe that as we look at this one Figure, we learn two supreme lessons: we learn what God is like, in character, purpose and will.

In Jesus Christ we possess an interpretation of the world in terms of personality and social experience. And we believe that in Him we are provided with the constructive answer to the world-enigma. Jesus Christ is the rule by which we are to judge the plan according to which we are to build. If man is, as Protagoras rightly taught, the measure of all things, Jesus Christ is the measure of man.

The outcome of the Epiphany is that there is deposited

with mankind: Way, Truth and Life, expressed in terms of person—a deposit which is committed to men for them to turn to the best account. Lodged in the heart of the race and integral with it, is a Personality in whom is found ideal Experience, Reality, Power. And on behalf of the race at large this trust was placed in the keeping of the Church, that the Church might lead the race out into the wide pastures of its spiritual inheritance.

The essential feature of this deposit for our purposes to-day is that God's solution of the world-problem is by way of Person in social relations.

And what gives to the Person of Christ its fruitfulness for men, is that it was lived on earth among men.

Man, so Aristotle taught, is a social being. The life of the Incarnate Christ set its seal on the truth of that assertion. He came down into man's economy, He was made under the law, He acknowledged the forms of a human polity. His goodness was realized socially. And nothing is more distinctive of Jesus than that His ideal of life postulated man's neighbour as well as God, as an integral element of his religious cosmos.

Now it would hardly be too much to say that after New Testament times the tragedy of the Christian Church has been that, in face of the proclamation made in and by the life of Christ that the way of spiritual realization is a social way, men have preferred to be spiritual in an individual way. The teaching of St. Paul is as plain as that of St. John, that our love for God must be measured by our love for man, while his teaching on the body and its members shows us how completely he regards man as realizing himself in a social setting.

And yet, piety has only too consistently chosen the less excellent way of a solitary path towards perfectness.

We can see many explanations of this in the difficult

conditions under which Christians of early days found themselves in a vicious world, but it has taken the Church a long time (and the process is by no means completed yet) to correct this distorted view, and to teach men that they do not truly hold fellowship with the Father unless they are also in fellowship with His children.

But part of the gain that comes to us from a re-interpreted New Testament is the re-discovery of the fullness of Christ.

We learn that Christ does not sit alone in far-off glory, but that Christ is an inclusive Figure, who gathers up mankind in Himself, and that piety is missing its mark if it forgets that Christ is to be found and served here in His brethren of all degrees.

But even when that theoretical lesson is learnt, there comes the harder practical lesson, viz. the making room in our life and practice for our fellows.

Christ's religion is symbolized for us by the form of His cross—it points upwards towards heaven, but its arms stretch themselves outwards to embrace men.

Now it is *Christ's* religion which the Church must mediate to men — the religion of the inclusive, comprehending Christ.

Christianity is of course a religion of the spirit. The way is not through things but through persons. 'The Kingdom of God is within you.'

All that Jesus did is written or done in terms of person, and He left this lesson to the Church.

The Church will be strong or weak in proportion as its members recognize that the Kingdom of God is a thing of personal wills, wrought out at cost of persons in their souls and bodies, and that it can go forward only according as persons throw themselves into its cause, and make their own selves its sphere.

But the Kingdom is more than spirituality—more than well-used powers—more than an idealism. A religion of inwardness might easily be a refined selfishness.

The regulative principle of the Kingdom is that of association. Men are set in a fellowship. They belong to a corporate life. Their true development lies, not in self-regarding ways, but in ways that include others.

The presence of others is not an accident—it is a fundamental fact of life. We depend on others—and others depend on us. And the Church's task is to capture the minds of men for the corporate view of life, and their enthusiasm for an ideal of common service.

'I have given you a commandment that ye love one another.'

This social nature of man is pre-supposed in the work of Christ in the world.

Jesus placed Himself in human society as a redemptive and sanative agent. Healing was His purpose, healing moral as well as physical. And it was out of Him that virtue went forth—'I am Light'—'I am Way'—'I am Life.' His Church is in the world as the extension and continuation of His redemptive work. He and His Church are one.

The Church lives by His life. It is the channel and medium between Him and the world to-day.

Now the Church must arouse itself to its mission, which is Christ's mission, viz. to heal the wounds of mankind, and to liberate the captive personalities of men.

It must see itself as standing to the world in the relation of salt, light, leaven. It is a giver—it is a healer—it is a quickener, in and through its fellowship with Him.

It is remarkable how much, in such an Epistle as that to the Ephesians, St. Paul seems impressed with the thought of Divine power, energizing the Church and the individual

from within, ' and in diffusion ever more intense.' But where the Church has failed the world (and perhaps such failure was part of the inevitable condition of finding its footing at first) is that it has regarded membership of the Church as a refuge for the individual from the world rather than as a means whereby the individual may help to serve the world.

The Church has not thought of itself as an integral, vivifying part of the world, as spirit is to body, but as in isolation from it and standing over against it. In fact, the Church has tended to despair of the world : its note has been pessimism rather than optimism. It has looked within rather than without. It seems to have felt that it is here to save what it can out of the wreckage, and not that it is here to rebuild, and to constitute a new order.

I do not think this catastrophic view can be fairly maintained if a comprehensive view of Christ is taken.

' Escape for thy life ' could hardly be the last word of one who speaks to us from the heart of the Father, to whom we pray, ' Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.'

But if we really believe in Christ as the world's Redeemer, an intensive re-education of Christian people will need to be undertaken, in order that the Church may be equipped to face its task, person by person, and that every Christian may look on himself as charged with a solemn responsibility through his relation to Christ.

Each one of us is a part not only of a redemptive movement but of the Redeemer.

Redemption of our fellows both temporal and spiritual lies with every one of us. The ultimate purpose of each life is to contribute to, and to promote, this common cause. The contribution we have to make is ourselves.

We are not here to be ministered unto but to minister.

Individuals must harness themselves to the race and help pull it uphill.

Mazzini wrote: 'When anyone says to me, "Behold a good man," I ask "How many souls has he saved?" When any one says to me, "Behold, a religious people," I ask, "What has it done and suffered to bring humanity to its belief?"'

What Suggestions have we to make?

(*a*) One of the first steps the Church must take is towards the quickening of the *imagination* of us who are its children. And when I say 'The Church,' I am not thinking of any abstraction, I mean 'we ourselves.' We must enlarge our vision. For most of us the world we live in is only dimly realized. It is the framework of our experience, but it is not part of the felt texture of our lives. We are in it, but it is not in us. We can throw it aside and dissociate ourselves from its joys and sorrows with complete severance.

The only world I am really concerned with in this connection is the universe of human souls, our brothers and sisters.

And it is in regard to them that this dullness of imagination I speak of exists.

We rub shoulders with hundreds of our fellow-men in the streets, and yet we do not think of each of them as the focus of a poignant experience of joy or woe.

Each of them is a uniformed figure beneath whose uniform we do not try to penetrate: whose tragedy (if there is one) is for himself and not for us. Each is a cipher, but not a man.

Now we need to deepen our sense of the manhood of those in the world with us. We need to gain more of that feeling with which our Lord looked on the crowds about Him. 'He had compassion on the multitude.'

This impersonal view has its inevitable reaction upon us.

It leaves us hard and remote. The injustices of life *hurt* us less when men are to us little better than inanimate *things*.

We need to remind ourselves that each of these individuals has his own infinite worth with God, is a person in God's sight; that in some real and true sense each of these unidentified passers-by is an end and not a means: that a life crushed or imbruted is a purpose of God thwarted.

This then is the first point. Our world is neither a machine nor a materialism: it is a realm of egos, a texture woven out of spiritual beings.

(*b*) Next, we need to inform our *minds* of the conditions of the world we live in. Under God the supreme consideration of man is man, and the Church is concerned to stimulate its children to care sufficiently for their brothers to learn and study how men and women live, and are compelled to live, in our common world. Information regarding world-conditions of (say) labour is more easily available than ever before, and the first condition of arousing the world's conscience is to inform the world's consciousness.

But we must not think that the problem is confined simply to industrial questions.

Knowledge of the way men and women and children live in our own land, in foreign lands, under civilized conditions, where civilization impinges on primitive culture; such knowledge is needed to awaken in men that interest in their kind, which shall lead not only individuals but Christian society to play the part of missionary on behalf of man's welfare, temporal as well as spiritual. 'Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.' Could we only see through God's eyes, we should see that the things of others are our own things.

(*c*) And the Church's *conscience* (*i.e.* our individual conscience) needs to be aroused.

The Church belongs to the world and the world is its sphere of operation and influence. Individual consciences right through the Christian world need to be stimulated, to see what Christian men are here for. Christians are here not merely for individual and future salvation: they are here for the common uplift and an uplift here and now. They are here to spend and be spent, *i.e.* to put into the concern more than they hope materially to take out of it.

They are here to make the world feel in the Christian conscience a constraining force working to make social vices and inequalities and oppressions impossible. The prophet's voice which bade Christ to preach the Gospel to the poor, liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind, dictates to His Church an identical programme. It is redeemed that it may minister redemption: it is not Christ's Church unless it redeems.

I look to such gatherings as this to quicken and sting into action the local churches and individuals. Here we have a pooling of experiences, wherein others show us what we are not so placed as to see for ourselves: a comprehensive view which helps us to realize that the world is a single organism and that we all belong to one another. We are reminded that many of our worst social evils would not exist, if Christians throughout the world had behaved Christianly in the past and were behaving like Christians to-day: we are reminded that progress in one part is meant to overflow to every other part, that civilization is a world-wide responsibility and not a means of national or individual gain; that Christians are trustees and burden-bearers for the more backward parts of mankind.

From such gatherings we gain a greater vision of mankind in its world-wide sufferings: of mankind exploited by man: of mankind crying out for deliverance: and of Christianity

as having the only possible remedy to offer, and as called upon in the sacred name of Christ to live out its message.

And such a gathering teaches us to look for and work for the growth of a common Christian sense and an organized Christian conscience all the world over.

There is only one loyalty big enough (and that is loyalty to Christ) to combine men all the world over to repair world-wide breaches and to overtake age-long wrongs.

And such a gathering suggests the possibility of its *power*. Its power is the power of Christ's Resurrection, *i.e.* the spiritual energy whereby the Lord of goodness and love was enabled to break out of death because He was too living a thing to die. This power the Church shares, if it lives with Christ, and wills as He wills and is ready to sacrifice as He sacrificed. Fellowship of His sufferings and power of His Resurrection—the two things go together. They are the condition of effective redeeming influence with men. It is only the givers of self who win others: it is from the Tree of self-oblation that the Lord reigns.

How can we have the courage to learn that lesson?

Only through fellowship with Christ in prayer shall we print on our souls' vision the *classical* life, which is central to-day because it emptied itself once, because it was ready in its seeking and saving to give itself a ransom for many.

We are paying the penalty to-day of an inherited Christianity: we must exchange inheritance for personal experience.

Christ is above all Redeemer: do *we* want to see the life of men redeemed? Do *we* want to help Him in redeeming man's life? Then our religion must take the shape and spirit of His, and the consecration of our manhood repeat the paradox of His: 'As dying and behold we live: as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.'

. . . . . .

The sum of it all seems to me to be this.

The Church in God's view stands in the world interpenetrating it in Christ and for Christ.

It is here to sweeten and remake the life of man, both for time and for eternity. It must make no secret of its belief in a Christian social order. But the work must be done from within outwards in the lives of Christian men and women.

A Christian social order imposed from without might be nothing better than an unwelcome reform promulgated before men were ripe for it.

Christians are integrally part of this materialized mechanized world, and in proportion as they become more Christianlike, more numerous, more united, they will work upon it with growing authority from within. They will not dictate programmes, they will not conduct negotiations as if the Church were a sovereign power, they will modify the world's spirit by the power of influence.

Absence of self-interest, intense belief in the spiritual capacities and calling of every human being, a passion to give to every human being his fair chance, a desire to exact from every man a contribution proportioned to his powers, a conviction that nothing but the Cross in contemporary lives will fire the imagination or overcome the materialized tendencies of the world at large—it is only through men and women living by such principles as these that redemption can be wrought, and through men and women so living in every nation, class, industry.

'The Holy Church throughout all the world' can raise the general standard from within, by struggling to get the Christian view represented and presented in every area of human activity.

And if it can only thus Christianize the world's counsellors, the world's counsels will be Christian.

THE BISHOP OF NIDAROS, NORWAY
(The Rt. Rev. Jens Gleditsch, D.D.)

IT might seem to be a bold undertaking to discuss God's design or plan for the world. Even when I contemplate or seem to discover a meaning in my own life, I find that there is an immense distance to be travelled from that fragmentary insight, which is of practical importance for me, to that survey over the whole which is implied in the notion of a world design. It is nevertheless a fact that all religions are more or less concerned with this matter. A coherent and all-embracing plan is involved in the very essence of monotheistic religion. And, so far as I know, there is no religion in which this conception is more clearly manifested and exercises greater influence than in Christianity. The early Christians seem to have lived in eager expectation of a great world dispensation, willed by God and of momentous importance for all men. The goal which Christianity sets up for our faith is the Kingdom of God.

But this conception involves a difficulty: there has been much controversy as to whether it signifies something of this life or of the other life. Typical of the former view is the millennium of the Apocalypse, and all the later ideas, visions, and theories associated therewith, down to the various Utopian social schemes which have been launched in modern times. Typical of the latter view is the harsh repudiation by the Reformers of the ideas of the millennium in the form which they had assumed in those times. The Reformers were in fact right in principle, seeing that the Kingdom of God, as preached by Jesus, transcends all earthly possibilities. The views on this subject, as we know, have shifted from generation to generation down to the present day. At one time it was supposed that the

Kingdom of God as taught by Jesus was essentially ethical, but afterwards it was thought of as a cataclysm which by its coming would revolutionize our entire life. These views are typical of the two extremes, the one representing a generation which rejoiced in culture, and the other a generation which regarded this life as a vale of tears. But, if we look deeper, we shall find that there is some truth in both these schools—that of immanence and that of transcendentalism—for, so far as I understand it, the Kingdom of God is situated between the two. To use a metaphor from nature, I might say that the Kingdom of God lies on the horizon, that is where earth and sea terminate and the vault of heaven rises aloft.

This characteristic of the divine scheme must be viewed in connection with what we call historical revelation. Rightly understood, it signifies that the meeting of the human soul with the divinity cannot take place in the boundless region of abstract fantasy, but that God always meets man where he is, on the spot of earth where he lives, with its existing character, and in a given milieu with its colouring and limitations. A new historical revelation is accompanied by the expansion of a circle of culture, the breaking through of the boundaries set up by egoism, the family, the tribe or the people, and the opening up of vistas into a new and greater world beyond. The Christian mission to the heathens, which was first envisaged merely by individual prophets, and was afterwards taken up by small circles of devout Christians, seems now at length to be understood as a duty of the churches in the light of God's design for the world. The fact is that Christianity has received a new revelation, and has found herself constrained to follow the heavenly vision.

Is it an exaggeration to say that we are now living in the conviction that the world is not substance, but

movement and presumably also direction? It is not only upwards and outwards that the Universe extends into infinitude, but also downwards and inwards. The atom was held until recently to be invisible and indivisible, but now it is said to be observable and divisible. And it is a remarkable fact that this division is a replica in miniature of what we find in the solar system and beyond it in the vastness of the Milky Way. Infinitude, it seems, extends both ways, and has no visible goal. But just because the goal is invisible, it enters the cosmos of the human soul with new demands and new power. This is the renaissance of religion. We are here confronted with the tentative attempts of modern times to see God in connection with the new universe.

Seeing that the Church is the social and comprehensive embodiment of Christ's revelation of God's dispensation, it is the first duty of the Church to witness to that dispensation, and to set it in relation to our view of the world in large things and small. It is just at this point that the work of the Church lies at the present moment, and it is certainly for this reason that the Church is receiving admonitions or reproaches from all quarters. A world in movement finds itself in perplexity when it is unable to discern the goal towards which it is travelling. And, as far as I understand, the dispensation to which the Church can and must bear witness exactly fits in with our present views of the universe. With the old views of the world, the idea of the Kingdom of God was almost bound to split into the two divergent conceptions above referred to, according as stress was laid on the one or the other of the two elements of which the world was supposed to be composed, force and matter. If matter was created by God, it is reasonable to conclude that this world, the world of matter, must have a termination. If force was created

by God, and if it is something distinct from matter, it must lead over the world of matter out to the invisible. But if the all is resolved into motion and concentration, the ideas of Christianity fit in exactly. For every centre, every system in the world of nature and in the world of spirit is, so to speak, a horizon which for a time appears to be the final goal. But beyond that horizon there is always a new horizon which comes into view when the former is penetrated. Is not this the history of Christianity down through the ages : the merging of Judaism into the culture of the Mediterranean, the merging of the latter into the Germanic world, the merging of the Particular churches into Roman Catholicism, the merging of the latter into the all-embracing Evangelical ideas of the Kingdom of God, and finally the transmission of these ideas to non-European peoples ?

The case is similar with our present view of the cosmos. The only certain result at which we have arrived is that no system, no centre of concentration is in perfect equilibrium. In all objects, from the biggest that can be measured in the firmament to the smallest that can be discerned under the microscope, just as in the human system, we find at one point or another a vista into a greater horizon, and we conclude therefore that the equilibrium is not, and cannot be, stable.

This line of thought leads naturally to another point of view. It has often been contended that religion is taking a wrong course when it penetrates into man's temporal environment, or, as the phrase goes, assumes a ' positive ' character. Personal life, however, involves natural and historical surroundings, or, to use a current term, a ' social milieu.' Without the latter personality cannot be formed : it will either be warped and deformed in fantastic speculation, or attenuated to a slender and fragile mystical thread. It is therefore not weakness but strength in Christianity

when, instead of gazing at abstract eternity, it keeps looking out upon a horizon that is coloured by the immediate surroundings, but at the same time affords a vista into the beyond. Yes, this is, in principle and in practice, a source of strength, but it entails the danger that the energy of the Church is liable to be absorbed by the things nearest at hand, and may not have sufficient religious power to discern the vista into the wider horizon.

Such things have occurred also in other spheres. You will remember the transition from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican system, and how the latter was opposed not only by theologians but also by scientists. And some of us no doubt still well remember how things went when the theory of evolution opened up new and undreamt of perspectives in biology and history. At the present moment we are in the midst of similar happenings in the international and social spheres and in the relations between the churches, and we are experiencing the same uncertainty and in part also the same friction as has hitherto ensued whenever a 'closed system' has been broken through. Every time this has happened, the churches, naturally enough, have been unable to realize the connection at once. The older system is permeated with the devotion of our fathers and the faith of our childhood; we belong to the churches of our fathers, and the Church exercises her powerful influence in a conservative direction. When we address ourselves to the serious and important problems of the attitude of the Church to social changes, to nationalism and the concord of nations, we shall doubtless find at every turn two somewhat different lines of thought: the one laying stress on that which has been and still is, and the other stretching forward to that which is about to come and in part is already there. It is incumbent upon us at this Conference to permit both these points of view to emerge

into the clearest possible relief. To take up such an attitude is the second duty of the churches. This Conference perhaps lays its principal stress on that which is about to come, but we cannot expect that the churches shall be ready at once to follow in this movement with their whole weight. Naturally it behoves us to work according to our lights, and this includes the duty of seeing that the churches turn the right way. But, when we speak of the duty of the churches, we must bear in mind that there is a good foundation for these differences in lines of thought, and that therefore we must exercise patience. At one point, however, these two currents converge, that is on the horizon which is visible now, in the practical duties which press upon us at the moment in which we are living and in which our churches are living together with us. Thus, though the points of view are somewhat different, they must not be allowed to estrange us so far as to obscure our insight into the principal thing. I am alluding to the fact that far too much of the energy and working capacity of the churches has been consumed in disputes as to which point of view is right. This is what has been called ' the egoism of the Church,' meaning that the Church has apparently been largely occupied with herself, and has been more absorbed in preserving her own existence than in following her calling, that is to witness to God's dispensation.

This Conference is in my view a sign of an awakening understanding of this duty. We meet here not to strengthen or serve ourselves, but to serve the divine dispensation which we see before us, and to afford one another mutual support and assistance in its realization. Therefore we cannot but give voice to our regret that there is a church which will not participate in this Conference, and we cannot but express our apprehension that she does not rightly view her duty towards the will of God.

It behoves the churches to regard those things which arouse the passions of men with calm and composure. This applies also to religious enthusiasm. When with reference to God's design for the world, we use the phrase ' It is the will of God,' we are apt to imbue it with a personal feeling which may flame up into fanaticism. Thus, though the Crusaders were undoubtedly impelled by the belief that they were carrying out ' the will of God,' their attempts to realize it showed a mingling of religious and worldly motives, as well as precipitate and therefore misdirected action. The above certainty applies to the carrying out of the divine dispensation in the visible world, but more especially to its realization beyond all our horizons. The third duty of the churches is therefore to preserve the spirit of calm and composure in endeavouring to carry out that design, and to exercise great patience under all disappointments.

It is our duty to uphold undauntedly our faith that these things will positively come to pass. Appearances are against us, at any rate this is often so, but faith goes counter to appearances. Appearances are of this world, but faith cleaves to God. Appearances are nearest to hand, but God's design extends into the boundlessness of infinity, and it is evident that a thousand years are to Him as one day.

The dispensation of which I have been speaking and the life which is involved in the duty of the churches must be viewed in the light of St. Paul's ' Hope, Faith and Charity.' All these things shall abide. ' Hope ' fits at once into the system here presented : it designates a state of mind which trusts that the eternal design shall be realized by God and shall be realized by us also under external conditions which seem to sap all the earthly foundations of our hopes. This signifies that if a circle is broken through and long-cherished

hopes are shattered, it is the duty of the Church to herself and to others to uphold the hope that these things shall nevertheless come to pass, though not in the way we imagined. The reign of peace will come, but in a way different from that which we supposed. It is manifest that this cannot be done without faith in God, and faith in the truth of our observations and experiences, which is the foundation of Christianity. But the greatest of the three is Charity. We are perfectly justified in saying that Charity intrinsically belongs to eternity, and that we cannot discern any life beyond that is not permeated with Charity. But it must at the same time be borne in mind that the forms in which Charity finds manifestation are related to this life, that Charity lives only in that respect for personal life which we call justice, and in that readiness to bear the burdens of this life which we call patience and mercy. In humble recognition that all works will vanish away and will not reach the eternal, it is the duty of the Church in word and deed to apply these three things to all that she encounters, and for her own part to be delivered from all egoism and solicitude for her own welfare, in order to enter the service of that dispensation which Christ redeemed us to serve.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9.30 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA

Prayers were said by GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT D. ZOELLNER.

THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA blessed the Assembly.

ORGANIZATION

(*a*) SPEECH OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

THE REV. HENRY A. ATKINSON, D.D., U.S.A.

(General Secretary of The Church Peace Union and The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches)

THIS Conference gathered to-day for its first business session is composed of approximately 700 persons—500 of whom have already registered and are present. These delegates come from 37 nations and represent 31 communions, and inasmuch as each delegate has been appointed or elected by his own communion, we may consider the Conference perhaps the largest and most nearly universally representative of any ecclesiastical gathering of our generation.

No one who was present at the opening exercises yesterday in the Cathedral and saw that marvellous procession that

represented three-fifths of all the Christian Churches of the world can ever forget that scene. Nothing equal to it has occurred for perhaps fifteen centuries. It easily carries the mind back to the days of the great church councils and sets a new standard in the life of the Church.

The organization of this Conference began with the World Alliance meeting at the Hague in September 1919. The small group that met there from fourteen nations represented the first attempt after the war on the part of the churches to bring together the moral and religious forces of the world so bitterly and sadly divided and embittered by the four tragic years of horror through which the world has passed. The committee was appointed charged with the responsibility of studying means and devising methods for holding a world conference of the churches. This committee met later in Paris and planned for a definite and preliminary meeting which was held in Geneva in August 1920, when a temporary organization was effected with four definite sections established and a fifth group made up of those independent churches which are scattered throughout the world beyond the territorial limits of the four sections. At a later meeting held at Hälsingborg, Sweden, August 12, 1922, the organization was completed by the appointment of an International Committee, a General Secretary and three Associate Secretaries constituting the secretariat to which was committed the executive details for the Conference, with the co-operation of the Executive Committee.

An enormous amount of work has been done in the last three years. The Archbishop of Upsala has given himself almost constantly to this undertaking, and he has associated with him a strong group here in Sweden whose painstaking care and constant labour are rewarded by the very auspicious beginning of this series of meetings.

We are here then as official delegates of the churches of the world. The eyes of the world are upon us. We cannot afford to fail. Good as the start has been we must have faith and believe that this is but the beginning of a long series of attempts which the Church must make in meeting its responsibilities to a saddened and distressed world.

(*b*) APPOINTMENT OF BUSINESS COMMITTEE

It was agreed that the International Executive Committee be appointed as the Business Committee for the Conference, and that all questions relating to the conduct of the Conference should be referred to this Committee in co-operation with the Presidents.

The following were members of this Committee: THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA (Chairman), DR. A. J. BROWN, THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, THE METROPOLITAN OF THYATEIRA, DR. KAPLER, DR. HENRY A. ATKINSON, M. APPIA, PROF. BRILIOTH, PROF. W. ADAMS BROWN, PROF. CHOISY, MISS GARDNER, DR. ADOLF KELLER, DR. MACFARLAND, DR. MCCLYMONT, REV. T. NIGHTINGALE, LIC. ERICH STANGE, and THE DEAN OF WORCESTER.

MESSAGES AND GREETINGS

A LARGE number of Messages were received both before and during the Conference. In addition to those printed below, which were read by the Chairman, letters or telegrams were received from the following amongst others: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, U.S.A.; the Blankenburger Konferenz, Germany; Sir George Adam Smith, Aberdeen; the Bishop of Ochrida, Serbia; Dr. Luther, Chancellor of the German Reich; Viscount Cecil, England; Mr. Hoover, U.S.A.; M. Ador, President of the International Red Cross; and the Metropolitan of Athens.

H.M. The King of England

His Majesty the King has heard with interest of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work about to be held in Stockholm, and hopes that this gathering of representatives of many of the Christian Churches of Europe and America will conduce to the great cause of international peace.

The President of the United States

June 2, 1925.

My dear Dr. Plimpton,

Your invitation to attend the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work has had my careful consideration. I feel certain that I should find this a most interesting gathering, but as you know it is not expedient for me to go outside the country. I should be pleased if you would convey to your associates my best wishes for the success of the Conference and my hope and belief that it may result in a great deal of good. It will provide a forum for interchange of ideas, an opportunity for better appreciation of the aims and ideals of the different peoples there represented, and raise up the standard of life and work throughout the world.—With kindest regards, I am, Very truly yours, Calvin Coolidge.

The President of the German Reich

Hundreds of official delegates of Christian Churches have met at Stockholm in these days to deal conjointly with the great questions of modern life in accordance with the principles of Christian morality, to handle the immense problems of world evolution from the point of view of the Christian conscience and to relieve the oppressing difficulties of the social, economic and political life of the nations in the spirit of the Gospel.

I greet this Conference with great joy as a particularly valuable link in the long chain of efforts struggling for the real peace of mankind, and I hope that God may give rich blessing to the great and important task of this Conference on Life and Work.

May your meetings be accomplished in the spirit of love and mutual understanding, and may there emanate from them a healing force for the souls of mankind.

VON HINDENBURG,
President of the German Reich.

THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE

11*th August* 1925.

TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA (Mgr. Nathan),
Our brother well-beloved in Jesus Christ.

May the peace of God the Father and Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

We received with the greatest pleasure your letter dated July 21st last. It was read with special honour before our Holy Synod.

We express our heart-felt gratitude for the kind remarks you so generously made to us concerning our very small contribution to the success of the holy work of Christ's Church. We felt we must share in the common efforts that have been undertaken with such commendable enthusiasm. May the Lord God bless and strengthen all such efforts, directed to a purpose so great and comforting.

Filled with this firm belief in the tremendous value of these united Christian efforts we offer to God a fervent prayer that He may bless and crown with success the labours of this Panchristian Conference, which is so soon to meet in the beautiful capital of your noble God-fearing country.

Our presence at the Conference in accord with your

gracious invitation is unfortunately impossible, but we, though far away, shall be present in our thoughts as we offer prayers for its good progress and the complete success of its labours.

Glory, honour and peace be with those who are striving and contributing by their services to develop and reassert friendship and brotherhood in Jesus, Our Common Saviour.

We remain in brotherly accord with your Grace, a well-beloved brother in Jesus Christ.

BASILE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

PROFESSOR ADOLF VON HARNACK

(Berlin)

August 20, 1925.

My thanks and deeply-felt wishes and blessings will be constantly with the Conference in these days, in which, to my sorrow, it is impossible for me personally to take part.

In the face of this great gathering all my remembrances of church history are stirred: they seem to me to have been as preparation for this Conference. Thousands feel, hundreds will express their gratitude. Take also to-day my sincere and warmest thanks.

What the Conference will achieve no one can foretell, but certainly it is not before its time, and certainly it cannot end in failure. One may say: 'God wills it, the Christian conscience requires it, the need of the times demands it.' Should it result in nothing more than an orientation of the need, and in brotherly intercourse, a beginning will have been made which cannot be in vain. But I certainly hope that already there may come out of this Conference, even if in a tentative form, an organization through which the great thought may take shape and permanence. We will not fail in patience, if only the seed is not scattered by the wind, but takes root.

May God's grace express itself in the brotherly relations of those who take part, and may His Spirit govern the proceedings.

D. von Harnack.

The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

July 1, 1925.

My desire not only to take part in such an assembly but at the same time to pay my tribute to the imperishable work to redeem the reputation of the Church as an undismayed and consistent power for peace, would have brought me to Stockholm had it been humanly possible. Multitudes of people have again and again been turned away mourning because, when a testimony of faith in the imperious rule of the Christian spirit was demanded to check and shame the passions and the follies of blind men, that testimony was not delivered, but something so feeble, so temporizing, and so false was given out instead. The state of the world to-day once more calls for the aid of the Christian spirit, not only as a judge and a healer, but as a guide. Whilst men and nations in their distress of fear run hither and thither seeking safety where the experience of centuries shows there is no refuge, it is the duty of the Church to rally them to a confidence in the inner light and its attending moral courage so that they may walk with firm confidence in the ways of the spirit which are the ways of both honour and life.

J. Ramsay MacDonald.

A GIFT FROM NAZARETH

Mr. Charles Vickrey of the Near East Relief Committee presented to the Conference a gavel of olive wood made in Nazareth, for the use of the Chairman.

SECOND MAIN SUBJECT

II. THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

THE DEAN OF WORCESTER (England)
(The Very Rev. W. Moore Ede, D.D.)

REPORTS on the Church and Economic and Industrial Problems have been drawn up by the Commissions appointed by the churches of the various countries represented at this Conference.

While they each bear the stamp of the country of their origin, and are influenced by their special economic and industrial conditions, it would be tedious if I were to endeavour in a few minutes to give a report on the reports which have been presented. All the reports emphasize the necessity of applying the spirit and teaching of Christ to the economic and industrial life of their country, and all are agreed as to what are the great main principles of the Social Gospel of Christ.

I will therefore cast my remarks into the form of an introduction in general terms to the subject we have met to consider.

If I seem to some to see our subject through British eyes it is because the forms of the problem as they appear in Great Britain are those with which I am most familiar.

What has caused the need of a Conference on the application of Christian principles to Life and Work? Why are we here?

I would answer: because Christianity has been very largely driven out of certain spheres of human life by two influences:

1. *Religious*: In the break up of the Church and the political and social conditions which followed the Reformation Christianity came to be regarded more and more as a matter of personal salvation, the saving of the souls. Churches became, very largely, groups of people engaged in the saving their souls by the acceptance of their special scheme of salvation. Of the importance of saving the soul, and quickening the spiritual element by bringing men into conscious relation with God there can be no doubt. There can be no Christian society without Christian men. All social effort is ultimately dependent on the spiritual functioning of the personal life; yet the emphasis on personal salvation led many to regard the Christian religion as outside questions concerning the State.

2. *Economic.* The publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, just when new inventions were breaking up the old ways of life and creating the industrial era, enabled men to elevate self interest into a Gospel—a very congenial gospel, especially to the fortunate, for it proclaimed that the way to promote the well-being of society was for every one to look after his own interest—a gospel never more admirably caricatured than by our English novelist Charles Dickens in a saying he puts in the mouth of one of his greatest characters—'Every one for himself and God for us all, as the elephant said when he danced among the chickens.'

Under these two influences Christianity has been very largely squeezed out of politics and business. Men have thought and said, that the churches had nothing to do with politics, and that the law of Christ did not run in the realm of international affairs.

As regards economic problems, men said: Well, business is business, it has a code of its own. The Sermon on the Mount, the sentiments in the hymns sung or the sermons

preached on Sunday, were regarded as independent of and outside the occupations in which men were engaged in the week.

Thus it came to pass that the Christian churches stood as outsiders, looking on, while the industrial system grew up with all its evils of overcrowding, child labour, oppression, inequalities of wealth. From the results of this negligence we suffer to-day.

We are here to assert, not as individuals—there have always been individuals who have asserted the claim of Christ to rule social practice—but as representatives of the churches of many nations, that the exclusion of Christianity from politics and business is wrong, that Christianity is concerned with social conditions and the application of Christian principles to life.

That Christ meant His disciples to concern themselves with the establishment of a Christian social order is evident from the fact that He put in the forefront of the prayer He taught His disciples to use, ' Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, *on earth* as it is in Heaven '—and that He instituted a social meal as the symbol by which His disciples were to keep alive their spiritual union with God, and their spiritual union with one another.

We maintain that Christianity not only has a social gospel, but that the Christian ideals are not conjectures of a wise philosopher, or poetic idealisms, but in accord with the divine mind, part of the eternal order. We are convinced that in Christ we have the revelation of God expressed in terms of humanity, the revelation of what is eternal and fundamental in all relations of life—the only ideals which will really work in a world which God has made.

Sir Philip Gibbs, an eminent English journalist, recently wrote as follows : ' It is because men are disloyal to God that the world is afflicted by so much unnecessary evil, by

so many tragedies and tears. It is only by re-dedicating ourselves to the Christian spirit that we can hope to solve the problems that beset us on every side, and exorcise the evil powers in the heart of humanity which are working for destruction.'

We believe that in the Christian revelation we have the key to the solution of all human problems, including the economic and industrial. The Christian revelation in its social implications may be summed up in four great words : Love, Brotherhood, Service, Justice.

Love. We believe that the essential character of the power that rules the world is love—that God is love, and that human well-being, all moral progress, is advanced by love expressing itself in goodwill, co-operation and mutual helpfulness.

This conviction brings us into conflict with the current belief that the powers which rule the world are force and self-interest.

As Christians we stand, or ought to stand, as the apostles of love and the methods of love—*e.g.* we contend that the security for which the nations crave can never be attained by armaments, but must be sought through forgiveness, friendship and co-operation ; and that industrial harmony can never be secured by any victory won by either side when capital and labour are arrayed in hostile camps.

Brotherhood. All are children of one Father, each one precious in His eyes, therefore the development of human personality is more important than wealth, man more important than money. In all economic problems the human factor is of more importance than material gain.

Service. When we ask what is the object of life ? what the goal of human endeavour ? there rings in our ears Christ's condemnation of personal aggrandisement, acquisition of wealth, titles, power, or domination, as Pagan ;

the things the Gentiles seek ; and we hear the Divine Man saying, it shall not be so among His disciples, they must measure life by service, by the good they do, the help they render, for ' I am among you as he that serveth.'

Justice. Do to others as you would they should do to you. Seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. Then, but not till then, will other blessings be ours. No social order can endure, can satisfy human desire unless it is just. God has made man so that he can never rest content under unjust conditions. The seething discontent with present industrial conditions has its root in a sense of injustice, the conviction that its rewards are not according to work or merit.

You may say that Love, Brotherhood, Service and Justice are platitudes. In a sense they are, but we regard them as part of the eternal order, as ruling ideas which have divine authority.

We have no cut and dried scheme such as Socialism, Guild Socialism, or that of the Second or Third International, but we believe that it is our business as Christians to secure the application of these Christian principles to economic and industrial relations.

Because there are great evils in our present economic system we should not destroy it until we have something better to put in its place.

We want to transform by making it more Christian. The economic machine would work more successfully if Christ's influence were more pervasive.

When justice is tempered by mercy ; when between employers and employed there is a spirit of mutual helpfulness ; when humane motives are strong; when in fact the ethics of the Gospel are not wholly forgotten, our social order is most healthy. What we need to attempt to-day is to extend the range of Christian idealism within the economic

order which we have inherited. We must seek to transform it from within. We certainly cannot get outside it unless we break it to pieces, and that way leads to destructive catastrophe.

How can we do it ?

Those who have vision must proclaim the ideal—that is the prophet's function—and it has been truly said that where there is no vision the people perish.

We want the world to know and understand the social ideals of the Christian faith, and one of the great purposes of this Conference is to make clear to the world that all the churches represented here believe in the social ideals of the Christian Gospel. We want all the world to know that there is a real unity among Christians, a unity of spirit, a unity of conviction, which exists along with and allows free play to varieties of national and individual temperament.

We need also to open the eyes of the members of our several churches that they may see and believe in these ideals, for one must admit that a large number of professing Christians are still blind to the social implications of Christ's teaching.

Prophets are often regarded as impracticable persons whose visions are up in the clouds of a dreamland. There is some truth in the criticism. It is for those gifted with the practical faculty to think out how the visions of the prophets may be translated into practical life.

If I may use an English illustration—Ruskin had the prophet's vision, but it required a George Cadbury to translate his vision into life by the creation of Bournville.

What we need to-day is, that Christians who believe in the Social Gospel should meet together, and think out the problem of how the Christian vision may be realized under the conditions of modern economic and industrial life.

That is what we are here to do. Then having gathered fresh inspiration from this assembly where representatives of so many churches, varied in character and circumstances, have co-operated in considering the problems of the Social Gospel, let us return to our respective churches and our several congregations resolved to rouse them to think out the applications of Christ's principles to the problems of life in their own country and among their own people.

Dr. Kähler

(Professor of Political Economy, Greifswald, Germany, Member of the Prussian Parliament)

I am not in the happy position of the previous speaker that a copy of my speech is in your hands. But I will follow on where he left off. In considering the problem of the attitude of the Evangelical Churches to industrial and social questions, Germany can offer not only theoretical but also eminently practical help. It is as if we had before us an experiment on a big scale with a living object. To the superficial observer it seems not to have succeeded. The political revolution of 1918 was a social one. It would even describe itself as a socialistic revolution. But the events of the last year have shown us in Germany that there was no final settlement in the experiment of 1918. German experience, however, has much more to teach us than this.

The want of research, of which Bishop Billing complains, and the influence of this on industrial and social conditions, are not found in Germany. The ethical, religious, economic and sociological standpoints have for some time, with us, influenced and modified each other. In 1848 Wichern began to consider in a truly prophetic spirit the problem of the industrial proletariat from the standpoint of the Church. The German school of Political Economy—the so-called ' Cathedra Socialists ' (*e.g.* my own

teachers, Adolph Wagner and Gustav Schmoller) began to consider economic problems in the light of ethics, and fifty years ago founded State Socialism. Adolph Stöcker attempted to give this a Christian basis. The Emperor William the First, together with Bismarck, forty years ago, in the famous Imperial Message issued in November 1881, called for the protection and the insurance of the worker as the beginning of the social transformation of the life of the nation, and based this call on the idea that it was practical Christianity.

The free and unofficial members of the Evangelical Social Congress and of the Ecclesiastical Social Conference have not even yet received support from the organized churches. The Christian Labour movement remains weak. The social legislation of the German Empire has been recognized and imitated by other nations. It has not as yet produced its full effect on the mind and on the spiritual well-being of the nation. Among employers and employees, as among other strata of the nation, there is wanting that social spirit which is based on Christian experience. As a result, all these and many other experiments have not been able to overcome the revolutionary spirit of Marxian Socialism and ethical Materialism.

Nevertheless the newly constituted German Evangelical Church Federation has not remained idle or discouraged since the revolution. It is free from state and class entanglements.

The doctrine which German economic science teaches, that industry is for the sake of man, that it is a means to an end and not an end in itself, is in full harmony with the laws which govern industrial life. The Social Message of the Church, issued from Bethel in 1924, applied without reserve the spirit of Evangelical Christianity to industrial conditions, and aroused the conscience of the nation. This call is all the more necessary as German industry, enslaved

by the 'Dawes Plan' and robbed of its own life, must inevitably witness an intensification of the struggle for the division of what is left and must inevitably produce a much smaller national income.

Thus German Evangelical Christianity has tried to do its duty in the very varied stages of the development of capitalistic industry. This is therefore a contribution of practical Christian service to the Conference on Life and Work, according to the Lord's words: 'Ye are the salt of the earth, ye are the light of the world.'

His Magnificence the Bishop of Saxony
(The Rt. Rev. Ludwig Ihmels, D.D.)

We have far exceeded our allotted time; therefore I must limit myself to four sentences.

1. Let me express my delight that despite all difficulties, the Commission has been able to agree to the propositions that are before you.

2. All we have endeavoured to state is contained in these two sentences: the sole task of the Church is to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but this includes the recognition of her social duty.

3. Our Commission emphasized, with deep seriousness, the Church's neglect of the social part of her work and calls the Church to penitence. I accept these conclusions and, confident of your support, I say: 'We acknowledge our guilt.'

4. Therefore, the note sounded by the Chairman of the Session and afterwards by the Chairman of our Commission, must not remain without an echo. We resolve on our return home from Stockholm, to strive with renewed zeal to proclaim our Lord Jesus Christ as Lord both of employer and employed; but above all as Lord of His Church and yet most of all as our Lord, as 'my Lord.'

Mrs. George Cadbury (England) also spoke.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

II. THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*)

The discussion was continued by THE REV. P. T. R. KIRK (England), MR. E. B. RINMAN (Sweden), and THE REV. R. H. TRIBE (England).

IIa. CHRISTIAN CHARITY AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

LICENTIATE STEINWEG
(Director of the Central Board of Home Missions, Berlin)

OPINIONS are divided as to the attitude which Christian Churches ought to adopt with regard to economic and industrial problems. On close examination the differences are not, I think, so great as they often appear to be. Still they are there. I allude to what the Archbishop of Finland has said about this Conference. But no one disputes that it is the duty of the Church to exercise compassion. However different the conception of the Church may be, it is unquestionable that both the single community and the whole Church should be a fellowship of faith and love. She calls the individual member of the community, through the preaching of the word, to a life of love. It is quite natural that those who have been so called should unite for the common exercise of love and helpfulness. It was so in the first Christian community and in the primitive Church and whenever faith has been living or has experienced a new awakening, love has also been alert and active. As a rule the first impulse to the service of love and charity has issued from individuals or from small groups. The work has gradually spread until it has been

taken up by the community or by the Church as a whole. This development has taken place in varying degrees in all the Evangelical Churches. For example, as expressing a fellowship in belief and a work of leadership, we have the office of Bishop, in the ministry of the Word the office of Preacher, in the practical service of love the office of Deacon. But in speaking of the Diaconate we are not thinking of the more specialized vocation of the Deacon and the Deaconess, but are thinking of Christian service in a broader sense. This service is as necessary in the life of the Church as the ministry of the Word and the work of Leadership.

The example and the teaching of Jesus inspire this service of love and sympathy and make it available for all people in need of help, the sick, the fallen, the destitute, the homeless. Wherever there is any kind of need, helplessness, social or moral danger, there love steps in and finds its field of work. The practice of love is a matter not only of the community, but also, in a special measure, of the individual member of the community. It has primarily to do with individual cases of suffering and need. But Christian love does not merely carry on the struggle with individual need ; it has to do with collective distress on a large scale. The work and service of love gives us a glimpse into the dark depths of human guilt and sin. We often find that distress is simply a consequence of sin, and effective help is only possible if we help not only the body but the soul. But if we look at this more closely and in the spirit of love, we shall find that it is by no means always a question of the sin and guilt of the individual, but much more frequently of the community. This guilt consists in the fact that the community has allowed conditions to arise in which men are bound to stumble and fall, to sink and be lost. The sufferings and sins of whole peoples, the burden and guilt of whole communities, meet us to a

terrible extent in our work of love. Let me refer to two spheres of work, public health and education. As regards the former, it is largely a matter of the care of individual sick people, the epileptic, the infirm, etc. But in the service of public health we cannot limit ourselves to the care of individuals ; we must proceed to a comprehensive system of social hygiene, based on the knowledge that present-day social conditions powerfully foster diseases of all kinds, particularly tuberculosis. Further, these diseases and sufferings are very closely connected with industrial conditions, with factory and workshop life and with housing.

We find something similar when we come to consider the problem of education. Children who are defective or who are exposed to danger or neglect must often experience in their own lives the truth of the words : ' The sins of the fathers are visited on the children.' But for the most part these children come from homes and from families where neglect is only too easy. These housing and family conditions again are very closely connected with industrial conditions. Thus in nearly all departments of Christian service it is possible to trace the influence of the social and industrial conditions of our modern life on the physical, moral and religious needs of the individual. And so far as the duty of love is concerned, we can neglect individual needs as little as we can neglect collective needs and the bad conditions of our social and industrial life. Yet we know full well that we cannot abolish sin from the world by changing external conditions. But the Christian who with a sensitive conscience and a full heart feels himself impelled to a ministry of love must again and again put to himself the question : is it not a Christian duty not only to hold out a helpful hand to those who have come to grief and to stoop to those who have sunk low in sin and sorrow,

but also to feel the collective guilt and to wage war against those conditions that crush body and soul, mind and spirit, manners and morals, joy and nobility of mind. Thus, for instance, we find among the leading men of the Home Mission in Germany such as Wichern, Stoecker and Bodelschwingh a tendency to advance beyond helpfulness to individuals to comprehensive social and industrial reforms.

It is well known that in socialistic and proletarian circles the objection is often raised against the activities of the Church, 'We claim justice.' Only create just conditions and then Christian solicitude and service will no longer be necessary. We are convinced, however, that as long as this earth endures want will cease to exist just as little as sin, and that Christ's words will remain true, 'The poor ye have always with you.' But it is also true that if there was more justice in the world there would be less need for charity. The most elementary obligation of Christian love is therefore the practice of justice. On the other hand, we often find that earnest and well-meaning men who are in full sympathy with the ideals of Christian service, refuse to recognize the need of a juster ordering of our social relations. They think they have fulfilled the obligations of Christian love if they support the claims of Christian charity. Hence it is always necessary to get the proletariat on the one hand and the possessing and the privileged classes on the other to recognize the fact that the exercise of Christian love ought not to hinder the admission that there is much injustice in our social and industrial conditions. Side by side with the duty of Christian love and helpfulness is the duty of furthering the cause of justice and of bringing about a juster ordering of the relations between man and man, class and class, state and state. Side by side with social 'caritas' must stand social reform, the reshaping or the

transformation of the conditions of life in their wider range and bearing. But the converse of this is also true. Side by side with social reform we must not forget social ' caritas,' the duty of practising Christian love towards individuals. I have the impression that there is sometimes a danger of undervaluing the plain and simple duty of Christian love in favour of great social schemes and the desire to carry them out, while this duty of love is an excellent school not only for the development of social knowledge, but also for the strengthening of the will for social service. How many impulses towards knowledge and towards the carrying out of great social schemes have proceeded from the work of the Home Mission in Germany ! It is an inevitable circumstance and no accident that the men of this Mission should take a substantial and decisive part in the foundation of the ' Evangelical Social Congress ' and the ' Ecclesiastical Social Federation.' Let us endeavour to get the largest number of individual members of our communities to take a more active part in this service, so that we may prepare the ground for the development of those social forces which are in danger of being lost in our social schemes.

In this connection I must also refer to the fact that it has been deemed necessary to form links between those who are engaged in Christian service in the churches of different lands. We have made a beginning with ' the Continental Union of the Churches,' which provides opportunities for examining and dealing with important problems. I am convinced that work of this kind would react favourably on the social work of the Church and help to bring us into line with the real purpose and end of this Conference. It has been suggested that our discussions here rather imply that we hold the view that it is possible to transform this world and bring in the Kingdom of God by human action

and effort, whereas this is in reality a gift of God, which comes to us from above through His mighty intervention. There is a dread of any encroachment on the apocalyptic elements of the New Testament. To this I should like to make a two-fold answer. In the first place, the Bible tells us that after the Fall God cursed the earth and yet made it the place where man might work and effect something. Thus all our human relations stand under the curse of transitoriness and sin, and yet men must work on the soil and work as well as possible. And then again in the passage that has a strong apocalyptic character, in the parable of the Last Judgment (St. Matt. xxv.) Jesus makes the standard of judgment the evidence we can show of compassionate love. That which remains eternal in the sight of God, even in the Last Judgment, is the love we have shown here. The world passes away with its inhabitants and its institutions, but the works and deeds of love are abiding stones of God's Eternal Kingdom. The conditions of our industrial and social life are as transitory as everything else in the world; but the justice we try to introduce into them, the good with which we try to enrich them remain for ever. Whether we feed the hungry, or whether we take part in the great struggle for social justice, in both cases our souls' salvation and the Kingdom of God are at stake.

Dr. A. Th. Jorgensen (Denmark), the Rt. Rev. Dr. W. L. Rogers, Bishop of Ohio (U.S.A.), Professor Slotemaker de Bruine (Holland), and Sister Emma von Bunsen (Germany) also spoke.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1925

EVENING SESSION (5–7 P.M.)

II. THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*)

Chairman—The Rev. C. S. MACFARLAND, D.D.
(General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Church of Christ, U.S.A.)

SHAILER MATHEWS, D.D., LL.D.
(Dean of the Divinity School of the University, Chicago)

THE future of the Church is indissolubly united with the economic life of the modern world. The vital problem is this: shall organized Christianity have any part in determining what sort of society shall result from the present industrial development or shall it ignore and so be ignored by the creative social forces?

I. Three replies are being made to this question.

1. There are these who say that the Church should have no part in the direction of economic development. They emphasize the theological and pietistic aspects of Christianity exclusively. If this attitude were to become universal, the Church would become everywhere as it has become in many places an esoteric religious group abandoned by the labouring classes and the bourgeoisie alike.

2. Another answer is to the effect that the Church shall identify itself with some economic programme or class such as organized Labour, Socialist Party, Capitalism. If this answer were to prevail, the Church would become simply an organ of some economic group. It would lose the opportunity to be the spiritual leader of all humanity.

3. The only safe answer is that which is demanded by the

very nature of the Church as the Body of Christ. It cannot preach a social attitude like love and ignore the obligations which love raises. The Church must recognize the socializing of the spirit of Jesus Christ as its true function. It must produce men and women possessed of the attitude of Jesus Christ. Such an attitude must be expressed by group action as well as in individual lives. It is as necessary that Christian morals should be dominant in the economic life as in any other phase of human activity.

II. The Church must champion the human element in all economic struggle. Economic forces are little more than the behaviour of human beings. Labour is not a commodity, but the contribution of persons to the economic process. The Church must labour for and forward all measures which are clearly productive of personal value. The test which it should apply to policies and programmes is not that of economic efficiency but of personal welfare. Personal welfare should determine the degree of economic efficiency which is safe for a society to possess. This is a moral issue sure to arise in economic struggle. To ignore it is moral cowardice or selfish subservience to existing conditions. Every man has a right to have a share in the direction of his industrial life, to join others in group action, to enjoy leisure, to be protected against unemployment, sickness and old age, to have his children educated and protected from any form of economic exploitation; in a word, to satisfy his needs as a personality. For all such measures as make this possible the Church as the representative of justice and brotherliness should stand.

III. The Church must train its members to refuse to make mere acquisitiveness the dominant basis of economic and industrial activity. In so doing it need not and must not commit itself to any political or class distinction. Covetousness is as sinful in the working man as in the

employer, in the unprivileged as in the privileged. Brotherhood is not a newly-discovered opportunity to get something from some brother.

IV. The Church must give moral direction to industrial discontent. Religious faith must never become an economic anaesthetic. God is not to be debited with the totality of the present social order. Men have a right to be discontented with an economic situation that prevents them from meeting their needs as human persons. The Church must insist that just because an industrial order exists, it is not necessarily justified in continuing to exist. Love is a call to democratize privilege of all sorts by such social changes as are wise.

V. The Church must do more than champion rights and urge justice in economic life. It must preach the good tidings that despite the sacrifice it involves love is practicable in industrial life because God Himself is active love. To give justice is wiser than to fight for privilege because God's will co-operates with those who give justice. The Church must persuade men to believe this. To doubt that God furthers the efficiency of love is to doubt Our Lord's words. Such faith can find expression in our economic life as certainly as in any other human relation. All idealistic ambitions demand faith in God and help from God. Sociology is not a substitute for the Gospel. To recognize the divine presence as furthering and assuring the permanent success of a sacrificial social-mindedness is the modern equivalent of the apostolic preaching of the Kingdom of God. We seek the Kingdom of God when we express its spirit of love in human relations. We have the word of Our Lord that Our Heavenly Father knows that we have need of economic goods and that they will not be wanting to those who thus seek to make it possible for His will to be done in earth as it is in heaven.

THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIAN LOVE

ARVID RUNESTAM, D.D.
(Professor of Dogmatics and Moral Theology, Upsala, Sweden)

1. *Two Wrong Aspects of the Question*

THE word love meets us in many connections. We speak not only of Christian love but also of other kinds: love between children and parents, between men and women, love for the native country, etc. Christian love has not been exposed to any great risk of being confounded with love in these forms. But its relation has not been the same towards other emotions, which also come under the head of love, or towards a closely related form, the so-called 'general love of mankind,' sympathy, altruism, feeling for humanity, social fellow-feeling, a feeling of social solidarity, and whatever other forms might be named.

It is easy to understand why Christian love has been more often confused with the latter form of love than with the former, which in one way or another is more conditioned by the laws of nature. It is obviously due to the fact that men considered the form and essence of love as dependent on the object, towards which it was directed. 'General love for mankind' or social fellow-feeling has been more easily confused with Christian love as the object for love in both cases was or seemed to be the same: all men without exception. Love was found in both to be universal in its object, in contrast to the limited object of a father's or a mother's love or the love of country. Thus the comprehensiveness and breadth of love has come to determine the kind of love. But the comprehensiveness of love has come to determine not only the kind of love, but also its worth. The greater and more varied the object has been, the more worthy has the love been considered.

Love for the whole human race has been esteemed better than love of one's native land, and love for one's family and relatives less worthy than love for the whole race. Christian love and social sympathy have thus not only been confused with one another, but both have been valued as the highest form of love, for the reason, and in the degree, that both of them in principle concern all. And love for the narrower circle, relatives and native land, has been considered with suspicion and as hardly possible except at the expense of the ' greater ' love for all men.

But the confusion between Christian love and a socially directed general love for mankind has still other grounds, namely, the idea that love is worth more, the more it goes against men's instinctive feelings and inclinations, and the more effort it costs. The all-inclusive love for mankind is more meritorious than love between parents and children, etc., because it is not, like them, based on a natural instinct, which makes it ' easy,' but because it is more of an effort. In this connection, the conception also easily arises that love towards those who are at a greater distance is worth more than love towards those who are nearest, whom it is only ' natural ' to love. That is to say, love, from the point of view of human power of achievement, and according to this method of observation, rests upon the theory that love is something self-acquired and something which can be successfully demanded of men.

But if love is conceived as something that can be produced through the mere demand to love, then its contents must necessarily be changed : from the centre of life, which is character, it is moved out into the circumference ; it becomes outward acts, charity, helpfulness, and generally, all that which we can achieve by exerting our strength—but which can well exist without love. The feeling of social sympathy has indeed not escaped this fate. And

Christian love has in this very way often been immediately mistaken for this, as not even Christians have always kept the spirit, but have at times replaced it by outward works of love, and by philanthropy and similar acts, which have the appearance of love without possessing its strength.

Neither is it only representatives of the socially organized love for mankind with its cosmopolitan touch, who have been to blame for the confusion in question and who have proclaimed themselves the heirs to Christian love. The point of view which lies at the bottom of this conception of love's value has been accepted to a great extent even by Christians. In highly developed Christian groups it has however been recognized that Christian love has suffered through its identification with the humane moral conception of general love for mankind, and has lost depth and strength by being associated with this modern aspect. But it has been difficult to distinguish in principle the two forms of love and to establish their individual characteristics.

The alternative chosen, when the need was felt for protecting Christian love from this mistake, has usually consisted in saying that Christian love was love for the soul, for the eternal in man, for the personal in him. It concerns nothing so much on the circumference as the daily and temporal life with its social relationships; in any case not directly. If it is concerned with such, then, according to this point of view, the personal and the eternal in man, and the salvation of souls, is the final aim.

Thus both points of view make the worth of love dependent on the object of love. The difference is only that, for the one, it is the extent and the quantity of the object which determines the worth of love, and for the other it is the object's depth, its quality, and the worth of the object itself.

My claim is that neither of these attitudes quite represents the true idea of Christian love.

2. Love is of no greater value just because it embraces a greater number or a larger area

The Gospel does not make love's worth primarily dependent on the comprehensiveness of the object of love. Neither does it make the worth of love dependent on the human effort visible in the outer results of the working of love.

Christianity certainly recognizes a universality of love. But it is different from the 'general' love for mankind. It is this which was overlooked in Christian fields when, through fear of being surpassed by the modern, moral welfare movement for the general love of mankind, men vied with each other in asserting the universality of the love of Christianity. The result has been that men have accepted all too easily the moral, philosophical interpretation of the word and stopped at the explanation that Christian love is love towards all men, towards the whole race, towards all mankind. But the Gospel knows no such love. Its demand of love is, however, not lower than that of moral humanity. On the contrary, it is, in truth, quite boundless. For ultimately it is nothing less than that we should love with God's own love. And that knows no bounds. 'Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect.' Jesus does not proceed from the actual ability of man, but from the supremacy of ideals, in demanding likeness to God as the essence of moral goodness.

But the demands of the Gospel concern, first, not the extent of the object of love, but its own depth. It confines itself closely to the field of reality and does not call love that which is not really love. It reckons with man's bondage through the limits of time and space and it assumes generally as self-evident, that love and hate are dependent

on the relationships in which men have personal intercourse and in which a personal contribution is possible. The thought that love should consist in our including the sum of all men in a general sympathy for the human race, or in general good-will, and a feeling for humanity, etc., does not lie within the horizon of the Gospel, and is certainly not its conception of love. For the love of which the Gospel speaks, is always assumed to be a personal contribution, a personal sacrifice. In that conception the whole is included. And therewith is meant not only or, in the first place, an outward act of love, but an event, a breaking through, an act of creation in the inner world of the spirit. Depths are opened up and new forces rise from the depth out into human life, forces which inherently tend to express themselves in action. The depth is the love of God. And human love is of worth, not in relation to its ability to achieve all kinds of feelings of sympathy, or to accomplish self-appointed tasks, but rather in relation to its power to break down barriers before the spontaneous flow of the divine love.

Thus the universality of Christian love does not consist in my including all men in a general love for mankind, but consists, rather in that, first, God's love includes all peoples, times, and individuals, both bad and good; second, that this should be our love, inasmuch as we are commanded to be like God, perfect, as He is perfect; and third, that no barriers raised by men between peoples and individuals should prevent me from becoming a 'neighbour' and from making a personal contribution everywhere. God opens to me possibilities through the order of nature and the events of history.

A socially directed love is not herewith dismissed as unchristian. I will return to this later. If it is a personal contribution, an offer brought by effort from the depths of

one's personality, it is Christian, whether it appears in the name of Christianity or not. But there is a socially concerned 'love for mankind,' which is diametrically opposed, and cannot be too sharply separated from it. The type is familiar to us. I mean the kind whose general love for mankind, and interest in the general, is nourished by lack of interest in that which lies nearer, in one's own family, surroundings, vocation and the health of one's own soul. Such a one seeks his 'neighbour' past his nearest, not because the need and claim for love has been satisfied, but because he does not get on with himself and those belonging to him and with his duties. This devotion to the general is often nothing but a lack of personal depth, a lack of seriousness, of willingness to enter into relations which demand personal sacrifice and personal contribution, a desire to live on the surface, to escape the necessity of personal claims, which close relationships always assert, perhaps also the desire to shine through one's own love of mankind and to be moved—perhaps most by one's own goodness—while in the depths of one's heart remaining hard and cold, saving its coolness for those who are closest.

Thus if Christian love must regard with suspicion or open protest the universal love for mankind proclaimed from non-Christian centres, and its manifestations, it appears, on the other hand, when all is considered, to be more closely related to the form of love conditioned by nature, as love between parents and children, love for one's native country, etc., than at first appeared. The structure is the same. It shares the spontaneity of natural love. One can accomplish nothing through one's own strength. The difference is only that, in the one case, the source from which strength flows is 'grace,' in the other, 'nature.' But here nature can be a 'gift to the spirit.' Even the natural love is, if it be sincere, grace, an over-

flowing of God's love, smoothing the way for the deeper love which springs from the fountain of forgiveness. Along this path Christian love has therefore always advanced in its many forms to the human heart. Who can count the number of times a mother's heart has been the messenger of divine love? Who will deny that a spiritualized love between man and woman is the most valuable gift of God's love and one which can lead the way further into God's love? And that a love of one's native land that is full of a feeling of responsibility and zeal can, by the attitude and force of the Christian faith, be blessed and welded together with Christian love into personal work for the fatherland, into prayer and spirit and deed?

Thus we have already suggested that Christian love is possible not only when individuals come into personal contact with one another. There is also Christian love to groups of individuals, to peoples, even to mankind. Such is God's love and the love of Christ, as it shines brightest from Golgotha. The love, which suffered there, includes all. But Jesus did not experience this love as 'general love for mankind' in the modern sense of charity and moral sympathy,—not a bit. Must this be said? For Jesus there is in His death at once a personal contribution and a contribution for humanity. In a personal way, He experiences, in His suffering and in His death, the need of humanity. In the depths of His love humanity is actually one, one lone man. That is the mystery. History has not challenged this. It is in this secret that it still finds strength and life.

Before this love of Jesus who will lay claim to a 'universal love for mankind,' a love for the whole race? His love at least forbids us to let words about love for all fall lightly from our lips. It tells us that only in the measure in which love takes upon itself and bears personal voluntary

sacrifices can it spread over multitudes, over greater areas, without becoming superficial and sterile. Only in the measure in which a human being actually enters into the life of the surroundings, into the peoples' own need, their spiritual as well as their bodily, their anxieties in life, above all their responsibilities, and sins and guilt ; and into the nation and to humanity brings the love of God for the relief of want, the removal of guilt and the strengthening of responsibility ; in that measure, but only in that measure, can man widen the object of his love without its becoming impersonal and ceasing to be love.

Love is thus not more valuable as including many but in the degree in which love deepens itself it stretches its influence, as necessary, over a greater and greater area. In this lies therefore the universalism of Christian love : the deeper it is, the more universal is its object. The depth of love decides not only its worth but also its comprehensiveness.

In this line of deep personal sacrifice there is indeed no competition between the love for the less inclusive object and the love for the more inclusive. The man who loves his home and his dear ones is the best friend to the fatherland, and he who in his love enters deepest into the need of the people, loves humanity best. No one has loved his nation so much as he who suffers on the cross for humanity.

3. *Love is not more valuable through being directed towards a more valuable object*

We are led on in the analysis of Christian love to a discussion of the point of view which declares that the worth of love is dependent on the worth of the object loved, and that Christian love is greater than all else because it is love to something more than flesh and blood : to the soul, to the eternal in man, to personality. The idea that lies

behind this point of view is, in any case, correct, that the life of the soul and of the spirit is higher and more precious than the life of the body. The one is perishable, the other imperishable, the one is temporal, the other eternal. Everything shall serve the personality, the higher spiritual culture, as well as material culture. 'Personality is the greatest thing in history,' says a Swedish philosopher. But for the conclusion: it is then love which directs itself towards personality and its needs, and is higher than the love which is full of mercy for human bodily needs: is this in accordance with the Gospel?

The answer seems to be both yes and no. God's love, as it appears in Jesus' life, seems to answer yes. Or was that not love for the soul, for the individuality of Jesus Christ, the love with which God loved His only-begotten Son? For otherwise it seems impossible to understand Jesus' Passion and death: God loved His Son before all men, when He let Him suffer and die for mankind. For God so loved not only the world, but also His Son, that He gave Him in death. Did not He then clearly love the personality, the eternal soul, in Jesus? And is not therefore the Son the crystallized personality which saves struggling personal life?

One thing we cannot overlook in considering this unsparing love: Jesus' own picture in the Gospels, when He went around doing good and serving all, bodily and spiritually. This must make us think before speaking disparagingly of the bodily life and temporal need and of the love which concerns itself with this. Have we any right and do we presume before Him, to set up ourselves as judges over the love of those who busy themselves with humble things, which we perhaps do not consider objects worthy of our feeling and our trouble? Jesus' love certainly demands a revision of the statement that love is

worth more than the object towards which it is directed. For that would imply doubtful conclusions which would ill correspond with the testimony of Jesus as to the love of God. From this statement it would also follow that love for the good and righteous is better than love for the sinner. But it was the ninety and nine righteous men that divine love deserted when it went after the lost sinner. And it is unceasingly to poor fallen and shipwrecked children of men that Jesus stretches out His hands. And not only to their souls. There is so much that is apparently worthless that Jesus has loved and spilled His affection upon : infirm, perishable human life of creatures of flesh and blood, as well as torn, strayed souls. No, before the love of Jesus, it is impossible to affirm the statement, as it is formulated, that love is worth as much as its object—at least according to our own method of distinguishing objects. It may be that all that His love ultimately became with concentrated energy was love for souls, that the personal sacrifice made even for outward needs was but a link in the deeper reaching act of love and redemption. But His love did not ask each time it was given whether the need was great enough for Him to worry over it. It sufficed that there was need and His heart burned with pity.

Thus the criterion of Christian love cannot consist in this : that it gains its value from the object of its love. To declare this would be to deny the ' divinity ' of love. For this consists just in that it lowers itself from the high to the low, that God lowers Himself to man, and the Son of God to children of men, sinful and burdened with guilt. This is indeed the direction which the love Christianity brought into the world, tends to take. ' Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us.'

He who makes the worth of love depend on the object upon which love's mercy is directed, reverses the divine

direction of love. He fails to see that the stream flows from the spring; he puts human longing in the place of divine love.

4. *The value of love does not depend upon the object loved but upon the subject who loves*

Herewith we have reached the main idea which casts light over the various apparently contradictory aspects of the 'divine,' Christian love. It is simple enough: Love's centre of gravity lies not in the object loved but in the subject loving. So it is moreover in all sincere love, even in the love between man and woman, and between mother and child. He who loves is the valuable one. The object, who draws love to itself, may be the most unworthy of all; the love is not therefore less deep and strong, not less valuable. The centre of gravity, the fundamental value, upon which everything in reality hangs, lies in the love itself. Love itself is that which is primarily worthful and worth-creating.

It is not only an unevangelic mental process but also confused psychology which says that Christian love is love to the soul, to the personality. Personality is made the highest thing, and the love for this, the highest form of love, and the fact that it is love itself that builds the deepest foundations for personality is overlooked. The sacrificing, self-giving love is the inner life of personality. It means, that personality, 'the soul,' which through love shall be saved from destruction, is saved not only through being the object of love, but through itself being the subject who loves. The important thing is that love is there. There is nothing higher than the love which offers itself. A 'soul,' a 'personality,' which is more than love and for which that is merely the means, does not exist. The life of love is its very purpose, and is itself the crown of personality,

Towards that goal love leads all real Christian love ; but not by intentionally directing itself towards the salvation of the soul and turning away from the physical needs of life. Real Christian love brings love to life simply by being there, by revealing love. A man loves his neighbour's personality, by revealing in his love personal life. And this happens when his love brims ' divinely ' over all the needy, undisturbed by the magnitude or smallness of the object concerned. From this love a beam of light may be cast into the life of another—without having been directed intentionally towards its soul—and open his eyes to the fountain of love, and his soul to the life of love—perhaps most often through some insignificant deed of love, which your love and mine pass by haughtily as an unworthy object of our imagined idea.

God's love is therefore not the highest, because He loves the soul with its ' infinite value,' but because He is love. And only through the soul's becoming a part of His love, does it become a ' soul ' in the true meaning of the word. The sinner gone astray is in God's eyes ' worth more ' than the ninety-nine righteous men, because He sees that the sinner needs and can receive love, or because He looks upon the sinner as though he were already what he through God's love may become. God's love creates the object of His love. And so it is with the deeper Christian love between men. If only love exists there, we need not be anxious about the object of our mercy. It may reveal itself in commiseration for bodily or spiritual need : if only the love is there, it not only offers needed help, but creates the life which gives fundamental value to reality, the personal life of love.

In this sense Christian love is always love to the soul. It creates the ' soul,' even when it is directed towards the relief of bodily and temporal needs. But we understand

now why God seems more than ourselves to love souls, why His love to the Son was so unsparing, that He gave Him up in death. That is because the Son has come nearer than any other to the holy burning fire, and also because He more than any other became the bearer of divine love and took upon Himself the suffering. If it was God's love which did not spare Him, it was also Jesus' own love which forced Him to death. The sacrifice, which His own love demanded of Him became, as love grew, more urgent and profound than that of anyone. That is then the secret of God's unsparing love. To come too near the flame of love has its risk: the fire can be lit even at the hearth's own altar and crave its sacrifice. It is thus God loves those who are dear to Him: making them the bearers of the love which suffers voluntarily. It is also misleading to speak of Jesus' suffering and the suffering of our times in the same breath and to look for God's unfathomable love behind both of them. Our suffering beside the suffering of Jesus: it is the robber's cross beside the cross of Jesus. 'We receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss.'

Into love's own suffering God will lead men. It is not possible if they themselves do not experience love, to come near the flame, which warms before it lights and burns. But therefore love must also seek men, where they are available, perhaps through commiseration for their mere temporal needs. But if it lies in the essence of Christian love to create 'soul' and awaken love, even through personal pity for external suffering, its effect is dependent on the fact that it pities without double intention. For the very purity of love is dependent on that. It is often unheard-of untruthfulness, or at least, unheard-of self-deception of which we are guilty, when we are striving to choose a sufficiently high object for affection. This is only

a sign that love lacks the 'divinity,' which marked the love of Christ, or a sign that love is dead. For it is a proof, not of the human limitation but of the divine immensity, unselfishness and richness of Jesus' love, that He wasted so much time and devotion in saving the perishable bodies of men even from sickness and need. What good did it do? we are prepared to say, we the wise and calculating; it would have been better to concentrate on saving souls. But Jesus loves, and cannot act otherwise than love moves Him to do. And He does not show commiseration for bodily needs with any double intention, for example, to win souls. Without double intention His love pours over the souls and bodies of poor sinful men. A conscious attempt to save the soul by saving the body would mean death for human love too. It would destroy love's holy spontaneity. Viewed psychologically, it is apparent that the effect fails to appear if such a purpose is seen. 'Man merkt die Absicht und wird verstimmt.' And not only 'verstimmt.' Such calculating love can arouse fatal impulses and feelings in those who are the object of this 'love.' No, Jesus loves without double intentions. Moreover they were no temptation for Him. For He saw more clearly than we a part of the enemy's power that He must fight, even in bodily suffering and need. He saw more clearly than we the connection between the spiritual and the material.

Simple pity for temporal suffering can also reveal more of the healing loving life of the soul, than the so-called love for the soul. If we love, the effect on the soul will not fail, even though we may not see it. It is enough that God holds the threads in His hand and sees the connexion. He arranges that love, however humble the position to which it stretches a helping hand, shall reap a harvest in the kingdom of the spirit. We will follow after the high purpose

in His love and order our lives with foresight and with a broad point of view. But let us not be wiser than Jesus and betray love through wisdom. It is better that we should see less of the connection between the spiritual and the material, between the eternal and the temporal, and in faith hold fast to the love of God, than that we, thinking we see more clearly, should set a high goal for ourselves and lose love.

But the love of Jesus does not merely show that He in no way passed by temporal need with indifference. It shows, too, what happens to a man who comes near enough to God and is seized by the fire of His love. The stronger this begins to burn in his heart, the greater sacrifice it demands, not only sacrifices of outward comforts and strength, but deeper personal contributions, which have their roots in life far below the surface where bodily suffering rules. In Galilean and Judean villages He went about doing good and serving all men. But on the cross He took upon Himself the responsibility for your life and for mine, suffered for our sins, bore our guilt.

Love is thus not more valuable in that it is directed towards a more valuable object, but the more valuable love becomes, the deeper a personal contribution it demands, the deeper it reaches down into the central stratum of life, there, where all need has its extreme foundations: the need of common responsibility, sin and guilt.

We must go whither love calls us, to high or humble tasks, to lowly acts of pity or possibly to personal efforts, which force us into a deeper suffering. The faith which anchors us to God's life of love, must cast upon Him all anxiety for the result of our love's efforts. For it is finally the necessary condition for a right Christian love: that faith holds fast in life's depths, to God's own love, so that it does not drift into superficial feelings or big phrases

claiming proudly to embrace the circle of the earth and the depth of human life. From the unfathomable source of His love we draw our strength when the depth opens in us. Every time the wave of love rushes forth, it is faith which opens the dams before the flood of His love. A love, produced without these forces from the depths, is no revelation of God's love. But it is this that Christianity shall reveal. From God, who is the source of love, it shall lead the eternal stream of love through human life.

THE APPLICATION OF THE GOSPEL TO ECONOMIC LIFE

SIR WILLIAM ASHLEY

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THAT men should desire the improvement of human society is dictated by a sense of common humanity, by natural sympathy and by a true social philosophy. But the operation of these motives is impeded and stinted by thoughtlessness, by sheer self-seeking, and by the philosophy, whether unselfishly or selfishly entertained, of 'the struggle for existence.' It is therefore the immeasurably important function of Christianity to supply the additional stimulus of its own characteristic teaching. Without the conscious help of that Christian inspiration, and indeed honestly thinking that it is ill-founded or useless or even harmful, there are men and women—let us hasten to recognize it—who do, in fact, labour for the common good and sacrifice themselves for others. They are like him of whom Our Lord told us who said, 'I will not' but 'went.' The condemnation is all the greater of those who 'profess and call themselves Christians,' who say 'I go' and go not. The Christian ideal is that we should do our social duty and do it with the hope and patience drawn from the Christian message.

The followers of Jesus cannot be in doubt as to His teaching. It is summed up in two words: 'love' and the 'kingdom.' It is the first task of the modern Church to 'depolarize' these words, in Wendell Holmes' phrase, and create a fresh movement of thought by the use of equivalents in the language of to-day. Let me try, imperfectly and briefly, to do so. By 'love'—wherein for the Christian all moral duty is summed up—is meant a sincere and therefore active desire for the highest well-being of others. By the 'gospel of the kingdom' we mean the conviction that there is a Divine Purpose at work in the world, with which we are called upon to co-operate, and that the ideal goal of that purpose is a human society worthy of man's capabilities.

That these thoughts should really influence our conduct implies their victory over the lower and immediate self. The purpose of Christian worship is to put us into such an attitude towards the Source from which we come and towards our fellow-men that the narrow and selfish self may recede and a new self come to the front. The 'change of mind,' the 'repentance,' which this involves, may mark some crisis of our lives, or as with most of us, it may be a repeated readjustment, a repeated return to lost ground. In either case, it is the Christian will which has to be created or strengthened. That is the primary requirement. But how this will is to operate, what sort of machinery this motive power is to drive along,—that involves problems which call for all the lessons of the world's experience, all the insight we can gain into human psychology. The place of the Christian preacher is, as I have said, to awaken the will; he cannot be blamed if he does not, from the pulpit, try to set forth precisely the political measures or the personal actions in which it shall realize itself. Indeed, it is better that he should not attempt to. But it must

be confessed that preachers have very commonly shown the opposite failing and have spoken as if the translation of will into action were more direct and immediate and simple than it can usefully be in a complex society. It is too often forgotten that our religion should be a religion of the head as well as of the heart; that it calls for 'all our mind.'

The bearing of this thought on 'the new commandment' of 'love' is already implied in the paraphrase: 'A sincere desire for the highest well-being of others.' The intelligent Christian is bound to judge of the value of an action not alone by the character of the emotion from which it proceeds but also by its effect on those towards whom it is directed.

When new economic conditions caused the nations of Europe in the sixteenth century to create systems of public poor relief, the Sorbonne, the highest theological court of appeal, was called upon to consider whether it was right to impose any restrictions on mendicancy. On the negative side it was urged that to do so would be to hinder the benevolent in the exercise of the Christian virtue of almsgiving and prevent their acquisition of 'merit'; that is, the question was looked at only from the point of view of the supposed interests of the donor. On the affirmative side it was urged that indiscriminate almsgiving was often demoralizing and tended to perpetuate the evil it was imagined to remedy; that is, the question was looked at as it affected the recipient. It was dimly felt that the Christian duty was to remove the causes of social disease even more than to alleviate symptoms. And this incident is typical of the position which continually arises for the Christian who would express his Christianity in judicious citizenship. There is no short cut to wise decisions. We must be governed by a rational and, it may be, laborious

consideration of consequences : our action must be directed by utility and expediency, in the best sense of those terms. If we are inclined to shy at the ill-used term ' expediency,' we may recall Paul's use of the term. We may say to the hasty philanthropist and to the social revolutionary alike : we do not condemn your intention : in that sense ' all things are lawful ' to you, but ' all things are not expedient.'

Turn now to the thought of ' the kingdom.' The message of ' the kingdom ' has been preserved down the Christian ages by the clause of the Lord's Prayer: ' Thy kingdom come in earth.' But in recent times it has been brought to us afresh by New Testament scholarship. The disappointment of the expectations of the first disciples of a speedy Second Coming, and of ' the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven,' though it necessarily turned their minds to what we call ' another world,' has had the effect, in later ages, of making Christianity more ' other-worldly ' than has been good for mankind. The re-reading of the New Testament has taken us back to the original thought of Jesus. And, in my judgment, it is the duty of the modern Church to put that thought in the forefront of its teaching : to proclaim that the aspiration towards an ideal society is not a secondary and subsidiary part of its doctrine but of its very essence. But then that essence also must be freed from the temporary forms in which it was inevitably understood by the apostolic Church. It must not be conceived of as catastrophic, as appearing as it were from outside, by a fiat of an external will. It must be conceived of as the result of a Power working through the human mind and conscience : a result not mechanical or fatalistic, but one in the promotion of which we can ourselves participate. And in this participation we must be guided by all that historical and economic and psychological

study can show us. Here utility and expediency are reinforced by that conception of ' development,' which has been found to be of so much service in the understanding of the past. How exactly revolution is related to evolution, how new ideas originate, how far the ' conscious minority ' can take control, with permanent effect, of the social organization of a modern state,—these and like questions cannot be answered offhand. They are like, indeed they are modern shapes of, the eternal problem of Free Will and Necessity. I can only give my own view, without attempting to argue it. It is that, while progress does not necessarily and without conscious human striving arise out of past conditions, it can only take place on the basis of the past conditions : that in the main the work of the reformer must consist in building on existing foundations ; or, to change the image, in taking advantage of tendencies already existent, in expediting the transition, and in reducing the accompanying friction.

Take the great issue between individualism and socialism. Complete socialism, whether of the state or communist kind, seems to me as inadequate a social philosophy as complete individualism. We have got out of the one : I see no good reason for falling into the other. I cannot conceive of a completely socialized community which would for ever remain so ; that would be the negation of progress. I do not see how anyone can deny the immense benefits the world has received and is receiving from individual enterprise, or can fail to anticipate that, for a very long time to come, individual enterprise in various directions will continue to be beneficial. On the other hand, that same individual enterprise—which in the modern economic sphere we call Competition or Capitalism—has brought with it great evils. Modern economic history consists alike of the liberating and of the restraining of individual enterprise.

But the important matter to observe is that Capitalism contains forces inherent within itself which, in many directions, are profoundly affecting its organization, and are rendering more feasible some form of social control or management. It seems to me the duty of social reformers to concentrate their attention on those industries which are ripe or ripening for socialization, and to give serious thought, with an open mind, to the form that socialization can best take. To agitate for the socialization of industries or services which have not yet reached, by internal evolution, a relatively consolidated form, seems to me a waste of energy. On the other hand, for those who believe in the permanent value of individual enterprise to struggle against socialization in cases where a substantial monopoly has removed the advantages of competition is, in my judgment, to damage their own cause.

The civilized world is probably entering upon a period of increasing nationalization or socialization. And the part the Christian Church can play will not be less but, in some ways, greater than before.

It is called upon to create the initial driving force: the Christian will—an unselfish desire for social betterment. It must lift us out alike of material selfishness with its callous disregard for others and of the spiritual selfishness of Quietism, and yet hold us back from a fanaticism which does more harm than good. It must help us to be Christians without ceasing to be reasonable. Since all social control or management must depend for its success upon the temper of its human instruments, it must do all it can, directly and indirectly, to promote 'public spirit' and the simple virtues of truth and honesty and courtesy. And 'public spirit' is simply the civic manifestation of Christian 'Love.'

II B. MAN AND PROPERTY

M. LE PASTEUR ELIE GOUNELLE (France)

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH left Christendom this memorable motto: 'Let us christianize the social order.' This meant for him: Let us humanize the social order by the teaching, the life and the spirit of Jesus Christ. '*To christianize means humanize in its fullest meaning.*' Therefore, we have to humanize ownership, that right which the civil code defines: the right to enjoy, to dispose of things in the most arbitrary manner (Art. 544 of the French Civil Code); and again, the right which a person may exert upon a certain thing, to the exclusion of any other person. You will admit, Ladies and Gentlemen, that from a moral point of view, and especially from a Christian point of view, one might argue upon the legitimacy and the limit of such a right, as to its purposes and attributes. For Christian people, in fact, *arbitrary property* does not belong to man, but to God; not to individuals, but to society. 'For all the earth is mine' (Exodus xix. 5).

The principles of the Gospel warn us against the hoarding up of wealth; Jesus said that wealth is a hindrance to the Kingdom of God:

'It is difficult for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God' (St. Mark x. 25).
'It is the deceitfulness of riches that choke the word' (St. Matthew xiii. 22).
'They are the mammon of unrighteousness.'
'Ye cannot serve God and mammon' (St. Luke xvi. 13).

We ought not to accumulate, to lay by selfishly:

'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth' (St. Matthew vi. 19).
'Give us day by day our daily bread' (St. Luke xi. 3).
'Woe unto you that are rich' (St. Luke vi. 24).

' Jesus went into the Temple of God, and cast out all of them that sold and bought in the temple, and said unto them, Ye have made it a den of thieves ' (St. Matthew xxii. 12-13).

The parables of the unrighteous judge, of the hard-hearted rich man, of the widow's mite, of the Good Samaritan, are tales which one would call to-day socialist tales. Further, Jesus spoke the following words, which the Church should meditate upon and recall to our generation :

' A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things he possesseth ' (St. Luke xii. 15).

' What shall a man give in exchange for his soul ? ' (St. Matthew xvi. 26).

' The life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment ' (St. Luke xii. 23).

' Man shall not live by bread alone ' (St. Matthew iv. 4).

' Seek ye *first* the kingdom of God and his righteousness ; and all these things shall be added unto you ' (St. Matthew vi. 33).

From the above, it is evident that Christ set upon man a worth above all other worth ; that He considered man, even the poorest-spirited creature, as possessing infinite and divine worth ; that man is worth more than all the world's wealth, more than all the material universe. In order to have an idea of how Jesus regarded even the meanest of men, one should read over the tragic page where He describes the Last Judgment (St. Matthew xxv. 31-40). In that famous passage, in a wondrous outburst of love, He identifies Himself with the humblest people of the earth. Whatever one has done, either good or evil, unto the humblest of creatures, it was done unto Him.

We have just seen what Christ thought of ownership, and consequently what He thought of an economic system which would agree with the will of God and with the welfare of man.

Now, what has the Church done with all this teaching? If we listen to the revolutionary labouring classes, we hear them say: the Church is 'a friend of capital, a *safe* keeper, opium to the people.' We cannot escape, Ladies and Gentlemen, not even in Stockholm, the slanderous accusations of those who pretend that we clergy readily dine at rich people's houses, and none the less readily preach to poor people! It is easy with such malicious remarks to win the applause of the common herd; however, jests of this kind will not stop us: they are decidedly too easy, and they only prove the inconsiderate unworldliness of those who make them. We find much more interest in the argument which was put up by an anarchist, who interrupted me during a social lecture which I was giving once at the Hippodrome in Lille and shouted to me: '*That God of yours, is he going to give us bread?*' As Christians, we have to answer thoroughly this cry of the multitude, which, after all, is simply one of the requests we make in the Lord's Prayer.

The position of the Church regarding economic problems seems to us more tragic than ever. Yet the wretched state of things is not worse than in olden times; on the contrary, the general welfare of people has largely increased, but people are more conscious of their rights than in former days. They feel more strongly the inequality deriving not from nature, but from society itself. And their main grievances against the present economic system, which they call a capitalist system, are the following:

They complain that its only basis is personal interest, aiming at one material point, profit; they state that quite often human life is sacrificed to profit. Further, they tax the modern system with making competition its law, not that kind of competition which spurs, but the kind which crushes, which bruises, which kills. They also charge

the modern system with this consequence, almost unavoidable, of struggle between social classes, of unending strikes and lock-outs, poverty, negligence, economic conflicts of every kind, which are becoming more and more unbearable both to the working class and to any Christian conscience, and even to the conscience of the leading people and of the rich people. It is a fact that one of the characteristics of the present economic society is the almost complete division which exists between employees and employers, between workmen and principals, between labourers, who have only the use of their hands, and the capitalists who are seeking profit. How is it possible to reconcile this division between capital and labour, with the summary of the law: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself'? The economic problem is not only brought up by capitalist materialism, but also by revolutionary materialism. Atheistical socialism is the Nemesis of a civilization which pretends to be Christian, but which is rather mammonistic. As long as industry and business will not alter from top to bottom their 'way of presenting life,' that is to say as long as they will not be christianized or humanized, revolutionary materialism (by which we mean the different atheistical forms of socialism and communism) shall remain *the scourge of God*, and we shall have to bear it as an unsparing and expiatory necessity. Karl Marx ironically caricatured Ricardo.

Thus, revolutionary materialism has declared war against the Church, which is charged with being an instrument in the selfish and abhorred system; it has also declared war against our individualistic ethics, which some people call narrow-minded; and our religion, which some people say is boring.

Please excuse me, Ladies and Gentlemen, for having recalled to you the most striking features of this revolutionary materialism, which is now poisoning the greatest part of

the European working classes, which keeps people away from the churches, and which deprives men of faith in God and in immortality. Do not be too quick in charging those people with foolishness, aberration, immorality. We are not here to condemn people, but to try and understand them, and to love them. Let us feel as the Galilean did : ' When he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd ' (St. Matt. ix. 36).

Ubi Christus ibi Ecclesia. Thus is Christ and thus should the Church be. Therefore, the Church should consider social and economic problems, especially that of property, which lies at the basis of all others, and consider them with the eyes of Jesus, with the conscience of Jesus, and with the heart of Jesus. It is only on that condition that the Church will succeed in educating people. Naturally, the Church would only intervene to settle economic problems in her own way, which is always pedagogical, moral and spiritual. The Church wishes to be indebted only to persuasion, love and liberty. The Church wishes to act only by way of inspiration, never by way of compulsion. The Church tries to influence, but seeks no outward authority.

It is the task of the Church to look after the moral and spiritual side of these questions. The State *commands*, the Church *advises*. Thus the Church never commits itself to political questions arising between parties and classes ; its rule, like that of Christ, being of a different and higher order, and spreading further. It has the predominating care of man, not of things ; of the soul, not of wealth. In these unsettled times, in these days of gloom and darkness, the Church has first to teach its followers, and then the whole world, that it is only by way of a perfect agreement and unceasing co-operation between science, democracy

and religion, that, with the help of God, humanity will find a solution for the problems of our present life, and above all for the problems of eternal life.

It is time to conclude, and these are the practical conclusions I would suggest :

Perhaps there never were in the history of the world more suitable circumstances than the present, for the whole Church to make a self-examination in face of the social problem ; and to go through this self-examination, there is certainly at present no better opportunity in all Christendom than the one which is offered to us here in Stockholm, during this Universal Conference.

We have weighed the very terms of the four propositions which we are going to submit to you. In our opinion, they represent the minimum, which we believe necessary, of what ought to be done by us in Stockholm, as representatives of universal Christianity. These four essential points form what we would call starting points and the first basis of social Christianism of the Christian Church. This social Christianism could save first the Church, and then humanity.

First Proposition

First of all, we ask the Church to take the initiative in confessing its own social sins, and to repent with humanity and for humanity. It is by an act of collective repentance that this Conference should usher in the movement of 'Life and Work.'

It is by humbling itself that the Church can become an inspiration. In the face of the law of God, which we have recalled at the beginning of this speech, should not Christianity humble itself? Should it not openly confess its age-old faults as well as the present ones, its strife on ecclesiastical or dogmatic ground, its overruling spirit,

its spiritual pride, its share in speculating in men or oppressing them, its compromises with the powers of this world, its mammonism as well as its weakness when it should have protested, as the prophets did, against social unrighteousness and war crimes ; its silence covered with mysticism or filled with pharisaism. Of course, we know very well what the Church has done in the way of charity, education, evangelization and mission. We should be wrong not to acknowledge that the Church has been the great servant of humanity as well as the evangelist of the world ; we should be wrong not to acknowledge the various reforms history has placed to its credit. But what a terrible amount of liabilities history also discloses !

Now more than ever is this world under the power of darkness which crucified the Son of Man on the European Golgotha. What a vision before our eyes ! Here is the Church, repenting, getting down into the thickest of the social struggle, where the fiendish multitude stirs. Now it does not want to stand out any longer from humanity, as did the Pharisee. It identifies itself, as Jesus did, with the meanest men on earth. The Church pleads guilty, it kneels down in the mud, in the dark, as low as possible, on the bottom, right on the bottom of the abyss. And there, the Church cries out its

De Profundis [1]

'Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord ; Lord, hear my voice.

It is the voice of woe, of repentance, of demand for social justice on behalf of humanity.

It is not a light thing ; it is not alone a matter of certain heavy sins, but of a mighty course. Hear me, this is not merely the cry of a lost conscience, it is a cry from an infernal world.

[1] Psalm 130 (paraphrase).

Let thine ears be attentive, for Thou alone canst solve our problems : before Thee I place, in the name of Christ and of the multitudes, the social question.

If Thou, O Lord, shouldest mark the iniquities of the churches, of the employers, of the employed, our impurities, our vanities, our wars : who amongst men, churches, social classes, shall stand ? But as the forgiveness of our souls, so the salvation of our social life, is in thy hands : *it rests upon the honour of Thy name, O God.*'

Therefore I, the guilty Church, though trembling and prostrate during an endless night, trust in God and His Anointed. My soul hopes. My soul awaiteth the redeeming word.

I watch for the dawn.

My soul waiteth for the Lord, more than they that watch for the morning : I say, more than they that watch for the morning.

Second Proposition

We ask the Universal Conference (as it was requested by the authors of the remarkable report of COPEC) to define in as much accordance with the Gospel as is possible, the precise aims of industry, of business, and therefore of ownership. Please allow me to read a few theses, which might help in directing the Church, with a view to relieving the present economic situation by way of Christian methods.

To-day the Christian conscience proclaims more and more clearly, in accordance with the holy scriptures, that :

Wealth should be considered not as in itself an object of endeavour, but as means which we are expected to employ well towards higher objects ; as loans for which we must account, not as possessions which we may use and abuse, according to our whims.

The ' jus abutendi ' is not Christian.

Ownership is a relative thing whose forms in history have been various.

The civil and moral laws protecting the right of ownership against all possible abuse,—try to limit excesses, to moralize and humanize it :

In its acquisition and division ;

In its use and enjoyment ;

In production or the exercise of the possession of power.

The Christian conscience is much more rigorous than the written law of society.

It accords only to God the immanent right of ownership.

It demands that all life be respected before all wealth ; that the soul be treated as a divine treasure before all other treasures.

It considers as a driving force in the pursuit of wealth the service inspired by love, not the unlimited thirst for gain which is one of the characteristics of egotism.

It guards against the abuses and excesses which the code and the law never reach.

It is not enough, according to it, to abstain from harming others : one must even seek the positive good of others ; physical, moral, aesthetic, and spiritual.

It refrains from saying that what the law does not forbid is permissible ; that would be to confound morality and legality.

It admits of neither extreme wealth nor extreme poverty : for, in these two extremes, human salvation, social justice, and holiness are compromised and menaced. It goes further ; it blames all seeking after wealth and blesses its use for, its consecration to, the needs of our brothers, to their uplift, to their happiness.

It declares that human interests, rightly understood, are joint interests ; that men, and not ' the nature of things,' and above all not the will of God, are responsible for economic conflicts and for social evils ; that the three great factors in production (capital, management, and labour)

should be fraternally associated, and should all three participate in the common benefits.

All human effort, in industry and in business, should, accordingly, be organized co-operatively ' for joint use.'

Every worker, in so far as he is able and competent, should have an effective voice in the determination of the conditions of his work and existence.

Associated workers, in syndicates or professional organizations, should, as such, share equally in the control of the conditions of work and of its wages.

Although recognizing the continual improvement in the conditions of work and wages in the countries of advanced and Christian civilization, the Church must nevertheless state that the above principles are far from being understood and applied everywhere ; that the efforts made towards a democratic and Christian economic régime have succeeded in ameliorating and brightening only the most infinitesimal number of existences ; that it would be wrong and dangerous to be content with palliatives and partial remedies, when the law of Christ demands that we try always, everywhere, and in all things, the radical and complete solution, which becomes finally the kingdom and the justice of God.

We express the wish that the churches may strive without wearying for the transformation of the present capitalistic régime, characterized by the thirst for profit, competition, and class struggle, into a democratic régime of social service of shared responsibility and of co-operation, in order to realize : (*a*) the perfect union of capital, direction, and labour ; (*b*) fair participation in control and in the returns on the part of all the factors of production, that is, of the workers themselves ; and their entrance, through honest and productive labour, into the ownership of the means of production.

Third Proposition

We earnestly wish that the Conference will not confine itself to speeches and prayer. What we want is an action to prove to the world that in the future Christendom will study social problems and help in solving them. And the act I would suggest to this remarkable gathering, which God has certainly inspired, is the foundation of an INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LIFE AND WORK ('Christianisme Social'), the object of which would be to study from a moral and spiritual point of view, and therefore from the point of view of the Gospel, the situation of the working classes, either intellectual or manual, to study the relationship between capital, management and labour; to protest, if necessary, against glaring violations of unwritten laws, either in commerce or industry, and to urge the most practicable means of reform.

If it is impossible for such an Institute to be established at present, could we not appoint a permanent Commission on Economics? What we would wish in any case is that the Church should establish an International Christian Labour Bureau, such as that connected with the League of Nations. Why should not 'Life and Work' aspire to become the soul of the International Labour Bureau, just as the World Alliance of Churches aims at endowing the League of Nations with a Christian soul?

Fourth and Last Proposition

Our Conference ought not to close without having sent the entire World of Labour a religious and friendly message.

Has not the hour come for the Church of Christ to express her warm sympathy with the labouring classes and to give the working people the assurance that she will stand by them in all their troubles, their tribulations, their rightful claims and their earnest hopes?

Indeed, the hour has come. All the Churches of Christ should stand and prove, by word and action, that in the name of the living God, they bring to the classes of the industrial or labouring world a message worthy of trust and full of joy: the Message of Salvation for all social conditions.

This is what might be said to the World of Labour:

We, the Churches of Christ, realizing our miseries and failures, but being entrusted by God and the Spirit of Christ with the Evangelization of the world, have the desire and the power to teach all those who are engaged in social struggles, and all those who earn their daily bread, the sacred duty of co-operation; we wish to convey to them that it is in accordance with the teaching of Jesus Christ and of St. Paul, that we day by day must fulfil our tasks, trying to adapt our work, in spite of groping and numerous mistakes, to our own spiritual sphere.

We, the Churches of Christ, acting in accordance with the Gospel—this valuable Handbook of the workman—wish to train capable men, reliable men, men self-sacrificingly devoted to their work, men such as we now greatly need either for the fields, or the workshops, men such as we need for syndicates and co-operative organizations, for commerce and industry, for politics, in order to promote conscientious work as well as brotherhood, thus establishing a co-operative republic which will apply to social economics the ideal of justice and of kindness of the Kingdom of God. If we, the Churches, cannot ourselves reform the present social order, at least we can inspire social reformers.

We, the Churches, wish to be the spiritual centre, the home where the poor and the rich, the employer and the workman, the intellectual worker and the craftsman, shall assemble to pray, to sing, to listen to the Word of God, and to communicate, thus realizing the spiritual

communion which is the first condition for the reformation of the present social order. It is in the house of God that we can best proceed to the restoration of the City, it is in the quietness of our temples and cathedrals, in the dusky light softened by stained-glass windows, it is in the complete concentration of a soul in prayer that the reconciliation of peoples, classes and men can be effected in the surest way, by means of divine words and spiritual love. This reconciliation was foreseen by all our prophets, greatly desired by our highest instincts, and secured to us by the love of God and the cross of Jesus Christ.

Only we, the Churches of Christ and the Kingdom of God, can by the Grace of God give lasting hope to you, in this world where sin leads to death. Whether your efforts in attempting better social and international organizations succeed or not, we will, by virtue of the mission with which we have been entrusted, help you to obtain the forgiveness of your sins, we will console you in your troubles, we will revive your courage, make the best of your failures, your difficulties, as long as you live, preaching the salvation which the mercy of God may grant you, and pointing out to you the prospects of eternal life.

Indeed, whatever may become of your economic problems —even if they are solved—we will and we can offer, in the name of God and of His Anointed, to your hearts, which long for infinity, to your conscience, which only divine justice and divine love can satisfy, the Crown which has been promised to the warriors in the land where justice dwells.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1925

PUBLIC MEETING (9–10.30 P.M.)

Chairman—M. LE PASTEUR CHARLES SCHEER
(Deputy for the Haut-Rhin in the French Chamber)

THE GOSPEL AND PUBLIC LIFE

THE RT. REV. C. H. BRENT, D.D.
(Bishop of Western New York)

WE are here in Christian fellowship to make an adventure in behalf of the commonwealth of mankind. Like the nations, the churches which we represent are without a common mind or common ethic. The Catholic Church is an ideal rather than a fact. Sectarianism, the cult of the incomplete, still holds sway in Christendom, and there is war where most of all peace should reign. Valuing such Christian comity as prevails at its highest worth, the total product is a diluted and mediocre religion incapable of exercising moral and spiritual authority in national and world affairs. It is good enough perhaps for individual piety or other-worldliness, but it is not potent enough to make disciples of all the nations according to Christ's explicit command or to convert the kingdom of the world into the kingdom of Our Lord and of His Christ. An effective unity is no longer a theological luxury: it is a practical necessity. The churches are only on the lower threshold of that unity without which the world cannot know Jesus Christ, and they are not yet within hailing distance of that stage of development where the nations shall walk by the light of the City of God. It were sheer folly, not to say dishonesty, to deny this unpalatable truth. After the organized confusion of the Great War the nations made a bold effort to rally around an ideal of peace. It was new in spirit and form from anything in the past, and will

stand in history as epochal. They did it without benefit of Church or churches. The churches stood by hesitant and critical. Seven years later the peace table of the churches shows fewer results than the peace table of the nations. We are laggards instead of leaders.

The encouraging thing is that we are now awake to the fact, and are here to take the first step toward rectifying our unheroic course. But we must recognize that no half measures, no pious platitudes, no hesitating utterances will be tolerated. The world is looking at us with mingled expectancy and distrust—some men even with scorn and derision. They have no other belief than that the mountain will give birth to a mouse. The character of Christianity is at stake. When we rise from our deliberations we must have reached a concordat according to the mind of Christ on the subject matter before us, or it would have been better that this Conference should have never been born. We must run those risks which are inherent in the life of faith. We must justify our vaunted claim to the moral and spiritual leadership of mankind.

Were we here merely under the guidance of human reason and dependent solely upon the pooled wisdom of those present, I would despair, for prejudices are deep-seated and sectarian self-will is not yet dethroned. But we are not as a ship without a pilot. In our midst is a Great Presence—or shall I say we are in the midst of a Great Presence which envelops us as the sunlight envelops the landscape? Under His presidency we sit and deliberate and reach our findings. We are gathered under the same auspices and inspired by the same hope as the little fellowship of nineteen centuries ago who waited for power from on high to make them a world force. Let us be sure that we do not plaster our own desires on the situation and deceive ourselves into thinking that they are the mind of

God. In our dependence upon Him who had no will of His own we shall secure our freedom. We are here not to do our own will but the will of Him that sent us. The ultimate issue is clear, for we are not working on a whim or theory of our own but in accord with God's unchangeable purpose. An Irish proverb says: 'Whether the sun rises early or late it is God's will that the sun shall rise.' It is for us at this Conference to do what in us lies to make an early dawn and covet for the Church a stride forward rather than a laggard step. Quite rightly we talk of our task as being colossal. But it must not be used as an excuse for doing it with a doubtful mind. The Gospel mind is a mind to win.

Our business is by co-operative methods to bring the Gospel to bear on economic and industrial matters, on moral and social problems, on education and international affairs. This raises the vital question of the universal jurisdiction of the Gospel—its relation through the Church with the State, to departmental organization within the nation, and to the family of nations.

First let us consider the relation of the Church to all forms of organized activity. In its own realms the Church is supreme. It is its indubitable and inalienable duty to determine and apply moral and spiritual values.

Men challenge the Church's authority. They are not quite sure how far they can trust the practicability in great matters of the truth as revealed in the life and character of Jesus Christ. Christianity is good enough for personal matters and other worldly purposes, but the query arises as to its workability when applied to group life, such as business or politics. A man of affairs shies at the suggestion that the next step for Christians to take is the application of the principles by which Jesus Christ lived in His workaday life to the industrial problems of our times. The idea evokes the exclamation: 'That

would be a declaration of war.' Just so. Because the purpose and the way of Jesus Christ are hostile to much that is characteristic of the thought and activity of modern commerce.

The political world is in like case. It is afraid of what the way and the purpose of Jesus Christ would do with it. The astonishment caused by a politician injecting Christian principle into a national legislature a while ago was great enough to echo around the world and be registered in literature. When the British Under-Secretary for Air remarked that the Sermon on the Mount (that is, the truths and principles by which Jesus Christ lived, and then laid upon the conscience of all His followers) was the solution of armaments problems, he drew forth the ejaculation: 'Good God, Sir, if we are to rely our air security on the Sermon on the Mount, all I can say is: "God help us."'

The beneficent claim of Christ is laid upon international affairs without abatement. So it ought not to be a matter of amazement or dissent when the truths and principles by which He lived are used as the key to the international problems. However remote general assent to this may be, the Church cannot debase the universal currency of the highest Christian ethic by filing away its sharp, exacting edge or limiting its circulation.

The relation of the Church to the State is a problem of immediate importance. Side by side the modern nations and the national churches have grown to be what they are. The Reformation trusted to the inherent oneness of Christianity to act as cement and hold the churches together, an assumption not justified by subsequent events. Patriotism became the supreme virtue overshadowing spiritual values and the Machiavellian doctrine of subordinating every consideration of religion and morality to the seeming interests of the State, prevailed widely.

It was but natural that the churches should cease to have a supernational mind, a common ethic, in the riot of nationalism that ensued. More sad still was the subordination of the mind of the Church to the policy of the State until the churches became nationalized instead of the nations becoming Christianized.

God forbid that I should even seem to depreciate the importance of the State or the nation of which it is an organic expression. The nation has such honour that it can add to the glory of the City of God by bringing that honour into it. It is my benefactor and commands my loyalty as a Christian, though not a loyalty that is either final or supreme. The purpose and way of Christ are paramount, and the Christian Church can no more burn incense to the modern State than to an ancient Caesar. In other words, let the lost Christian ethic be found, and it must rule the minds and lives of the entire Christian body in every relationship, individual and corporate. It is part of our business during these days of conference to search for this ethic and to apply it.

Little by little human life has expanded its horizon. From the local it has risen to the national and from the national it moves out into the international. No longer can a nation live unto itself. It must take its place in the family of nations where the welfare of all is the welfare of each. The nations must learn to live by the law of forgiveness and considerateness and love, or else they will perish. The burning problem of the moment is not merely the elimination of war but of the establishment of a lasting and righteous peace. The time has come for as clear a declaration by the united voices of the churches as on slavery or duelling. The world is awaiting it. It were better for this Conference to risk a mistake in the direction of the example of Him who practised and taught conquest

by humility and weakness and forgiveness than to hesitate or equivocate. It is for the Church to determine in what circumstances, if any, killing and maiming, lying and guile, destruction and rapine—in short, the declaration of a moratorium of the moral law ceases to be an offence against God and man, and becomes a praiseworthy virtue and patriotic duty. Dare we do less than hold that war as an institution for the settlement of international disputes by brute force allied to skill and cunning and lying, is incompatible with the mind of Christ and therefore incompatible with the mind of His Church; that war is the abuse and not the use of force because it attributes to force authority and ability to determine moral values of which it is as incapable as trial by fire; that it is the duty of the churches to throw their united weight in support of the organized fellowship of the nations?

The issue is clear and the Christian Church must face it or else imperil the charter given it by Christ. It is an equal duty of the Church to aid the nations which have made a brave beginning without our help, to establish and maintain tribunals and institutions upon the foundations of righteousness, justice and reason to occupy the most exalted throne in the gift of men now held by the usurper war. The League of Nations needs the sympathetic support of the churches to help it to become in personnel and character, representative of all mankind. The League of Nations to-day is more effective for the end for which it was created than any fellowship of the Christian churches in existence for the manifestation of Catholic unity.

But when the last word has been said about the League, Permanent Court, Protocol, or what not, we have been discussing instruments whose value rises and falls with their moral and contents. Without the Gospel they are science without a soul—machines which have no saving or

regenerating power for human beings. With living faith the Church must translate the Gospel of love into terms of international life and activity. There is no feature of the Gospel of love that does not have its supreme opportunity in the intercourse and fellowship of nations. Standing outside the door of international life waiting for admission is the most powerful force making for peace and goodwill ever committed by God to man. I mean forgiveness. God bought by an incarnation and a crucifixion His own right to use it. It stands not as a counsel of perfection but the sole condition of becoming and remaining Christian. Forgiveness can be used only toward enemies. None else are eligible for it. Forgiveness is that aspect of love which enables us to take again into complete fellowship those who have wronged us. To what extent is the Church proclaiming this duty in concrete form to nations which have been wronged? However war guilt may be distributed, every belligerent has its opportunity to forgive, for all have sinned. The churches should become a clearing-house for international forgiveness. The establishment in Geneva of a bureau of churches would be worthy of consideration, if we were sure we could confine its work to the moral and spiritual sphere and sufficiently safeguard it against political meddlesomeness and intrigue. On the foundation of forgiveness the temple of goodwill can be erected. Only a supernational Church is equipped for the task.

Unity of heart and hand among the churches is the sole hope for the Great Peace. As it is with the family of the nations, so must it be with the family of the churches. None can be omitted. There is one populous and venerable church with a vacant seat at this Conference. Considered as a moral and spiritual force making for international peace and goodwill, the Roman Catholic Church is a giant half awake. As in the case of the Protestant churches, in time

of war nationalism swallows up her adherents and sets them in deadly array against one another. Even though she may withhold her fellowship from us, the responsibility rests on her to throw her enormous influence in the scale against war toward peace with the same definiteness with which she speaks and acts in matters theological and ecclesiastical. Thus far she shares in the timidity and ineffectiveness which characterizes the rest of Christendom. When all the churches together and separately deal unsparingly with war and the war spirit, peace will be insured, at any rate among the nations where the Christian religion prevails. With proper tribunals erected for dealing with disputed questions, it will be the clear duty of the churches to proclaim war a sin and to instruct their adherents to refuse to resort to arms.

The distinctive feature of the ideal of unity before the modern world is that its realization is in the hands not of a few but of the whole. No longer are the issues of peace and war to be determined by experts and diplomats and officials. There is no question more intimately domestic than war. It is the home which is first attacked by war when the bugle calls to arms, therefore it is the business of the members of the home to determine the course of international affairs. This is the day of the people. The best known citizen, as the ' unknown soldier ' of every country proclaims, is also the least known—he who is quietly pouring his vitality into the veins of his country and mankind. No longer can a man be a private citizen concerned only with his own affairs. We have always known that all the world is kin. Now all the world is one neighbourhood. Science has demonstrated that to be a fact which Christianity has ever taught. It is the superb duty and opportunity of the churches to shed their timidity, their self-importance, their localisms and put on the seamless garment of brotherhood

and unity according to the mind of Christ. To this end Christ commissioned His Church. For the promotion of it we are gathered. So to God we pray—

> 'Lord, lift us out of Private-mindedness and give us public souls to work for Thy Kingdom by daily creating that atmosphere of a happy temper and generous heart which alone can bring the Great Peace.' (*Bishop Hackett.*)

FRIEDRICH BRUNSTÄD, Ph.D.
(Professor of Philosophy, Erlangen, Germany)

BY public life we mean not the life lived by men in separation, isolation or seclusion, but the life lived in association, fellowship and social intercourse. Public life is the fullest expression of the mutual relations of men, who in their organic dependence upon each other form an all-embracing and a dominating whole, in so far as this manifests and expresses itself. It has its origin in something which unites mankind. The German word *Verbindlichkeit* (obligingness) expresses well what is meant. This word includes the idea of demand and obligation, the one in and through the other. Such obligatory elements, of whatever kind they may be, as possess driving, stirring, forming power, we call values. The sum-total of all these efforts after values, all the activities thereby developed, all their achievements in the shaping of life and of the world we call civilization (*Kultur*). Public life is a phenomenon of civilization that reflects the diversity both of the kinds and of the forms of value. In this we have the content of the whole to which men belong. From this springs that sense of belonging to a whole which draws men together. Public life is a phenomenon of civilization and of culture in so far as it issues from mutual relations between men and in so far as the element of value characterizes these relations.

Now there are various kinds of cultural values. At the basis of everything there is the value of life itself, the

fullness and the force of our spiritual-corporeal existence in a form penetrated by the soul and by personality. To this belongs economic activity, whereby provision is made for the needs of life. Then come the theoretic values, knowledge and science, the aesthetic values, art and refinement; the ethical values, development of conscience and of the community spirit in the family, the class, the nation and in the mutual relations of different nations. Public life comes to expression and to realization out of these various kinds of values.

The problem of the Gospel and public life brings us face to face with the great historical phenomenon of the Illumination (*Aufklärung*). This is a remarkable process of growth and differentiation, segregation and integration within civilization. One of the most recent products of our civilization is the movement towards religious unity. The various kinds and forms of cultural value, like the men and women of our modern civilized world, are held together in their proper place by religion. If they are not permeated by the religious spirit, they are profoundly influenced by it. The Illumination is the precise and complete working out of values from the original undifferentiated unity into specialization and individuality. It is also the self-reliance of man, proceeding from his inner being and experience, from his self-determination and discernment. The driving force of this is, most certainly, the fecundity of modern culture, its noble aspiration and its creative originality. From this arises its effectiveness in the world and with it the effectiveness of public life.

But illumination, in its narrower and stricter meaning, includes certain dangers and difficulties. These are a product of the development of its varied forms and critical reactions. Briefly, this means that a loosening and a disturbance of the old ties that bound all culture to religion

results from this process of segregation and differentiation. In one word the different kinds and forms of value are regarded as having an independent and even an absolute worth. As culture becomes, so to speak, active in the world, it becomes a ' this-worldliness.' In general, we may say then that culture so conceived determines its own forms. This independence or absolutism of theoretical values we term intellectualism. In the realm of art we have aestheticism, in that of ethics, moralism. While the making absolute the value of this life we term eudaemonism. Industrial life, too, claims attention, and so we have an economics based on the material conception of history and corresponding to this the interpretation of the whole of life in the terms of industrial process. In the culture of enlightenment all these independent and absolute ideals act and react upon each other, while among men there develops both in doctrine and practice a sense of the absoluteness of the individual, his independence and his self-sufficiency. The atomistic-mechanical explanation of nature is expanded into a conception of the world which when transferred to man assigns to him absolute worth. Man is the social atom. As in all atoms there is homogeneous matter, so in all social atoms there is one homogeneous humanity—mankind. Individualism and this way of conceiving humanity are closely connected. The detached self-sufficiency of the individual is his humanity.

Culture of the kind thus described is devoid of religion. But the religious life is none the less still there and one must come to some understanding with it. Religion is often described as pre-culture or as the absence of culture, or as a product of primitive times, and as still surviving among uncivilized peoples. Or as some say, it is an anticipation of what culture brings, including within it an enduring content, which is developed as one subordinates it to one

of the absolute cultural values and undertakes to transform it accordingly. By intellectualizing it, it is converted into a metaphysical philosophy of life. Religion is put on the same plane as popular metaphysics and metaphysics on the same plane as the religion of culture. Others again would aestheticize religion by explaining it as a kind of artistic transformation of reality after the model of myth or fairy tale, or they would moralize it by declaring that the ethical was the genuine or the real element of religion. For still others it becomes eudaemonism, when its origin is traced to the life impulse and the need of happiness and so on. Or it is regarded as one of the values of culture, side by side with others, though its special and original nature as perhaps the most important province of culture is emphasized. The result of this is a religionism, which is regarded as a function of culture, as a purely human phenomenon, but without mention of God and His revelation in history. From all these sources comes the religion of culture, which is the reduction of religion to a culture which is regarded as independent and absolute. Religion is thus secularized. Christian love of one's neighbour becomes mere humanitarianism. The Kingdom of God becomes a product of cultural progress. Christian hope becomes evolutionary optimism. The culture of enlightenment becomes the culture of this life and of culture religion. This renders religion empty, hollow and mutilated, something for which we apologize. It derives its right only by tolerance of a culture to which an absolute value is assigned. It is no longer the great dominating decisive concern of life.

Now it is quite clear that all these absolute culture values detached from their origin must suffer decay, as a limb that is cut off from the body dies and decays. This can be convincingly proved and actually demonstrated as

egards all merely culture values. The culture of enlightenment involves crisis, ruin and decay. We see now that our Western civilization is just in this state. All our culture s under the influence of sin. It is engaged in a terrible conflict which tears our lives to pieces. It is a dreadful struggle full of suffering and death, futility and weakness, confusion and distraction, deception and wickedness. Civilization is making a great effort to maintain itself in this conflict. In the crisis, however, it succumbs to sin and death. Absolutism, which is the apotheosis of the various kinds and forms of culture, means covetousness. Absolutism, which is the self-apotheosis of man, means pride. These are the original forms of sin.

A judgment now falls upon this civilization in its time of crisis and drives it in its hour of ruin and distress to reflection, self-examination and penitence. The gospel with its spiritual power enables it to rise above the imperfections and the weaknesses and the self-righteousness which characterize the religion of culture. God and His revelation lay hold of mankind. What does this Gospel announce to this civilization and to this public life? It proclaims the Living God, who rules, preserves and judges His creation, who sent His Son that He might reconcile the world to Himself by His life and death. It proclaims the forgiveness of sins through the grace and holy love of God. It proclaims the speedy coming of the Kingdom of God and the necessity of repentance and conversion whereby we may live unto Him, so that we may be ready when that Kingdom comes on the Last Day, ready for the resurrection of the dead and the judgment and for that eternity, in which God is all and in all.

God, the Creator, keeps a firm hold of what He has created. The world, lost and ruined by sin though it be, is still His world. He created it that it might allow for the

development of finite personal life in fellowship with Him. It is God's sovereign will to create such life and to draw it upwards that it may be sanctified by fellowship with Him. The values and their special forms acquire, from this conception of creation, their right to their own life, according to the riches of creation as endowed by God with its own life. The natural order is God's order. We only use that order aright when we remember that it is God's order and that He is the Creator. The world and its order claim then to provide us with a task set us by God's Holy Will, a task to be performed in time with the responsibility of eternity before our eyes. Even the present state of the world imposes this task upon us. We should aim at being independent of this present civilization. But there arises out of the Gospel itself, out of the forgiveness of sins and out of justification by grace and love, the will and the purpose to work for a new civilization. In one word, we desire to do God's will in all things with gratitude and joyous devotion. True culture can only be attained by those who know something higher than culture. This something higher is fellowship with God through the forgiveness of sins. Sin has cast a thick veil over creation. The light of grace shines in the darkness. The order of creation becomes visible through the veil. Culture now becomes the effort to fulfil the order of creation in the struggle with sin and in this way its secret religious origin is made manifest. As God upholds and rules the sinful world, so we, accepting it as a religious responsibility, must work in the world and serve the ends of creation according to the will of God. We must do this in all sincerity with fear and trembling before God and His righteous claims upon us, before His wrath and judgment and yet with all the joyfulness of gratitude due to His effective and prevailing grace.

Out of the fullness of its certainty, faith now strives after knowledge, after thoughtful reflection on God's order, spelling out the alphabet of experience. Faith rejoices in knowledge and is mighty in knowledge, because God has revealed Himself as a God of truth. Knowledge becomes then a function of faith in its efforts after certainty. Can we better express what art is than by saying that it is the perception of the original reality and beauty of paradise, even in our state of guilt and depravity? In all moral life and in all our life as communities, the final source of strength is the joy of doing God's will from a heart renewed by His grace and quickened by His forgiveness. We conceive the State as the synthesis of competing values in a nation and we regard ourselves as responsible for the particular form which this takes. We love our own people, as a living creative individuality coming from God, who gives to our finite life the law of its development. We regard industry as providing for the needs of life and we assign value to it according to the eternal meaning of our life. And so when we think of the distribution of property, the character of work, the problem of consumption, we must ever keep before our minds and retain a respect for men, who are destined for fellowship with God. We must not make the mistake that is so common, that all human activity *is* divine service; but we ought to keep before us the thought that it *can* and *ought* to be so. Even the lowliest service is spiritual when it is performed as a duty required by God.

Culture and the Gospel cannot properly be identified. Sin and death and all the conflict of life stand between them. Yet we cannot divide and separate them either. Revelation is the source of all true culture. All striving after value comes from the attraction of the divine values—eternal life, eternal truth, eternal beauty, eternal goodness

and justice. From this great source we gain, through the forgiveness of sins, the power to overcome and refashion the world. The Gospel penetrates and influences the world, its culture and its public life because men feel a responsibility in view of eternity, of God's creative will, and His redeeming love. We know that culture is not the Kingdom of God, but service in expectation of that Kingdom. Only when it performs that service has it meaning, has it the possibility of life, and the power to produce values. Our task is to preach and to testify both in word and in deed, to do God's will in wrestling with sin through repentance and forgiveness, in expectation of the consummation, to which we hope to attain as members of the Kingdom of God.

We do not now make anything really secular, for we must fit ourselves into the structure of the world, the world of secondary causes, whose strong hold on us, our creatureliness again and again declares. He who would effect anything must conform to the inner constitution and laws of that reality on which and with which he desires to work. But what he desires and what he does are not thereby prescribed for him. They spring from his own sense of responsibility and duty. We must keep both in mind. We must do the will of God in our seeking, our striving and our struggling. We must not shrink from the kind of work which the secondary causes demand. The salt must be mixed with the food, the leaven with the flour. They must not remain apart and keep their purifying powers just for themselves.

The time of feeble defence is past for the Church, which is the herald of the Kingdom. She is summoned forth by her eternal Lord in this historic hour and in this time of her need. She is called upon to reflect, in penitence, on her eternal foundations. She is summoned to a concentrated frontal attack, not by mere negation, but by a positive refashioning of the world. The Gospel enters with renewed

power into a world which is breaking up, as once before into the ancient world. If, in our shame and distress, we do not despair of our civilization, it is because, from the first, powers have been planted in it from above, which have been stirred to action under the wrath and judgment of God. This takes place when the Gospel enters into public life and it is the mission of the Church to proclaim this. We appeal to the churches' sense of missionary responsibility which imposes upon her new tasks, amid the heathenism of our present-day enlightenment.

We no longer possess the unbroken, undifferentiated unity in our civilization and a fixed and settled structure in our public life that arises from it. As a result of our conception of creation, we affirm the free activity of culture in the world, that is, the distinct forms and specific differentiation of its work. We affirm also the right of decision guided by our own inner consciousness in the sight of God who has called us to this task. We rejoice in the manifold riches of the order of creation. We are convinced of the dismemberment and the disruption of the culture of enlightenment and of its decay in all branches of our public life. Our broken and stricken hearts submit to judgment. We lay stress on the organic living connection, in which, by the very distinctiveness of its members, a whole is formed, because the creative majesty and sanctifying love of God dwells within it. We deem such a whole, according to its cultural effects in art and life, style and soul ; in science, system ; in moral life, a community. The culture of enlightenment is devoid of style, soul, system, community. But we seek these things in our public life, together with plastic forms and individuality. We find them in the powers of personality, which spring from that inner awakening brought about by the preaching of the Gospel. We express this in Luther's words, ' To do the will of God and His glory in all

things.' That is the religious origin of culture and the real answer to the problems of the Gospel and public life. And so we come back to where we started in the word '*σύνεχειν*' which means to join together, to impel, to urge; *ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς* (the love of Christ constraineth us).

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9.30 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—THE REV. ARTHUR J. BROWN, D.D. (U.S.A.).

Prayers were said by THE ARCHDEACON OF MAIDSTONE (the Ven. J. V. Macmillan).

THE RT. REV. JAMES H. DARLINGTON, D.D., Bishop of Harrisburg (U.S.A.), of the American Bible Society, was introduced, and presented a Bible to the Conference on behalf of the American Bible Society.

II. THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*)

IIc. CO-OPERATION

THE BISHOP OF VÄSTERÅS (Sweden)
(The Rt. Rev. E. Billing, D.D.)

IN the few minutes at my disposal I will speak only on a few points so as to be able to contribute something definite. I am going to talk about the starting of an international, scientific, ethico-sociological institute. The starting of such an institute has been recommended from several sides and accepted as a motion by the Swedish commission.

In the last words of my memorandum, as submitted to this Conference, I have stated as an explanation of the

reasons for this proposition the following: 'In any attempt which is made to bring the Christian view of the problems discussed here to clear and unifying expression, the difficulties inherent in this task recur afresh as soon as it comes to drawing practical conclusions in regard to concrete social and economic problems from general ethical principles. In a great measure no doubt this is due to the extremely complicated structure of modern social and economic life. But certainly these difficulties must be attributed in no slight degree to the lack of contact in scientific work on these problems between the representatives of the different points of view, ethical, economic, sociological, which must be taken into consideration here.' I believe that everyone who has seriously tried to study the concrete problems of the social, and especially the industrial and economic, life from a Christian standpoint will reach the same conclusions.

No particular difficulties appear as long as one confines oneself to the fundamental principles. But when it comes to the application of the principles to concrete problems one stands before the painful alternative of either talking in such general terms that such talk altogether loses its point, or losing oneself in technicalities in the widest sense, and thus postulating as a necessary item of faith something which in reality is only a private opinion, or perhaps the creed of a party. In the first case the words are without effect, in the latter case they frequently have an opposite result from what was intended.

The difficulties which we have touched upon here are to a certain extent founded upon the nature of things. A really concrete and defined problem is never solely an ethical question. It contains besides the ethical points also certain technical ones. And in order to give a complete answer it is necessary to use the ethical principles in judging

points which are decided by the technical factors. But in this way one runs the risk of reaching two different conclusions in spite of the common starting ground. And the more complicated the questions are, and the greater the difficulties of reaching a clear, united ethical decision, the more necessary it becomes to confine the ethical speculation to the framing of general principles.

I do not deny that it ought to be possible to penetrate far deeper into the concrete problems, ' to go from sound to things,' than has hitherto been done, without infringing upon the ethical character of the problems. Let me explain my meaning by telling a personal experience.

Very often when I have been talking to a business man, a great employer or a leader of men, about these and similar questions, I have left him with a sense of humiliation. I used to think that I as a professor of Ethics should be able to tell him his duty and to find fault with him. But as soon as such men started to speak about their practical difficulties and their experiences, and to ask me in return how I would have acted in such and such circumstances, I had to admit myself unable to answer. I have very often been able to find that they had made far more serious attempts to solve the ethical questions than I had imagined. And I have had to admit that I simplified matters too much and that problems which I looked upon as very simple in reality consisted of a number of technical questions. The man with whom I used to debate these things had like myself felt the dualism between the ethical and the technical points of view very painfully. And thus we began, instead of disputing about different points of view, to try to penetrate deeper and more comprehensively into the problem. Thereby we were brought to realize still more clearly how impossible it is to dictate a ready solution to such a complicated economic social problem. And many a thing

which I formerly used to look upon as a self-evident ethical postulation turned out to be clearly utopian. But those ethical demands which proved themselves to be really ethical gradually converged upon the technical postulates which were really such, and not hidden selfish interests. The final goal, the ideal, perhaps receded still further. But the way towards the goal which we have to walk patiently and step by step we learnt to recognize far more clearly than before. And at least regarding the immediate steps we were able to reach an agreement.

In these words I have already hinted at the task, which the proposed Institute would have to undertake. What this conversation of mine with a technical professional man gave me, the proposed Institute should attempt to contribute to the whole Church. I need not, I trust, continue to dwell upon these general principles. I will proceed to attempt to characterize more in detail the different tasks of the Institute.

The first task would be the quiet, genuine, steadily progressing work of investigation, which asks nothing but the realization of things as they are. If we take such a tremendous question as the problem of unemployment, the work of investigation would necessarily be guided to some extent by the desire to find some ways of preventing, or at least mitigating, the terrible moral evils which exist under present conditions. But just on this very account it is all the more important not to simplify the problem or to conceal from oneself any of the existing difficulties.

The Institute should further be an office of information for all such communities as labour for the social and moral welfare of humanity—an office where they could receive instruction and advice as to the managing of their enterprises. Suppose a community were to start a social activity but were uncertain regarding correct procedure.

What have people done in other places and what are the results of the different methods? With all such questions one could address the Institute sure of receiving a professional and sane answer. And although the Institute would concern itself mainly with investigation, it would also have to arrange for courses of instruction, just as it necessarily would become the centre of many conferences, etc. Especially useful it might become for another eventual ecumenical conference. It might largely replace the many preparatory commissions which this time have been often somewhat improvised.

One thing I want to emphasize very strongly, and as my last point, namely, the scientific character of the Institute. In the Swedish delegation there has been some opposition on this point. Some fear that the Institute would become too unpractical. I have already answered this objection, and I can only here repeat my answer: just for the very purpose of making it practical it is necessary to preserve its strictly scientific character. If the voice of the Institute is going to make itself heard, it is essential that every suspicion of its work not being entirely objective and unprejudiced should be removed. And although it sometimes hardly can be said of science that it works without prejudices, the demand that the Institute should be scientific ensures the greatest possible objectivity, especially as representatives of several sciences would co-operate and in a certain sense control one another. And if the correct maintenance of their demands be necessary from an external standpoint, it is much more so from the standpoint of the benefit which we expect to derive from it. What we want in order to proceed along this road, besides the goodwill and faith in the reality, and power of conquest, of the Christian ideas, is good solid professional knowledge.

IIc. 1. NATIONAL CO-OPERATION

THE REV. WORTH M. TIPPY, D.D.
(Secretary, Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of Churches, U.S.A.)

THE approach of the Church to industry must be careful, because the problems are difficult and dangerous, and great harm may easily be done. But the Church must not hesitate to act, because it is imperative to Christianize business.

Industry is cursed by the acquisitive spirit. The first great task is to give it the motive of Christ, namely, a passion for the more abundant life of humanity. This must be done powerfully and as quickly as possible, and it can only be done with God's help. It will mean a supreme effort in every business, and collectively by the nation, to secure living wages and high wages, reasonable hours, safety in workshops, abolition of child labour, equal opportunity for women workers, steadiness of employment, good housing, educational opportunity, and provision against accident, sickness and old age.

Industry must also be made increasingly a social trust, and a co-operative enterprise with labour represented. This is one great expression of Christian brotherhood. The forms which it is taking are appearing rapidly. They are collective bargaining with trade unions, works' councils, the co-operatives, municipal and state operation of public utilities, non-revolutionary socialism and communism. The best forms will finally prevail. The Church cannot dictate. In America we believe that as much as possible private initiative should be preserved, but this will only be possible if private and corporate business make voluntary consecration.

The Church must show great concern for justice and the welfare of the workers, spiritual and temporal. The masses must see and feel its compassion, as with our Lord. We are too much concerned with dogma and running the Church. We must fight valiantly for the whole man and the whole life of humanity. The estrangement from labour and socialism is much to be feared. Socialism, even if we cannot commit ourselves to it, has a passion for justice and for humanity which must be recognized. The question is whether pastors who are not Socialists can minister in religion to Socialists and likewise with Communists; and they must have pastors. The Church must get a different attitude. We must be on our guard against the aristocratic spirit.

There is ground for hope. The spirit of service and co-operation are very much abroad in industry. Many employers are socializing their business successfully. Society is even now stronger than selfishness or society could not hold together.

The Church's great work is first, a powerful education in these facts and principles, beginning with the children, but giving strenuous attention also to the education of public opinion; and secondly, *evangelium*. I mean by *evangelium* an effort to give Christian leadership—the leadership of the Good Shepherd—to business, to labour and to politics. Society has a right to expect this from the Church. But it is such a supreme and difficult task that it can only be done with God's help. To this we are called.

IIc. 2. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

MISS CONSTANCE SMITH
(Formerly Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories, England)

SIX years ago it seemed that the peoples of the world had recognized once for all the fact of their interdependence. They had learned by bitter experience that no nation is sufficient to itself; they knew personally the consequences to humanity when civilization is divided into two hostile camps. The Great War, which had brought upon us so much of evil, had at least (we thought) taught us all the priceless lesson that we cannot afford to dispense with the intelligence, the industry and the service of men and women of different race and nationality from our own; whether our States are great or small, rich or comparatively poor, we have need of one another. I come from a country which ranks among the leading manufacturing countries of the world. In one of the greatest centres of its industry, before the war was a week old, I found employer after employer sitting disconsolate in a silent and empty factory, his office table strewn with samples of the raw materials of his business—materials of which the source had been suddenly closed to him. Some of those materials came from countries that in a night had become 'enemy' countries, others from neutral States. In both cases the way was barred, and though none of us knew it then, the way was to remain barred for four long years.

During those years the problems of Governments in all quarters of the globe were quite as much economic and industrial as they were military, and the attention of their peoples was increasingly drawn to the conditions of industrial life. It was found that in order to secure the production needed for defence in the field and for continued

national existence at home, these conditions—in many cases highly unsatisfactory, in some deplorable—needed drastic improvement. Steps were taken to guard the health of industrial workers, to improve their workplaces, to limit their hours, to secure for them adequate rest, adequate wages, facilities for obtaining proper food. Scientific investigation proved the unwisdom of excessive hours and spells of labour, and demonstrated the actual folly of continued overtime employment. The national mind everywhere realized as never before the importance and the value to the nation and to every member of the nation of that vast mass of industrial work by which the nation lives and without which it cannot, in these days, live at all. And along with this grew up a sense, strong if sometimes indefinite, of the nation's responsibility to and for those by whose unseen hands it is fed, clothed, housed, equipped in a thousand ways for the battle of life, by which its existence is sustained, eased, brightened, touched with beauty.

Consequently, when the Labour Commission of the Peace Conference proposed to set up, as part of the structure of the League of Nations, an International Labour Organization which should have for its task the establishment of international standards of justice and fair-dealing for industrial workers throughout the world, which should protect the weak and the young and hold the balance fairly between men and women, employer and employed, in every country, the public mind was ripe to listen to it.

The idea of such an Organization was not new. For some twenty years men of goodwill from different countries of Europe and from the United States of America had been meeting together with this very end in view. By research into industrial questions, by taking common counsel, by approach to their several national Governments, they had

not only helped to enlighten public opinion and educate the public conscience, but had actually succeeded in inducing the leading industrial countries of Europe to adopt two great international conventions—one abolishing nightwork in industry for women and the other prohibiting the manufacture and sale of matches made with the poisonous white phosphorus. But their methods were necessarily slow and tentative; their achievements could by the nature of things be only few and far between. The new International Labour Organization occupied a position of incomparably greater opportunity and authority.

It stood—and stands—for a Christian order in industry. Read its preamble, based on a frank appeal to the twin principles of justice and mercy, and see whether you have not there such a statement of the Christian attitude to industry as we who would see the teaching of Christ rule in that great division of human life can accept. We who believe the words spoken by a great Christian teacher a quarter of a century ago, that 'All industrial problems are at bottom moral and spiritual problems' may be thankful that there is so plain a recognition of this truth in the document by which the International Labour Organization was set up. Was it not in the spirit of that document that the very first Conference of the Organization, held at Washington in 1919, when the noise of war still lingered in our ears, found itself strong enough to invite those who had of late been enemies to join it at once and happy enough to receive their immediate acceptance of the invitation? Ever since, all the industrial States (with the one great exception of the United States of America) have by their representatives worked side by side in the Conference, the Governing Body, and the office of the International Labour Organization.

Doubtless international action has not yet accomplished

all we hoped from it six years ago. The first meeting was fruitful in agreements which have had far-reaching results, tending to the abolition of child labour, the regulation of the work of young people, the protection of women workers in the tropical dependencies of Western Powers (such as India, where a new Factory Act has been largely based on Washington decisions), the safeguarding of those employed in dangerous trades from industrial disease, the general regulation of hours of labour. Since then, progress has been slower, and the difficulties of international understanding—always considerable—have been increased by the economic complications due to bad trade and fluctuating exchanges. Men and nations are more timid than they were in 1919; they are also more indifferent. Human memories are short: already we begin to forget the great lesson of our mutual interdependence, already the vision of that vast army of toilers, poor and oppressed, whose hardships we were eager to relieve, to whom we were bent on bringing justice and well-being, is fading from our horizon. It is the part of the Church, to whom the teaching of her Master is a constant reminder of these things, to bring them in His Spirit to the recollection of the nations. This International Organization which we have set up to be the organ of our international conscience will function well or ill, forcibly or feebly, just as it has or has not the interest and the will of its constituent members—the nations—behind it. If the nations are disposed to forget, let the Church remind them. The task is difficult. Yes. The Church is here to face and overcome difficulties. And vision is her heritage. Let her proclaim her vision of an industry founded on justice, organized in fellowship, to the world. Behind all the economic struggles and wage disputes let her reveal the great multitude of our brothers and sisters serving us at home and abroad, claiming our

sympathy and help by that service. Listen to the wise man of ancient Israel :

' Without these shall not the city be built, nor men walk there nor go up and down therein. For they will maintain the fabric of the world, and in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer.'

Dr. N. Beskow (Sweden), Professor D. Mumm (Germany), Sir R. Murray Hyslop (England), Bishop Stanescu (Bulgaria), and Herr Baltrusch (Germany) also spoke.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

II. THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*)

IId. THE CHILD AND THE ADOLESCENT IN INDUSTRY

M. le Pasteur F. Busé (Belgium)
(Secretary of the Commission of the Union des Eglises de Belgique)

The problem of child work and adolescent labour must attract and retain the attention of the Church in a special way. If it is indeed the duty of Christian society to strive against the abuses that one now sees in the general organization of work, such a duty becomes still more earnest when the protection of the weak who cannot raise their voice and suffer without echoing sympathy in their surroundings is concerned.

Childhood

Childhood is sacred. Many forget it, and it is a real exploitation that childhood meets in industry, which sacrifices it to the requirements of modern labour. One must recognize that the abuses in this sphere have been

so great that they have at length attracted attention and roused consciences and public opinion, at least in Christian countries.

The protests have led to the passing of laws intended for the protection of children employed in mines or factories. It was not without strong opposition and hesitation that those steps were taken in favour of the oppressed. The fears of those who thought that the proposed reforms would cause the ruin of industry, have proved vain.

To-day results have been gained, and the question of child work does not present itself to us with such an acuteness as before. In raising the age of compulsory school attendance to fourteen or even to fifteen years, many abuses have disappeared, especially the most revolting. The way already travelled is long ; one must acknowledge it. Actually in many countries, where there are laws in force to protect children, we no longer find such iniquities as, for example, compelling children of nine years to work in factories or even in mines, and this for a day so long as to oblige them to leave their home at 4 o'clock in the morning and to come back to it at 9 o'clock in the evening. We owe this victory to the Gospel. Christian influence at last has mastered those violations of elementary justice. It is not possible now to speak about abuses that exist still in pagan countries, where European industrial organization with all its former defects has penetrated, without giving rise to protests or righteous indignation.

Christendom proclaims that it is a crime to make children of seven years work during twelve and even sixteen hours a day. It is roused when it hears what are the physical and moral conditions under which child labour is still performed in a distant country. It is a proof that in spreading the influence of the Gospel, the Church will put an end in distant countries to the wrong she has already conquered in

Europe and which leave the populations where they still exist, indifferent.

Does it mean that there is nothing more to be done in our Christian countries, particularly in relation to child work at home ?

The ridiculous salaries paid for work, the length of which is often extended out of proportion to the strength of the children, as well as the dangers that they run concerning their health or their physical development, must call for the attention of the Church and awaken her solicitude.

There are such occupations which by their nature should be immediately forbidden to children, for they cannot execute them without endangering their strength and the health of their body.

Adolescence

We live no longer in the times when the young man used to remain at home in order to learn the trade of his father, or when he used to go to another family to which he was regarded as belonging, from the time he entered it, in the character of apprentice.

The young girl, when she has completed her studies at the primary school, does not stay at home with her mother to be trained up in domestic work.

One likes to represent Jesus Christ in the workshop of Joseph giving Himself up to the trade of carpenter. Have we, however, realized that if instead of coming into this world 1900 years ago, He had come to-day, His humble family, as many others, would have been obliged to send Him to the factory in order that His work, that handiwork which He has honoured, might help to provide for the needs of the family ?

We cannot contest the fact that in the present conditions of life, often so hard for working people, who have to bring

up a large family, it is with impatience that they wait for the day when the salary of the eldest children will bring to the home a little more comfort, or, at any rate, diminish the want that prevails.

If we wish to have large families, and if we condemn the limitation of births, the Christian society must not confine itself to expressing wishes, without interfering in an effectual way in favour of the head of the family upon whom, in our increasingly difficult life, falls all the burden of the family needs.

It is for this reason that in countries like France and Belgium we have supported the granting of special allowances in favour of families, where life is rendered more difficult through the existence of many children.

Unless we are prepared to proceed along this line, we must accept as justified the practice of sending to the factory, as soon as the laws of the country allow it, the eldest children in the working classes in order that their gain may be added to the gain of the father for the maintenance of the family.

But those children that are sent early to work have intellectual needs that must be satisfied. And yet they are at a moment of their life, when the human body has not reached its entire development and requires care. For all that, however, no allowance can be made. The problem of daily bread is there imperious.

So the yearnings of the elder children must be set aside, while they go to the works to carry out work mainly mechanical, or work of such a kind that it goes beyond their physical strength.

There is no talk of apprenticeship in such conditions. After having considered the importance of this deficiency, certain countries have deemed it necessary to establish compulsory vocational schools until eighteen years, con-

currently with the work in the factory. In special schools young men and women find thus an opportunity of getting technical attainments that they miss, while developing their intellectual culture.

As to young girls, it is of great importance, that beside their industrial work they should be also initiated in household work. One should create for them compulsory schools of domestic science that would be open outside the time consecrated to the professional work. At all events, the young girls must be made to understand the necessity of knowing household work, the knowledge of which is an essential factor for the prosperity and happiness of the home. With regard to this we may add that in Belgium there are fewer fathers or sons who are drunkards in families where the mother has been in service. This last circumstance allows her to create, in spite of all the imperfect conditions of lodgings, a more attractive home, that will prove a strong means to hold the father or the son at home and to turn them from the saloon.

The industrial labour of children lays itself open to much criticism too, as to what concerns hygiene. Be it for young men or for young women, the physical constitution of the latter requiring even more consideration, there are many cases where the nature of the work and the conditions under which it is carried on, injure greatly the health of youth. A few instances among many are the labour of young men in mines and glassworks ; for young women the labour in artificial silk or tobacco factories.

The moral atmosphere that must be found in industrial work especially deserves the attention of the Church. Many employers do not trouble themselves about that question. The result is the formation of a centre where the youth of both sexes are exposed to hearing continually the impure talks of corrupted companions. The provocation to vice

is sometimes very great. The solicitations to evil tend at last to deaden the moral sense of young people. The ideal of purity that must illuminate their life and secure their respect for it, is greatly injured. Industry becomes for them a school of demoralization. Where is the remedy ?

It is no doubt not very easy to ask employers who have themselves no moral ideal to place young working men and women in such an atmosphere that it might help to put before them the ideal that they will learn to cherish. As in the material sphere there are justifiable claims that you ask in vain from grasping employers, but that have been, after all, forced upon them by public opinion or through laws ; so we believe that the Church must consider it her duty to strive by words and writings, appealing, if necessary to public authorities, to obtain respect for the moral personality of youth, whose labour must be organized in an atmosphere of purity.

There are thus still to-day, many problems that are placed before the Christian conscience concerning the organization of child and youth labour. Reforms will only be obtained if the Church will proceed with perseverance and charity.

We must not forget what has been already secured in that line. We cannot help recognizing with admiration and thankfulness the initiative taken by eminent employers, who have felt their responsibility towards young people. In a spirit of real brotherhood, in the sense of the respect due to human personality, and at the cost of great sacrifices, they have laboured to ensure to young working people material welfare and moral development.

We welcome respectfully that Christian action, the results of which you have perhaps seen in England. It has not only been able to remove social iniquities, the victims of

which were often young people, but it was also mighty to organize labour in a way that ennobles it.

The Christian Church must not despair, when she considers the difficulties of the problems that must be solved. The past will be the guarantee of the future, if the Church goes on showing to her members and to society that their duty is to make young people strong, active and pure by protecting them in industrial labour. She will thus prepare them to be ready in their turn, to proclaim the coming of a kingdom of disciples of Christ where justice and love will triumph over all social wrongs.

Theses

I. The Church, being conscious of the sacred duty that she has, in the protection of children, condemns every exploitation of them by industry, in labour at home or in the factory.

She expresses the wish that the advances already obtained in that line might extend to remote countries, which in introducing European industrial organization have not cleared it from defects concerning child labour.

II. The labour of young men and women from fourteen to eighteen years still gives rise to many abuses. The Church, by word and pen and by appeals to public authorities, must create a movement that will ensure to young working people their normal physical, intellectual, professional and moral development in order to awaken the sense of their personality in a society that seeks for the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

Dr. Fritz von Bodelschwingh (Germany), Miss K. Hesselgren (Sweden), Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer (U.S.A.), The Bishop of Växjö, Dr. Lindberg (Sweden), and Pastor I. Hertz (Germany) also spoke.

IIe. THE CHURCH AND UNEMPLOYMENT

August Springer
(Trade Union Secretary, Stuttgart, Germany)

The attitude of the Christian toward unemployment is determined by his evaluation of work. Our evangelical Christendom is not a condition of ease remote from the world, and of calm inaction, but one of doing, of serving. By his labour, a man detaches himself from his isolation, and enters into helpful combination with other men who are in need of him as he is in need of them. The power to work is a divine gift of grace, entrusted to men in order that they may use it fraternally. God will require an account from us of the way in which we have used this trust.

When we value work in such wise, unemployment is something which in itself should not exist: it is an unbearable situation which in some way brings the affairs of the community into confusion and cuts off the individual from the group. Unemployment may have various origins. It can come by exhausting labour. It can be the result of the political policy of a state or of several states. It can be the indirect or direct outcome of a social or a political conflict. It can arise out of an anarchistic philosophy of production or grow out of backwardness in technique. It can issue from a determination to increase wages: likewise with the objective to lower them. It can come from conditions of absolute overproduction, as out of the sudden changes in the will of the public to buy, and out of innumerable other sources. But it always is a phenomenon to which the Christian cannot be indifferent. Also it is never in itself a distinct entity: it is always entangled with other phenomena of history and industry and is ever closest to the problems and shadows of the human heart. Unemployment is only in rare instances the concern alone of

those out of work. Generally it grafts itself upon the entire industrial and cultural organism of society as such.

The fight against unemployment will therefore be the concern not only of those who are imbued with the Christian ethic, but, in view of the necessity of self-preservation also of the threatened community, in so far as it has retained a clear vision of the possibility of destruction. It is quite possible for the Christian to go a considerable distance with those whose orientation is solely toward industrialism. But in our sphere we are also clear that the desire for self-preservation cannot supply the motive on which the whole matter depends and that industrialism cannot of itself generate the power for healthful industrialism. Nor may we claim a panacea for all ills. But we know from the might of love in Jesus Christ how one may go with Him to the utmost possibility of bearing brotherhood into industrialism also.

At this point our attitude is in sharp opposition to the Manchester school of economics. For therein labour is made subservient to commodities which are bought and sold, as if labour were not inseparable from personality and not a gift from God in order that one may distribute to the brethren. When one accepts the Manchester theory, it becomes easy to will unemployment in order to affect the price of labour. It is the task of the Church to present emphatically and clearly the evangelical conception of labour and vocation, and thus to strengthen the right attitude toward work. In wide circles of industrialism this is apparently not known when its ethical worth and its conception from God's presentation are not recognized. Work without an ethical objective is in the long run an inward and outward impossibility.

But we must of necessity face a need that will fall upon the Church. In the measure to which this ethical valuation

of work increases, the suffering due to unemployment will also be augmented. The more the idea of work as an act of worship is spread abroad, the more unendurable will be the subordination of work to mere mechanism as its determining factor, and the existence of so much work that lacks an ethical justification. But who is inclined to refuse to deal with the technical aspects of the discussion, because he fears that such a discussion will necessarily destroy the conception of work as a vocation and eliminate the idea of vocation altogether? Who is inclined to answer for a kind of unemployment which a scientifically grounded discussion will make appear indispensable? And who is inclined to assume the stupendous consequences of a radical negation of such kinds of work as cannot be brought under the category of the ethically necessary? We see the abysses, recognize with foreboding the interweaving of industrialism with a cold naturalistic ruthlessness and sins as scarlet, and cannot tell whether industrialism can live without this hardness and this evil. We perceive this and yet know that we cannot refuse to speak of the pure and white which proceed from Jesus. We are painfully conscious of the fact that we will not increase our ease by a serious consideration of the spirit of industrialism.

The Church lawfully conceived is not an economic power whose scope includes the control of freedom in industry. It can offer only advice and warning as its contribution to the solution of the problem of unemployment. It can testify boldly, and indict with evangelical sincerity and independence. But that can take place only, when it recognizes the sphere concerning which it speaks. Thus the Church is driven to associate with industrialists and scientists. This partnership, however, is only of value when the advisers of the Church possess an active Christian conscience. Without luring the Church into the dangers

of legalism, we are certainly justified in demanding that it exert its moral influence in every measure which shall help to ward off unemployment. Because of the close relationship between foreign affairs and industry, it becomes necessary to deal with the problem of unemployment as a whole, in its solidarity. If a nation is placed in an embarrassing position through contracts which force it to adopt an unduly long working day and poor wages, or if it is barred entirely by competitive struggles, we must accept joint responsibility for the unemployment engendered.

The Church must co-operate in all attempts to ban an anarchistic tendency from industry and in turn must seek to arrive at a greater degree of constructive effort, and must not be scared off, even if these attempts should lead to a change from strictly individualistic industry to some more socialized forms.

How best to combat the existing unemployment will ever lead to different opinions, conceptions and conclusions, even among persons who begin with the same premises. Personally I consider care for the unemployed which finds expression in some form of productivity as most worthy, because best adapted to overcome the oppressive fear of non-importance and absolute uselessness. Yet we must remember that not every task engaged in by the unemployed is productive. Even in our mechanical age, there is something which we may designate the rhythm of labour, and it is difficult so to change the ability to work that the new activity will really produce something. The ability to work is not an impersonal entity which we can change at pleasure. It is part of the will and of the personal decision of the worker. We must take into account vocational dignity and pride in personal ability.

The first principle to be established in the relationship

of the Christian toward unemployment should be, that unemployment dare not mean lack of food. If these two conceptions were one, then of course the labourer would feel himself insecure, even in the days of abundant work. Furthermore, unemployment dare not mean an abridgment of citizenship. Not simply labour but the will to labour must be esteemed ethical, and this will must find its counterpart in civic respectability. For this reason the aid given to the unemployed who are willing and able to work must never partake of the nature of alms, whether it be rendered by the State, the community or by public philanthropies. Finally, unemployment dare never be a penalty, even in cases in which there is personal blame.

The Christian is in duty bound to advocate a legal regulation of unemployment. Never, however, may a Christian look upon a law as an alibi. He is bound to help bear the inner and the external need of the unemployed.

In individual cases, Church organizations can very properly become interested in referring labour problems to their sources. In the larger aspects of unemployment, it would be desirable if Church organizations would either institute community kitchens or devise means whereby the unemployed might be allowed to retain their family tables.

A very serious matter, which deeply affects the ability of workers to educate themselves, is the use made of time forced upon them by unemployment. It is surely not right to call forth deceptive values of life in times of spiritual and temporal need. But it is necessary to employ the time, during which a better economic tool is being sharpened, to intensify the vocational power, even though there is danger that it cannot be used directly. During a period such as this, it is important to develop a more

serious purpose, in which case unemployment may contribute its share. The problem of reaching the unemployed through worship, lectures, personal solicitude, belongs to the local church, but surely there is here an important field of congregational activity.

The essential thing is and ever will be to burn into the soul and conscience of the Church, the consciousness that unemployment is a terrible thing—must not be. You dare not implicate yourselves and you dare not leave others to themselves in their unemployment.

We all know, for it is one of the burdens of the Church, that the Church has not been able to reach the affected parties: that it has neither been heard nor understood by either the great leaders of industry or by the masses. The Church properly constituted is not an economic force. Should it cease to be a moral and spiritual force, we might well despair of the future.

The evangelic Church is not merely a great unit, but it is a real force which through countless individual personalities, permeates the offices and the workrooms of factories. The more each individual Christian recognizes himself to be a unit in the universal priesthood, the greater will be the impact upon industry of the purity which radiates from Jesus Christ. It is a difficult thing to be a Christian, but it is also an inspiring task to face the temptations and needs of the industrial life and to attack the problem of unemployment.

The Rev. Feodor Ruppeldt (Czecho-Slovakia), The Metropolitan of Siebenbürgen (Transylvania), The Rev. M. Spencer (England), The Rev. H. Hallén (Sweden), and The Dean of Worcester also spoke.

OTHER ENGAGEMENTS

A LARGE number of Delegates went by invitation on an Excursion to the Royal Palace of Drottningholm, 4.30-8 p.m.

A Special Service was held in St. Clara Church at 9 p.m., when addresses were given by THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA, THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, THE ARCHBISHOP OF NUBIA, and THE METROPOLITAN OF THYATEIRA.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Prayers were said by THE REV. PETER AINSLIE, D.D. (U.S.A.).

THIRD MAIN SUBJECT

III. THE CHURCH AND MORAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

PRÄLAT D. SCHOELL
(Stuttgart, Germany)

Is it necessary that a great Christian assembly should enter upon a long statement about the attitude of the Church to Social and Moral questions? We have the command of God which is valid yesterday, to-day and for ever. We have Jesus Christ, whose word is authoritative for us. We have a long Christian tradition in which a fullness of ethical knowledge and experience is deposited. Why then deliberate at length over that which has been so long settled? Still, only the highest and most fundamental principles and precepts are established, such, for example, as purity of heart, and love, which is prepared for service and sacrifice. Nothing must be allowed to set these aside. But the application of these principles in the different

spheres of life and in different times must ever involve us in problems. Christian tradition, valuable as it is, does not help us at all, for the conditions it has in view have become obsolete for us. What in former times was considered as truly Christian conduct may, under new conditions, be regarded as quite the opposite. And as for many of the burning questions of the day, tradition fails us simply because past ages knew nothing of them. The fact is that much uncertainty prevails as to what is the right attitude for present-day Christians to adopt on particular occasions and in particular circumstances. The result is perplexity and disagreement in their own ranks, and the ineffectiveness of Christian morals in relation to other people and to public life.

With regard to moral questions it is therefore the primary task of the Church to work out the fundamental principles of the Gospel, which are valid for present-day life. For this purpose we need prophets and pioneers, who, raised up by God Himself, can with divine authority and power point out new ways. But it is also our duty, before God, to work at the solution of present-day ethical problems under the discipline and the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

From a great number of problems I shall select a few. Among these the Christian ideal of sexual life, of marriage and the family is of the greatest significance. The Church cannot be too emphatic in resisting the opinion, so common to-day, that the sexual life is something purely natural, to which ethical standards do not apply. The ideal of marriage as a life-long union must be defended by the Church in opposition to the idea of marriage as merely a human and casual institution, and in opposition to the so-called doctrine and practice of free love. At the same time, the Church must bear in mind that there are, in the marriage relationship, certain aspects that call for reform,

and she must consider how the spiritual and ethical and religious significance of marriage can find fuller and completer expression. Of special and serious importance is the question of artificial birth control, which primarily is a matter for the conscience of the individual, but is also a matter of national and social concern. The family is experiencing a radical change through modern conditions of work and housing, and also through the demand of modern men and women for independence. The patriarchal ideal of the family can no longer be maintained. But it would be an immeasurable ethical loss if the family should become merely an assemblage of persons who had nothing in common but a formal bond of union. The preservation of the family, the Christian family, is a vital question for the individual, the nation and the Church. It is the imperative duty of the Church to replace the outward authority that is passing away, by the spiritual authority of the parents and the reverence and willing obedience of the children.

Youth provides another problem. It also is in a state of ferment and change. The youth of to-day lacks the restraining influence of enduring fellowship, of established custom and of generally recognized morality. The danger of an unsteady, irregular life is particularly great. It is all the more a matter for rejoicing that from youth itself there is a reaction against immorality, and a strong impulse towards purity and a true ordering of life. But the Church must not forsake or neglect youth. She must cultivate a better understanding of its physical and mental disposition, endeavour to serve it unselfishly, no matter whether youth for the moment is for or against her. She must prepare the way for friendly co-operation.

There is also the difficult present-day problem of the humanizing and moralizing of labour. Labour has become

a joyless thing to untold numbers. The blame for this lies certainly in the modern conditions of labour, with the loss of freedom they entail and in its excessive division and specialization. But what is really lacking is an ethical conception of work. Labour has become a soulless commodity which can be sold and bought. The work itself is a business, not a calling; wage earning, not service; a means of living, not life itself. In face of these facts it is of the utmost importance that the Christian conception of vocation should be revived. We can quite well understand the difficulties with which many have to contend, who try to conceive their work as a divine calling and a divine service. But the Church cannot and must not abandon its conviction that man is here to serve. On the other hand, it must do its utmost so to transform work as to make it a service worthy of God.

There is no single sphere of life in which the Christian standard can be surrendered; but there is perhaps no sphere where a fresh thinking out, simplification and development of these principles is not necessary. The formulation of a new Christian ethic without abandoning the austere earnestness of the Gospel, but stating how the Christian ought to think and act in modern times, is the foremost task of the Church in view of the social and moral questions that confront her.

Its second task is the expression and realization of Christian principles in practical life. If the Church aims at activity there, it will have to fight four powerful enemies. It will have to fight against pure naturalism or practical materialism. The power of sensuality and selfishness has grown enormously. The condition of our social life has become a continual temptation. One thinks only of the demoralizing effects of our housing conditions, or of the dangerous fascination of a life of mere enjoyment, which

those lead who unscrupulously and ruthlessly seek only their own ends. Then there is the deliberate corruption of those who drag everything noble into the mire and glorify immorality. The refined optimism of our modern culture cannot explain away these deplorable facts. The Church has also to struggle against a morality that has no foundation in religion, and which is either utilitarian or positivist. It is evident that that morality has a great attraction for those who no longer take God into account, but who do not wish to dispense entirely with moral ideals. But life without God is sin, and morality without religion becomes very shallow.

A third enemy which the Church has to fight is the so-called new morality, which would make men believe that a marriage terminated at will, the breaking up of the family, the ordering of life according to one's own caprice, are higher ideals than those that Christianity inspires. I leave out of account those who, when conscience is in a state of confusion, commend at one time the Buddhist ideal of life, at another Nietzsche's ideal of the Superman.

Finally the Church has to struggle against those, within her own ranks, who have a double standard of morality, one for private and another for business life and political life. We realize full well that it is sometimes very difficult for the business man and the statesman to live up to their Christian principles; but the Church ought never to cease from insisting that industrial and political life should be permeated with the Christian spirit.

Side by side with the struggle against the anti-christian and the unchristian attitudes to life there must be an energetic campaign for the shaping of life according to Christian ideals. There are many points of contact between these, as, for example, the realization that things cannot go on much longer as they are, the desire for clearer

and surer guidance, and the knowledge that without a definite and profound conception of the world and of life, no real achievement is possible. Thus far, the time for a resolute advance, on the part of the Church, is opportune. May it be granted courage, wisdom and strength to proclaim the will of God untroubled by either the favour or hatred of men, and to apply Christian standards to the whole of life, so that it may exert an influence in the direction of transforming public opinion. To accomplish these ends, the Church will need to make use of modern methods, *e.g.* the Press, parliamentary representation, direct influence on legislation and administration, the foundation of special societies for spiritual ends, etc. In one word, the Church must be the public conscience. Then, though much abused, it would be the greatest benefactor of this and the coming generations. But we must not omit to say one important thing. Christian morality rests on Christian faith. There can be no renaissance of life without a revival of faith. Sin is the ruin of a nation, but confession and conversion are its salvation. Godlessness and lovelessness are the ruin of the world, faith and love its salvation.

M. le Pasteur Charles Scheer

(Deputy for the Haut-Rhin in the French Chamber)

One of the distinctive marks of Christianity compared with other present-day religions is the close connection of religion and morality. We are not met here, of course, to formulate apart from the morals of religion a body of moral concepts based on absolute right. We willingly admit that men unconnected entirely with religious bodies can have a high moral ideal, and that some of them come so near attaining their ideal that they are an example to Christians. But we assert that to divorce the religion in

morality from the morality in religion is to break the inmost unity of the human soul and to deprive morality of an indispensable source of inspiration and of the most powerful force for its application.

The duty of the Christian Church is to proclaim the union of morality and religion without discrediting all moral efforts promoted apart from religion. To demonstrate the need for this union by word, example and deed is the paramount duty at this present moment. But this demonstration must be made with wisdom and without compromising the purity of the moral ideal. Our contemporaries must know that religion adds to the moral ideal something more than the fear of penalties after death or the desire for rewards in Heaven. *Religion is not the policeman of morality.* It must show forth the unselfish, prophetic and social character of Christian morality.

The unselfish character of Christian morality springs from our idea of divine grace, an idea almost unknown to our contemporaries, who attach to it practically without exception the theory of mechanical and sacramental action. We must make them understand that the idea, and still more the experience, of the grace of God implies the solution of the most acute moral problems, that it supplies the answer to the meaning of our moral being, as to how fallen man, while always lower than his ideal and obliged to judge himself, can nevertheless go on striving and hoping amid all his griefs and disillusions. The world must by our attitude, which comes from divine grace, see that our acts are detached from our morality, because we only wish and are able to do what God wills for us in the world.

In short, our contemporaries must realize that the idea of grace implies a *wonderful synthesis of compulsion and liberty.*

The motive of all Christian action is submission to Divine

Will, that is, to the supreme objective aim both natural and supernatural, which stirs every human conscience and works in the world with and without the efforts of men. This conviction engenders virtues incompatible on the surface, enthusiasm and patience, determination and moderation, austerity and love for all that is human.

Then we must show the worth of the prophetic character of Christian morality. By prophetic we mean fit for present needs. In fact, the mission which the great prophets of the Bible had to carry out was absolutely concerned with the existing circumstances. They carried a definite message and not merely vague generalizations. They declared what definite steps were needed in the exact moment of history they found the people of Israel in. Also the Gospel does not merely urge us to a general love of humanity, but to love in a practical way the man whom our ever-present God puts next us, whether he be our opponent or enemy. The parable of the good Samaritan has no time for the clever reasonings of egotism that asks who is my neighbour. Your neighbour is he to whom you speak, he who needs your love at the exact moment in his life when you meet him. The parable does not make the distinction which is now so fine between body and mind. It gives help to him who needs it. ' Here and now ' is its motto.

But besides being actual, Christian morality gives us a wide perspective. It is future in the sense that no change, however great or improbable, is beyond its horizon. It will only reach its final accomplishment by the sovereign act of God when His Kingdom comes.

Finally, Christian morality is social in the sense that it binds unbreakably our fellowship with God to our fellowship with our brothers and that it is the foundation of society, because it lifts the forces of nature and natural conditions of our life to the level and the dignity of moral worth as the

spirit rules the body and as the idea of service to God means service to men.

THE REV. E. TENNMANN (Esthonia), DR. SPIECKER (Germany), and THE REV. J. BEEBY (England) also spoke.

IIIB. THE FAMILY AND THE HOME

THE REV. WILL REASON (England)

(Business and Editorial Committee, Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (Copec))

THE world is in sore need of a really constructive sociology. Mere analysis and description of what men have done is a record of failure in varying degree, with recurring periods of catastrophe. It is too apt to lead us to the pessimistic conclusion that the causes of failure are somehow inherent in the very structure of social life and cannot be eliminated. For the building of an order in which the life of men and women can find its fullest expression we must have positive principles.

Such an order is for us Christians the Reign of God on earth, which Our Lord set before us as the prime object both of our prayer and of our endeavour. In so setting it before us He must have taken it for granted that nothing in the nature of things made it impossible. It is not the imposition of an external and arbitrary will upon a world that is in essence alien, however great the contrast between that Divine Will and the actual working of human society as it is. It must be the development of that human society according to its true nature, from which it is somehow perverted. The failure and the catastrophe have resulted from our persistent attempt to make it work according to our foolish and self-centred desires. There is a way which leads to disease and death, and there is a way that leads to life in its fullness, and the way of life is what God wills.

One clear guiding principle at least has stood out against the background of all our discussions, sometimes full of perplexities, concerning the actual embodiment of this order of God in social life. It is that our central concern, to which all questions of material conditions are subordinate, is with persons : men and women who think and feel and act, who are moved to laughter and to tears, for whom beauty, truth and love are of the highest significance, to be expressed both in the persons themselves and in the things and conditions they create. It is by the quality of this personal life that social organizations must be tested. A healthy, cultured, wise and noble nation can only mean one that consists of healthy, cultured, wise and noble men and women. In the light of this principle we see that the Home lies at the heart of the entire social problem.

Personality is indeed rooted in individuals, who seem to be so separate and distinct from one another. Each one of us knows his own life from within, that of others from without. Moreover, it is in this inner life that all the springs of conduct are found. That, I suppose, is why it is insisted so truly that Jesus dealt with us as individuals. But personality is developed in group life. What we call our own thoughts, knowledge, judgments, appreciations and powers of all kinds have grown in intercourse with others. A personality completely circumscribed in itself, if possible at all, would be meagre and beggarly. And that, I suppose, is why Jesus described the fullness of salvation as ' entering into the Kingdom of God,' into a society of persons in full fellowship with God and with each other.

There is, of course, an appalling contrast between this ideal society, even as our sluggish and starved imagination is able to picture it, and the actual world in which we take our daily part. But the point I wish to emphasize is that the home, even the ordinary home, with all its shortcomings,

shows the least distortion from God's way of life and the greatest promise of its fulfilment. If this be true, I venture the assertion that it is because the home necessarily lies closer to the natural structure of society than other groups. Industrial, social and political systems afford a much greater range for experiment and divergence. But although the history of marriage and the family show that man has rung all the changes possible, he has never been able to get away from the fact that the infant person must be born of two unlike parents and must somehow be given shelter and nurture through the years of growth, nor from the deep-seated instincts which unite husband and wife, parents and children. So the family persistently reverts to the type of father, mother and offspring, in one group and in one home.

This centrality of the home arises from its concern with persons being immediate. The output of our crafts and industries consists of things, and every civilization has discovered how fatally easy it is to subordinate, even to wreck human life, in the processes of producing what it sought as goods. But the output of the home consists of men and women, and of the boys and girls who grow to be men and women. Again, in the factory and the market it is easy to forget the ultimate purpose of goods and even of services, and to regard them solely as a means of making an income for ourselves. But in the home they are used in the direct ministry to persons, even though the use degenerate into abuse. In this ministry to persons, however imperfect, the richer and finer qualities of life find scope for expression and growth. A home has to be bad indeed before we are driven to the conclusion that the best thing is to break it up. We get impatient at the ignorance and folly—and worse—of many parents, with the disastrous effects upon the children, and are tempted to say, 'Take

them out of such incompetent hands and commit them to the care of trained nurses, doctors and educators.' But it is significant that those who to-day are working practically on the problem of reclaiming boy and girl offenders tell us that every effort possible must be made to influence them through their own homes. There is something in fatherhood, and especially in motherhood, for which knowledge and skill do not compensate. If the home really is too bad, then the next best thing is to place the young offender in another home, the institute being the last resort. In the same way, those who care for the waifs and strays, the derelict children, are abandoning the necessarily regimented institutions in favour of 'home' groups, with persons at the centre who are at any rate fatherly and motherly, though not the parents of the children, and with the conditions of family life reproduced as far as possible. Train the parents by all means while they themselves are young; bring to their aid the doctors, nurses and educators, but let the parents remain, if you would get the best.

If this be so with the homes that are largely failures, with what hope may we not look to those that are homes both in nature and in name; where husband and wife are united in a love that is not so much a passion to get what self wants as to give what self can bestow, and where father and mother join in the ministering love that seeks the best for the children? It is easy to be cynical and say that such homes do not exist or at least are very few. We are all conscious of our failures in part, often in great part, but this is the norm of family life and failure is measured by it. And if we fail in part we also succeed in part, and our personal life is richer and truer in the measure in which we approximate to this norm. Evil makes the most noise and attracts the most attention just because it upsets the

true course of life. The newspapers report the worst cases and scandal spreads the tale of other offences, but the steady flow of strong sweet home life beneath the scum and spume goes unchronicled.

So it was from our home life and its relations that Jesus took His similes to help us understand our relation to God and to each other, in spite of all the faultiness. 'If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father in heaven give good gifts to them that ask Him?' And in the story of that home that contained both the prodigal and the elder brother we have a whole treasury of spiritual sociology. We fail utterly in our attempts to understand the nature of God metaphysically, but we can live with Him as our Father. It follows that our relation with each other at its truest and best is that of brethren, and even when Jesus rebukes the narrowness and collective selfishness into which the family may fall, it is still in terms of the family that He describes those who find the kinship of spirit. If we must break the ties of flesh, it is only to find the deeper reality which these ought to have expressed.

It is the most valuable feature of the family in the home that it does actually preserve a way of social life in marked contrast to the way of the world without and in fundamental accord with the teaching of Jesus which men are so ready to say is impracticable. In that direct use of goods for ministry to persons, which is its leading characteristic, it is impossible to work on the principle:

> 'That they should take who have the power
> And they should keep who can:'

or even on that principle of rewarding each according to estimated merit which we call justice, and which was indeed a tremendous advance upon the unjust grabbing. The

one destroys the home, the other is simply irrelevant. Quite apart from the finer inspiration of love, this family group-life demands a wiser and more effective way. What merit has the newborn child, upon whom the greatest care is lavished without question? What relation has the desert of the sick member to his restoration to health? Is the labouring father fed as amply as possible because his earnings have bought the food or because it is by his earnings that the daily food must be obtained? Merit, if it exist at all as distinct from worth, which is really quite another thing, is calculated on what has been; the resources of a family, or of any group that lives as a family, must be used with regard to what is yet to be. But, of course, where love is the inspiration, all this is brought to finer fulfilment and lifted out of narrowing calculations, even for a coming harvest. It is no discredit to love that it works to the same end and that its effects are not less but greater. The fault of selfishness is not that it seeks health and happiness but that it seeks them for self and ignores the better things that cannot be obtained by self-seeking. The home where love rules is not only a place where, on the whole, human beings are better fed, clothed and cared for in material things, but also a haven of refuge from the storms and roughnesses of the outer world, a fellowship in which joys and sorrows are shared and the life of the spirit grows in the sharing.

In our constructive Christian sociology, therefore, the home must be restored to that central position which it has largely lost in the complex developments of large-scale industry and a civilization which has laid hands on the resources of the world at the cost of its soul. In simpler social conditions all industries were carried on beneath or around the family roof-tree, not only because they could not then be carried on upon a world-wide plan, but because

their purpose was the maintenance of the family life. That central purpose remains, though we are able now to be fed from harvests gathered in all parts of the globe and to accomplish wonders that were impossible to small family groups alone. The damning criticism upon modern civilization is that the homes themselves and the persons for whose life and well-being all other groupings exist, are so largely sacrificed to the workings of social mechanisms which have outrun our control. The end is lost sight of and often defeated in the complexity of the means. In the economic sphere the maintenance of the home must be restored to its proper central position.

One of the most serious aspects of this at the present time is the terrible housing problem, to be discussed later. Here I would remind you how disastrously we have departed from the principle of making the dwelling according to the needs of family life, with its physical, social and spiritual requirements, and have reached a condition in which the family life has to be shaped—or rather misshaped, distorted and deformed—according to the house, hovel or tenement into which it perforce has to squeeze.

Time fails to apply this principle to the recreational, aesthetic and other relations of human society. What I want to leave with you as the conclusion is this : All that we know of Life shows that it builds up its bodies from within, and it is only dead machines that can be fashioned from without. It is by the union of living cells that tissues and organs are formed which in turn unite in living relation to form the whole body. If the cells are broken down or become degenerate we get what may be sometimes large growths, but they are cancerous formations. It seems more than an analogy when applied to national and world conditions to-day. No one would wish to confine life within the primitive conditions of the single homestead.

In fact, the life of the home itself, like the personality of the individual, can only grow in richness and power by healthy intercourse in larger groupings. But must we not reverse much of our tendency in modern times and seek in healthy home-life both the test of our larger social combinations and the material by which they must be built up? In particular, have we not, in the spirit and method of the home, a way in which even ordinary mortals can bring health and sanity into the world itself, though it may yet fall far short of what shall be when every heart accepts the sovereignty of God?

HOUSING

MRS. GEORGE CADBURY (England)
(President of the National Free Church Council)

IN introducing for discussion the allied subjects of 'Homes' and 'Houses,' it is essential to avoid as far as possible repetitions of the opinions, facts and suggestions already enumerated in the copious and valuable series of pamphlets circulated amongst those concerned in this Conference, and in similar introductory conferences already held in other countries; also to avoid harrowing details of deplorable housing conditions familiar to us all, not only through statistics, but by personal contact and investigation.

Further, we are all convinced of the profound importance of a high standard of thought and conduct in the home, and of the need of mutual and sympathetic tolerance, wise guidance and intelligent discipline.

In discussing many of the subjects on our programme, such as Education, Leisure, Crime, Morality, Religion, we shall find that we return again and again to the subject of the 'Home,' and social and family relationships; so, though it is a fine and difficult piece of work to make out of a

House a true Home, and thought and consideration must be given to the task, yet, as it is impossible to make a Home without a House, I propose to concentrate on the problem of the *Provision of Houses.*

Those who have studied the Housing Question for the greatest number of years will best know the magnitude of the task that confronts nearly every country. In Europe, in America, and in some countries within the tropics, it is generally recognized that good housing conditions for all members of the community must rank as the first and most urgent social need of to-day. One of the hopeful signs of the movement for better housing is the growing interest taken in it by an ever-increasing number of people. When the active interest of the majority has been enlisted we may expect, if not a quick solution of the problem, at least a steady march of progress along the higher plane of modern standards, for social development depends on the attitude of mind of the multitude. The subject should be discussed in all its aspects, from the minimum desirable standard for an average family of the poorest section of the community to its consideration as a National Problem and Menace.

It is not difficult to attract the attention of those in need of better housing accommodation; the difficulty is to impress those who are already comfortably housed; and also to arouse from apathy those who, unfortunately, do not realize that they could or should be better housed. It seems strange, in view of the fact that housing or shelter is one of the first primitive human needs, that we do not find in any country that the majority of its inhabitants are or have been, decently housed. In every big city in the world we still have dreadful slums. In England we see now that a great opportunity was lost only about one hundred and fifty years ago. The slums that had their

origin in the industrial revolution of George III.'s reign, grew worse year by year without causing any misgivings, except to a few long-sighted reformers; and it was not until 1851 that it was thought necessary to promote housing legislation.

One can follow the growth of public opinion in the matter of housing as reflected in the growing volume of housing legislation. We have a magnificent code of such legislation on the statute books to-day which embodies all the Acts of bygone years reinforced and amplified, but they still need to be put into practice to their fullest possible extent. From 1851 to 1919 seven Acts have been passed, and have been followed by the 1923 and 1924 Acts.

To understand what has taken place we must review the situation. During the years before the Great War a diminution in the number of houses built by private enterprise was noticeable in a number of countries. The number of houses built was not sufficient to meet the needs of the growing populations. Then during the war there was an almost complete cessation of house building. The reasons for this were the same all over Europe: absorption of building workers into the army or munition factories, the diversion of the building industry, the use of building material for military purposes, and the stoppage of emigration. Added to these the rise in the cost of building and controlled rents prevented private capital from investing in new house building. Probably what has taken place in England is paralleled in other countries, so I propose to deal briefly with the difficulties we have experienced in Great Britain.

In 1919 the shortage of houses was extremely serious. The whole country looked to the Government to take some action; and in due course the 'Housing and Town Planning Act 1919' was passed.

One of the chief features of the new Act was that it imposed upon each of the 1,800 Local Authorities in the country the duty of considering the needs of their own areas with respect to provision of houses for the working-classes, and requiring them to prepare within three months of the passing of the Act, and to submit to the Ministry of Health, a scheme for the building of these houses ; and in spite of the criticism of ardent housing reformers, we must acknowledge that the Local Authorities responded to the responsibility laid on them. It was computed that there was a shortage of 800,000 houses, and there were probably a million houses which could be described as slums. In order to tackle this great problem the Local Government Board was reconstituted as the Ministry of Health ; a separate Housing Department was organized, with three main branches :

(1) to deal with new houses ;
(2) to deal with unhealthy areas and unfit house ;
(3) to deal with Town Planning.

One of the reasons which led the Government to undertake the building of houses, in addition to the fact that the private builder had ceased to function, was the determination to prevent, in future, the growth of slums, and to secure, for the great masses of people, the right conditions of life ; there were not to be more than ten or twelve houses to the acre, and open spaces, light and air were to be considered essential, thus following the example of the pioneers of the first Garden Villages.

Under an extension of the Act the duty is now imposed upon every Local Authority with a population of 20,000 or more, to prepare and complete a scheme for the development of land within its boundaries, by the close of 1928.

It is a little hard at first to realize what this means, for the consequences are so vast and so full of importance to

the future welfare of our country, that it is difficult to grasp their significance.

Owing to the excessive cost of building, private enterprise was almost impossible, but later in 1919, the Government took a step to induce private builders to get to work again, and in the Housing (Additional Powers) Act 1919, authorized the payment of a lump sum subsidy of £260 per house for houses of a certain size.

In 1923 the shortage of houses was still very acute, and the Government and Local Authorities recognized that further action was necessary. The Housing Act 1923 aimed at stimulating private enterprise, and encouraged the formation of Public Utility Societies. Assistance to private enterprise was offered for houses of a type and size specified in the Act.

In England we have not made so much use of Public Utility Societies as has been done in Holland and Belgium, there being only about 250 registered, with a total share capital of £730,000. The useful work of organizations of this nature is, I believe, becoming more widely known.

There are a great number of people who could pay an economic rent or who would, alternatively, buy a house on some deferred payment system, if houses could be built for them. It is here that small builders, employers of labour, and Public Utility Societies can assist and are assisting.

It may be interesting to know that the Bournville Estate has four Public Utility Societies upon it, which have served to test the various Housing Acts in so far as they affect such societies. Last year nearly 25,000 persons visited Bournville, many of whom are people who take an active interest in housing.

In 1924 the Government made a declaration that a new departure was to be made in regard to housing policy, involving the building of 200,000 houses a year for a long

series of years. The question was thus advanced so far as administration was concerned to a position it had never before occupied. In due course the third important post-war Housing Act 1924 was passed.

I think it safe to say that in the 1924 Act was embodied an endeavour to carry through the greatest constructive housing campaign ever entered upon by any government. A scheme to build two and a half million houses in the next fifteen years shows, at any rate, to the country the need of houses in something like its right proportion.

We will now enumerate results. The Addison Scheme, by the 1919 Act, produced about 200,000 houses; the 1923 Act, still in operation, has produced to date about the same number; the 1924 Act has so far produced, including houses authorized, about 60,000.

Of the 200,000 houses built under the 1923 Act, 150,000 were built by private enterprise, while only 1,500 out of 60,000 authorized under the 1924 Act, will be produced this way. Local Authorities build under that Act that suits them best.

It is obvious that to carry out the huge programme before the country large contributions from public funds will be needed. The 1924 Act, as its name implies (Financial Provision) provides money; the vital question now is the ability of the building trade to produce the houses. It does not seem possible that we shall reach the maximum output provided for unless the present number of building trade operatives is nearly doubled. This in itself is a problem of no small importance. As has repeatedly been said, there are three great needs—Men, Materials, Money—but in spite of the long roll of unemployed, the greatest need of the three is Men.

Various means are being tried to increase the supply of workers. The building trades unions have agreed to one

apprentice for every three craftsmen in the various districts ; but the difficulty seems to be in getting apprentices, by reason of the greater attraction of other industries and forms of employment.

Perhaps in the near future with better organization and a contributory payment system that counteracts the loss of time due to weather conditions, some of the obstacles will be removed.

To return to the financial question, we may conclude that the large amount of money to be spent in future years on housing in Great Britain is an indication of the determination to reach a better standard.

Taking the amounts spent under the Housing and Working Classes Acts for England, Scotland and Wales in 1901, there was a total expenditure, including the Government and Local Authorities' expenditure, of something over half a million pounds (£544,204). Then in 1923 the total expenditure had jumped to the large sum of twelve millions (£11,715,000).

The Act of 1924—the financial provisions show an addition of half a million pounds in 1924-5 increasing gradually to 24½ millions in 1940, remaining steady at that figure for twenty-four years, gradually decreasing until 1980, when it is supposed that a level will be reached of only £300,000 above our expenditure for 1920.

To leave Great Britain and turn to other parts of the world, I would draw attention to a very interesting and instructive report on *European Housing Problems since the War*, issued by the International Labour Office.

The first point which it emphasizes is the immensity and universal nature of the problem. A general survey of the housing problem in Europe is given, and the progress of events in each country described in detail. One gathers, taking Europe as a whole, that there is a great and growing

movement afoot dealing with slum clearance, town planning, garden cities, land settlement, improvement of transport facilities, and the like. It is evident that all Western and Central Europe is determined in time to eliminate slums and erect good houses. It is of interest to note that in the progress of India's industrial revolution, the great employers of labour, especially in the jute and cotton mills, are taking steps to provide good and sanitary housing for their work-people. In Bombay, slum clearances of considerable magnitude are being undertaken.

The problems before us are problems confronting every country here represented. Which nation will reach the goal they have set before them? Success will depend on Industrial Peace and International Peace; and we are here to endeavour to promote conditions and standards of thought and action that will contribute to mutual understanding and goodwill.

And we are here to declare our faith in the power of Christ's Gospel to solve even this problem; 'Except the Lord build the city, they labour in vain that build it.'

Lt.-Col. F. de Witt-Guizot (France)

It was once a tradition to inscribe on the door of our houses these three words: 'Pax Huic Domui,' meaning peace of body, mind and soul be granted to all who live here.

In very truth the house where man founds his family, where he prepares the first step in his life in society, where he finds his work and rest, where he learns that egoism is barred and love a duty, this home is essential to human life. However difficult and new some aspects of the problem may be, the fundamentals have not changed. It is and always will be a question of securing under the family roof the full development, physical and moral, of each personality for the good of all, by the joint efforts of all

who enjoy the same hearth. It is and always will be a question of having feelings of mutual affection between neighbouring homes by means of the spread of the Christian spirit from outside. A healthy soul enlivening a healthy family in a healthy home that becomes a rallying point where each has his rightful place, as parents, children or servants, such a soul has the secret of joy, virtue, useful work and spiritual life, and is a bulwark against envy and hate. 'Pax Huic Domui' ! May God grant that a day will come when each nation has it in its heart to write these same lines on the frontier posts of all its neighbours.

The Church's duty is to be on its guard against all that weakens, divides or destroys the family, and all that defiles the home morally or physically. Its duty is to work by all the means at its disposal for the time when each family, not only of the working class but of the smaller middle class that is so sorely stricken in these days, can find in their homes that true and real peace they need so much and which Christian truth promises to all.

Now, is that the problem ? We all know that the struggle against the slum has been waged and yet the slum still exists with all its moral and material spread of infection. This struggle is only a negative fight when we need a positive battle.

Further, the growth of big industries, the general insecurity, the pursuit of work and pleasure, and the consequent rush to the towns, have led millions of human beings to live in unnatural conditions that daily grow worse. How could these people act like men who enjoy life freely and well ?

This is mainly true among the old communities still bound, like our most ancient cities, to their past, and where conditions of labour cannot be altered by the wave of a wand. Experience tells us that man has a natural and

understandable dislike of living far from his work. He can only do it if transport facilities are provided on a large scale and cheaply to convey him from a healthy home to a healthy workshop.

Much legislation has been enacted in the last twenty years in all countries, and to that must be added the long-standing efforts of private individuals, such as the construction of cheap dwellings at rents reduced by State aid and free from taxes, houses for large families built by Societies and Foundations on co-operative methods, inns for the people, gardens for the workers, untransferable and unseizable family property, laws dealing with the reconstruction of the devastated areas and even the extraordinary tangle of laws that is more intricate than the thread of Ariadne. These laws have been enacted since the war to reconcile bad landlords and distressed tenants.

But the results, which alone really matter, have been totally inadequate, due to the shortage of essentials, such as money, manual labour, building materials and the diffusion of efforts and the incomplete instruction in co-operative work, and because imagination has not sufficiently overcome traditional selfishness, and also the Church, too often living in its own shell of unbroken meditation, has not adequately persuaded her sons of their duty as builders of the city of To-morrow. In fact, do you not believe that the Church in her concern for the worth and welfare of men has a much-needed campaign before her? In this positive task of building, she can exert herself to get the law improved and extended; she can promote the establishment of active bodies adequate to the purposes she stands for; she can drive away the inertia of her members and evoke their spirit of initiative. The Church will only continue to live if she inscribes on her flag the word 'Action.'

In France in the last six years we have had to make huge efforts in this very direction. We have rebuilt on the ruins, to which the former inhabitants were so passionately and rightly attached, 725,000 houses demolished in the war. We have rebuilt on town-planning lines, carefully considered on the advice of technical experts, whole towns of 100,000 and 170,000 inhabitants, Lens, Rheims, St. Quentin, Verdun, Arras, etc. Faced with this great task of compassion we have done our best to build as many houses as possible to suit individual needs and the common good in accordance with the advance of knowledge. Surely there was need of security for mothers that children might be born and live and grow ? Surely there was need of facilities for teaching children at school in accord with the rules of hygiene and upbringing, for keeping workers from being disgusted with their work or their homes, for the sick to be cared for, and for all to enjoy the sunshine and take full breaths ?

Gentlemen, I ask each of you to reflect on his own conduct, to jump over in his mind the plains and seas that separate us from our native lands and to see at this very moment with the eyes of memory that mass of houses, streets and neighbourhoods we all know to be the scandal of our time. I ask you to recollect that the House of God will only be as it should be when hundreds of thousands of human homes will no longer be as they are to-day. I ask you to resolve that a holy crusade will be undertaken so that we may be able to say with a clear conscience, ' Pax Huic Domui ' in every house we enter. What a failure it would be for us if people answered us, ' More words ! We want real things. Bring us them.'

Dr. Margarethe Behm (Germany), Canon MacCulloch (Scotland), and Herr Georg Streiter (Germany) also spoke.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

III. THE CHURCH AND MORAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*)

IIIc. YOUTH

HENRY-LOUIS HENRIOD

(Acting General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation)

IT is in the name of Youth that I have the privilege of addressing you. Please regard what I am going to say as an alarm signal and at the same time a message of hope.

The news we get from Russia clearly indicates that the Bolshevists have made during the last few months, and are still making, special efforts to win over and mould the mind of Youth.

Similar efforts have been made outside Russia, and often with success. Political and social Communism in its anti-religious and more especially anti-Christian form and its growing influence on the rising generation, is one of the gravest dangers of the future.

On the other hand, the common experience of Christian workers among the young reveals signs of an alarming relativity in judgment among many young people, and a dangerous tendency to syncretism (a patchwork of different forms of belief).

However, in many of the countries I have visited, I have found among youth, and especially youth at the universities, high ideals, enthusiasm, a spirit of sacrifice, and signs of spiritual and moral power which are most encouraging.

The Church needs youth in order to live. Youth needs God. But the majority of youth passes the Church by indifferent or hostile.

To win youth, there must above all be a harmony between the professed truths of the Church and its deeds. Then the Church must be a militant and enthusiastic body of people, with the spirit of conquest, in order that it may appeal to the capacity for enthusiasm and self-sacrifice in the young. Lastly, it must have sufficient elasticity in its methods to allow the young to be active within the Church. It is not enough for them to be receivers. They need to be givers. They must be able to give themselves spontaneously and not only in groups organized by and under the direction of their elders.

Among the means at the disposal of the Church for keeping—or rather for winning and preparing—the young for the Christian faith and life the following seem to us specially important :

1. *Religious instruction.* Ignorance of the Bible, and the complete absence of religious knowledge among a large number of adolescents, are among the alarming characteristics of this century. We need qualified specialists for this sort of teaching.

2. *The organization of youth in each parish.* The ever fresh study of the best methods of interesting them and encouraging them to enter actively into the life of their local church. The valuable service of the young among the poor and dispossessed where the minister cannot cope with the work. For instance, I think of the most interesting experience in the Sunday schools of the Coptic Church of Egypt run by some young people who benefit as much or more from this work as their pupils. I think of the successful work begun by the Young Men's Christian Associations in the field of social reform in China, and of the crusades of Swedish students in the country villages and towns of their land on behalf of the Church, with the watchword : ' The people of Sweden, a people of God.'

3. A field of action of supreme importance is: *Autonomous Groups*, independent of the Church but in close relation with it: groups which can move and act effectively where the Church does not reach or comes up against countless obstacles and prejudices. I think specially of the Young Men's Christian Associations, the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Student Christian Movements, the Scouts, and others. These groups are often generously supported and helped by the Church. Sometimes, however, the Church is suspicious of them, and coldness or the indifference of some churchmen prevents an appeal being made to them as fellow-workers and as leaders.

The most active and sincere support of the Church is needed for these activities of youth, and, if given, would lead to splendid victories for the Kingdom of God and the Church.

The young, on the other hand, are often thoughtless fault-finding, over-independent and critical. To meet this we need much patience, so that we may not alienate them permanently from the Church by suppressing their untimely outbursts and youthful excesses with an undue and rigid authority. We must show our trust in them, believing in the good in them even though it may be as yet only a possibility. Where the young have carried the Gospel to the young, remarkable and lasting results have followed.

Youth is often full of self (not unlike many of its elders). It can be terribly egoistic, in many countries it is fiercely nationalist or violently revolutionary; but it can be wonderfully responsive to appeals to generosity and self-sacrifice; it can quite forget self for its ideals and give itself without counting the cost to a good cause. Are not its sacrifices for its country striking proofs of this fine spirit? Think of some of the Youth Movements of Germany, the Purity Leagues of the black students of Africa and America

the Renaissance Movements in the Far East, the white students of South Africa and North America face to face with the race problem, European Student Relief work undertaken by the World's Student Christian Federation, which in five years amid specially difficult economic conditions has collected nearly 12 millions of francs (gold) and saved the lives of thousands of students and the intellectual future of more than one European country. It is significant that these donations have come from every Continent. This material but also spiritual effort has prepared the way for a better international understanding, and for the removal of many prejudices and barriers that seemed insurmountable.

It is the young and particularly the Christian students who have paved the way for the fellowship of Christians of different churches and of various beliefs, and for international meetings in countries where the situation was most unfavourable. It is not too much to say that the Student Christian Movements and other international Christian societies of young men and women have prepared the ground for this fine Universal Christian Conference of the Churches at Stockholm.

To-day there are signs appearing on the horizon foretelling a revival of interest in the Church among the young. I am thinking in particular of an important spiritual awakening which is seen in the majority of the student colonies of Russian refugees in Central and Western Europe and the Balkans. This religious revival has taken the form of a renewed devotion to the persecuted Church. The faith and enthusiasm of these student refugees are an example to their more fortunately situated comrades in the countries whose guests they are.

If the Church goes ahead without ulterior motives, without fear and with faith in the tremendous and urgent

task of social reform, of creating love between nations and races, youth, confident and idealist by nature, will co-operate with it better and more fully in the future than it has done in the past.

At this point allow me to draw the attention of the Continuation Committee of this Conference to the great importance of the interchange of young people between one country and another, and of increasing or giving scholarships for students, particularly for theological students, to provide a wider and fuller preparation for leaders of Christian youth.

Among an increasing number of young people high-sounding theories, purely speculative problems, and material questions are not of dominant interest. They stand perplexed before the tragic reality of suffering and sin. They are tired of those rigid forms and that narrow professional outlook which they still too often find in our churches.

Let us bring to them with simplicity and conviction the grandeur of God's Love revealed in Jesus Christ, the one Saviour!

The young are athirst, not for rules and formulas, but for life and abundant life. They stretch out their hands to the spiritual power which alone can transform society and individuals alike.

Let the call of the Church ring out clear and strong, let God's voice speak through her, and youth will reply: 'We are ready.'

M. Paul Fuzier (France)

(President de Section au Conseil d'Etat, Paris)

We have just had presented to us a general survey of the activities of youth which the Christian churches have set going in all parts of the world.

I should like to have dealt with the actual operations of these youth movements and in particular of those in which the young themselves exercise control. I hope to bring before you some facts and then show you how the initial difficulties have been overcome. But the few minutes at my disposal do not allow me to go into details, and I shall confine my remarks to stating, if not solving, the problem of the relations that must be sought for or kept up between the churches and youth associations.

Many of the activities of youth depend for their success on particular self-imposed rules and a more or less complete independence of the churches in their locality. Are such activities as these going in fact to empty our churches or will they, on the other hand, bring a new body of loyal followers to them? Are these activities of youth that originated in the Protestant churches which provided them with their framework and their doctrine going to attempt to preach the Gospel without wanting to know to which flock they are bringing in the lost sheep who have heard the news of the Good Shepherd? Or relying on the power of the historic churches which have a long past of faith and honour behind them, will they trust the fruits of their victories to these churches, asking in exchange only to train and teach new recruits?

There, as I see it, lies a problem vital to our churches and our youth activities. But to propose one simple solution is difficult. For the method suitable in predominantly Protestant countries cannot be applicable where Protestants are in a minority or where they face, besides Catholics, the indifferent masses whom they hope to win over to Christianity.

At this point let us leave our enquiry into absolute principles and confine ourselves to stating what has been accomplished in France.

The first of our Christian Unions of Young Men was founded at Paris in 1850. In Paris, too, in 1855, the first Universal Conference of Christian Unions met from August 19 to 22. It is just seventy years since those memorable sessions when the fundamental principles of the Christian Unions of the whole world were adopted. These principles are embodied in a religious declaration still known as 'The Basis of Paris.' From that moment the development of the Unions has made regular steady progress, but it is a pleasure to state that it has been greatly speeded up since the war, and that even in the devastated areas youth has responded with enthusiasm to the challenge made to it.

Our Christian Unions have for a number of years tried to organize 'Cadet Sections for young boys.' But this scheme has only met with success in the form of 'Scout Troops' in which young men and boys have found at one and the same time a field of work and interest and moral discipline on a purely religious basis. The general movement of Scouts began in France among the Protestants. Our Christian Unions have taken the lead so that our youth will not have to join groups that do not share our convictions. So 'Scout Union members' came into existence, who have given us a splendid means of influencing all kinds of youth. Ministers have sometimes had to complain of an excess of enthusiasm among young 'troop leaders,' but, on the whole, these leaders and in particular the leaders of the movement belong to our churches and inspire confidence by the spirit they have shown in tackling the problems that a movement which is in every respect both very young and daring must have to face. Our Scout Union members can remain Protestant without refusing admission to the young outside our churches.

What relations should normally exist between the

churches with their traditions and these groups of youth so recently formed ?

If the troop of Scouts is composed solely of Protestants, it could very fittingly have close relationship with the church, which would sanction whatever form of organization suited all parties.

In this case the minister would become the chaplain of the troop, and the troop, by its presence at the Sunday service in uniform, could be used for an official ceremony, to take the collection from the worshippers, to give out the hymn-books, etc. If a complete break with custom were demanded, an exceptional step could be taken by replacing the ordinary service by a special one for Scouts run on their own lines.

But if the troop is recruited largely from young people who, though not hostile to religion, are not Protestants, how could its regular presence at the Sunday service be demanded ? It is only on that day that the Scouts have an opportunity of meeting and their leaders can do the work of evangelization on which they have set their hearts. So it seems best for the Church to limit its attention to seeing that the religious part of the programme is not neglected and giving the leaders all its moral support. The latter, on their part, would give proof of a very poor type of narrowness if they refused to use the means of grace offered by the Church, and the cordial welcome given to young people from outside who might be won over to the Church.

This problem, after a period of doubts, mutual concessions and frank discussions, has been cleared up and largely solved in the last few years. Our Assemblies have given opportunities of speaking to the representatives of Christian Unions of young men and girls, to Scouts, to Christian associations of students, and have at the same time

investigated existing youth activities in order to start them in each church.

Let us quote some passages from the report presented by Pastor Albert Leo, a great friend of youth.

He writes: Where there is Christian faith seeking expression in action, there is the Church. Worship is a manifestation of the Church's life, but in itself is neither necessary nor enough. The problem is not: The young to the building for worship, but the young in the active spiritual life of the Church.

As a matter of fact, the Christian Unions have done the Church countless services. They have supplied what is better than merely hearers, Christian apprentices. They belong to the Church. In the same way the Federation of students, the groups of school pupils, in spite of their unreasonable suspicions, bear their responsibilities more and more conscientiously. They too belong to the Church, though varied in type like the Scouts, and the Church can rely on them.

The era of misunderstandings has passed. Do we not see a great advance among theological students, half of whom have come under the Scout influence? Do we not see the Scout Unionists in their national committee devoting their attention to co-operation with the Church? Do we not see here and there the Scouts directing their efforts towards respect for the Sunday of the churches, while the churches are modifying some of the items in their time-tables in the interests of the Scouts?

In my closing remarks I make the conclusion of M. Leo my own: What must be done for all these young people? We must show trust and affection, that little sister of faith; give them the impression that what the Church possesses is real. Trust and co-operation; everything depends on these.

PFARRER DR. W. STÄHLIN
(Nürnberg, Germany)

I SPEAK in the name of a large number of the young people of Germany. They would not be as keen and as alert as we find them, were they not deeply moved by the universal desire for more love and fellowship. We see that it is God's will that men should live together in communities and that this is more inevitable to-day than it has ever been. They must therefore learn to live together in spiritual fellowship. Our young people are moved by a strong desire for real brotherhood; even independently of the churches they come into touch with the young people of other lands, and I rejoice to say, it is just our patriotic young people who are most eager to meet, in Christian fellowship, those of other lands.

In forming new bonds of fellowship, our young people will have the same experiences, sometimes painful ones, which in the wider sphere, nations have who are seeking intercourse with other nations. It is less important that our young people should express their ideas about fellowship than that they should show themselves to be living cells of a common life. Our young people call upon the churches not only to talk of love, but also to exemplify it practically in the life of the community. On our return from Stockholm, they will not so much ask us what was said at the Conference about love, but rather, were you yourselves in your meetings a part of the real Church? How did you behave towards one another? Did you pray together?

On the way to real fellowship, both young and old must learn that the other man is precisely *another* man, and that love does not mean thinking and talking alike or in the same way but bearing with diversity and even with opposition in

those amongst whom we are placed by the will of God. Love involves the patient endurance of the differences which must exist between man and man and between nation and nation. It is therefore a sign of real love, when one not only agrees with another, but when one dares to say things which may cause pain.

Finally, he who strives for the spirit of fellowship must be prepared to fight with the Devil. For it is really the power and the cunning of the old enemy which are separating one man from another. If we are conscious sometimes of a certain restraint when we use the great and beautiful words love and fellowship, it is not always for want of trust in the goodwill of others, but because of the deep-rooted anxiety among the German Lutherans lest the Devil may prevail over those who under-estimate his power. It is quite a special ruse of the Devil to deceive men about real love, when he tempts them to talk about love, whereas it is only a matter of common selfishness or of clever organization. Open and honest opposition is better than this.

When we meet one another in the next world in the presence of God, those who strove together here, with the desire of love in their hearts and in the consciousness of a common guilt, will enjoy a closer union than those who kept the peace outwardly, but in whose hearts were hatred and revenge.

The Rev. R. C. Gillie, D.D. (England), Dr. Karl Fries (Sweden), Pasteur G. Lauga (France), The Rev. E. D. P. Kelsey (England), and Mr. W. A. Visser t' Hooft (Holland), also spoke.

IIId. THE RELATION OF THE SEXES

FRAU PAULA MUELLER-OTTFRIED
(Member of the Reichstag)

WHEN a Conference which proposes to consider the significance of Christianity for Life and Work places the relation between the sexes on its programme, this is a proof that, in Christian circles, unanimity has not yet been reached on this important subject. Such a unanimity ought to have been reached. The gospels, even though they do not give specific directions for regulating morals (*Sitten*) which are valid for all time, do supply the fundamental principles which should determine moral conduct and which should regulate the relation of the sexes to each other. The first five paragraphs of the Report on this subject show how sin has disturbed this relation and how disharmony has taken the place of the harmony designed by God. I entirely agree with these. Human customs and human weaknesses have made a caricature of the will of the Creator in these matters.

For us Christians, the rule should be here as in the other spheres where Life and Work are interpreted in the light of Christian principles: 'back to the Gospel.' Man and woman are dependent on each other and were created for each other. Woman is given to man as a helpmeet. The equal worth of man and woman was established as a principle by Jesus, and in spite of all concessions to existing customs, was maintained by the disciples and apostles. The Lord Jesus Christ admitted women into His fellowship. He instructed them and gave them a commission in His service. He completely changed the position they held in the pagan world. This has given to woman in Evangelical Christendom both the courage and the right to determine the relation between the sexes. It has been the

driving power of the Woman's Movement organized as 'the German Association of Evangelical Women,' which twenty-six years ago issued the following call to its sisters: 'Unite, have the courage to educate yourselves into free moral personalities by means of independent and responsible work.'

I must not pass over this historic event to-day for three reasons. First, because this Association has been engaged for some years in the investigation of the best way of realizing the Divine ideal of woman as the helpmeet of man. Second, because it might be regarded as a failure to understand the signs of the times on the part of the German Evangelical women, if they had shown no sense of responsibility for their sisters and for the welfare of their people. Third, because the German Woman's Movement has for ten years maintained that a change in the relation between the sexes in harmony with the will of God can only be accomplished when woman succeeds in recognizing her proper being, her woman's nature, her physical and psychical characteristics.

All this is generally admitted to-day. In the man we look primarily for strength, energy, enterprise, initiative, bold and reasonable deliberation; in fact, the qualities that make for leadership. In the woman we find deep-rooted and strong moral feeling, a passionate and intuitive sense of justice, a quick and ready sympathy. In the former the bent is towards abstract thinking and creative work, while in the latter it is towards practical work and all that is involved in the care and maintenance of life. In the one case the head predominates, in the other the heart. But we must not reproach the one because it has not the qualities of the other. They should supplement and help each other and work together harmoniously for the benefit of humanity. Of course it is not desirable

that the characteristics of one sex should be altogether lacking in the other. But if we regard man as above all active and woman as chiefly passive, we must look on this as a division of work. In this division the more objective part is man's work, the more subjective woman's, and I make bold to say that the latter is not less important than the former.

But this simple and natural division of work, with the adjustments and concessions it involves in professional and public life, has not yet removed the tension between the sexes or made it possible for the Christian ideal of their relationship to be reached. The sexes should not only live side by side in friendly rivalry. They were created for one another. The model of this relationship in the Gospel is the family. The family with the birth and the education of children is the ideal. And, thank God, there are still many Christian homes in which this ideal is respected. But do not let us blind ourselves to the dangers that threaten the family. One often hears it said nowadays that family life has been undermined because of the war. This is due rather to the increasing alienation of man from God, to the materialism of the age with its over-estimate of purely industrial forces directed with a view to the increase of wealth and enjoyment, with its under-estimate of the spiritual values and with its depreciation of women. If woman is not true to her own nature, the family is undermined and the Christian ideal loses ground. Who is responsible? Men and women have been drawn into the vortex of immorality, which has permeated our whole public life. It manifests itself in our amusements, our sports, the cult of the nude, and is even striving for recognition in legislation and for justification by public opinion.

The profligacy of men, the shameless immodesty of women, if not in act, at least in gesture, are terrible signs

On the one hand, there are the words that almost condemn us, 'A nation is what its women are'; on the other, the terrible scientific law of supply and demand and the responsibility of leadership. The guilt is on both sides. Hence the call to repentance and to the adjustment of the relation of the sexes according to the Christian ideal. Let us take steps to avoid that degeneration and this alienation from God which threatens to rule the lives of men and women. Let us sweep away the conditions that destroy family life. Let us get rid of prostitution. Let us repudiate that double code of morality, the very hot-bed of prostitution, which has its roots in the want of respect for woman (which is often imparted to a boy in his education), in the lack of self-discipline, in the negation of manly energy. Here cause and effect are closely bound up with each other. In this matter I agree with the Report of the British section. Disregard or contempt for woman leads to prostitution.

I therefore put in a claim for the worth or value of woman, not as a housekeeper or plaything or mistress, but as the God-given partner of man, as the fellow-disciple of Christ with equal status and value as the man. I hope that the influence of the churches will lead to the education of man and woman in the sense of responsibility for the life of the body and the soul, so that they may work together side by side and help to build up the Kingdom of God on earth.

The Rev. Norman B. Nash (U.S.A.), Frau von Tiling (Germany), The Rev. B. Cockett (Australia), and Prof. J. Victor (Hungary), also spoke.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1925

EVENING SESSION (5–7 P.M.)

III. THE CHURCH AND MORAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*)

IIIa. THE CHRISTIAN VOCATION AT THE PRESENT DAY

PROFESSOR PAAVO VIRKKUNEN, D.D. (Finland)
(Vice-President of the Parliament; Professor, Helsingfors University)

IN order that the effect of Christianity on life and work may be strengthened at the present day, it is required that there should be understanding and observation of the preliminary condition which we call the Christian Vocation.

Christianity has force for re-creative influence outside only in so far as it grows up organically from its root. Without some inner foundation nothing visible can be built up. The lifework of a Christian should possess an invisible, hidden source of strength if his deeds are to co-operate in the heightening and deepening of life. But the root from which the forceful effects of the Christian life grow forth, the foundation on which the Christian builds his visible lifework, the source from which living water pours forth for the Christian life—all this is the realization of life in the form of the Christian vocation.

Again, as soon as the Christian conceives his position in life and his life's work as fulfilling a sacred call given by God, it is of importance for him to perceive that his vocation must be performed in the peculiar conditions of the present day, which have been shaped by the course of historical development. The Christian vocation can be performed in our day in accordance with a programme laid down beforehand just as little as a Christian life according to God's will is an easy matter for any Christian. As yet the most

exact knowledge of the development in the course of which the idea of the Christian calling has grown clear in the Church history of modern times, does not guarantee the prosecution of the Christian vocation with such success that it will be a blessing for the life of the present day. On the contrary, the Christian vocation imposes on the people of our time who wish, as Christians, to do something for the Christianization of human life and human society, problems the solution of which alone can give us a clear notion as to the present-day tasks of the Christian vocation and of the possibility of fulfilling them.

Thus we have to face two great questions. What is the Christian vocation? And what are its tasks and possibilities in the present day?

We shall only cast a glance at the inexhaustible stores of life that are hidden in these two problems.

I

The Christian vocation begins as soon as life and the duties of life are conceived as a gift of God. The Christian's fundamental experience, without which there can be no personal Christianity, is his experience of God as the giver of good gifts. The Christian receives amongst the greatest gifts of God the life itself that he lives and the lifework which he may and must accomplish in the name of God. When God becomes the surest reality to man, man hands over to God the guidance of his life, not only in theory but also in practice. Thus is born a Christian, over whose life God disposes. And indeed why should not God dispose over life, seeing that the Christian is bound to experience how well God does and arranges everything in his life! These experiences go in different directions, but mainly in two.

God bestows on the Christian a never-failing protection for every day, in all the vicissitudes of life, in prosperity and adversity. It is necessary that one should first have experienced, as many a man in our time has experienced, that life, when God is chased out of it, trembles in all its foundations, is without peace and ever in a state of fear, is broken off like a bough in the storm, drifts about like a straw on the waves, in order to benefit fully by the opposite experience : that a living relationship with God, when it is bestowed on a man, gives peace to his heart and security to his life. Nothing else is able to such an extent as the force of living Christianity to give man rest in his unrest, to rally his wayward tendencies, to give him courage and certainty of victory in his life's struggle.

In this connection the Christian's conception of the position and function of man's life is deepened in a peculiar manner. God, who by His grace and love gives security to the life of the Christian, also takes it into His service. God needs, God wishes to employ, the vital forces and the life-gifts of even the least of His children. The gift that God gives to His child becomes to that child a duty which it receives from God's hand in order to perform it in his own lifework. Thus the life's work of the Christian takes the shape of the Christian vocation-doing. God calls us not only to be a member of His kingdom but also to fulfil the lifework that He has held in preparation for His children. In the place where the Christian has been stationed he stands according to God's will and God's good guidance. The work that the Christian carries out is recognized by God as His own. Thus for the Christian, the Christian vocation is not only a gift given by God but also a task imposed by Him.

Thus when one's lifework attains the importance of the Christian vocation it teaches what elevating and broadening

forces human life acquires from living Christianity. God has laid down for the realization of His kingdom upon earth the basis of the division of labour. To each child of His, God gives a share in the immeasurable programme which is to realize the Kingdom of God ; but even the least share is necessary for the whole. This conception is the foundation of the vital truths of the Christian democracy of our days ; and it is from them that the Christian vocation derives its strength. Amongst these truths let us recall only a few central ones, and we shall immediately perceive their incomparable range : that God holds in preparation for each of us a task suitable for him ; that in the performance of this task there is no question of its magnitude, as measured by human standards, but only of faithfulness in its performance ; that even the simplest work has an inner content when it is performed before the eyes of God in the name of Jesus. Thus the Christian vocation helps millions and millions of men up to a spiritual position which gives a unique value to life, for it is filled with gratitude to God and it is ennobled by a veritable joy in life. The Christian cannot serve God better than by the faithful performance of his duty and of his calling. ' Only look on a man,' says Luther, ' who believes in Christ and fears God, and do not then ask whether he is a sailor or a shoemaker, a peasant or a citizen, a noble or of lowly birth. When he believes in Christ and serves his neighbour, he is a living saint and abides by the greatest commandment and performs the greatest and the best deed.'

At the same time, as a living relationship with God safeguards the life of man, it creates in his lifework lively contentment, courageous confidence in receiving the task of life from the hand of God, and the ready will to perform it for the honour of God. Forces which make possible the fulfilment of the Christian vocation, the child's obedience to

his Heavenly Father, whose will the child fulfils in his life, and the disposition towards loving service towards brothers and sisters, towards all his fellow-men.

The Christian vocation is also supported by these two inner fundamental forces: obedience to the guidance of God in life and loving service, directed towards the human world around.

Amongst the central functions of Christian preaching in our days there is the function of setting forth in a proper manner the truths of the Christian vocation. People of the present day expect help from this preaching, and indeed the preaching can help them. Christian testimony should help men to the conception that the Christian is called to hold the position of a priest before God, a priest who stands or falls by his own Lord, and that God wishes to raise him to the mighty position of a king in life and the world. This double position of both subjection and power finds expression in the apostle's assurance: 'All is yours; but ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.' There can be no doubt about the fact that a highroad of Christian preaching—along which it strives to come, and indeed does come, near the men of our time—is the evidence of the fact that the fullness of the Christian life is attained by the faithful fulfilment of the vocation. On this truth innumerable men at the present day have no clear grasp. This is largely the case because their conception of life has become alien to the religious and moral ideas of the Christian vocation. To those who have become cold to the Gospel of Christianity or have lost their grasp or their vital forces, who have perhaps taken up an entirely hostile attitude to it, a way of returning to the life-sources of Christianity will be opened by their being led to a new perception of life as the Christian vocation. As the development of individual life is the object of special interest to the man of the present day, he

must be helped to learn that this endeavour attains its true success in the Christian vocation. There the force of will is subjected to its best schooling, there the practice of self-denial and self-control reaches a high development of power. It is only now that the lifework of man is enabled to develop all its possibilities : this can take place because the Christian vocation is at the same time the service of God and the service of love.

II

What possibilities are there for the Christian vocation to become a power in the life of the present day ?

Dedication to the Christian life, like dedication to spiritual purposes in general, is always effected amid internal struggles. In the life of the individual man the decisive contest is fought out between the will of God and his own will. The issue of this contest at the same time decides whether the man is to be a Christian or not. One part of this general spiritual struggle consists in the conception of life as the Christian vocation. Not a single man who seriously strives for the spiritual and religious conception of life can escape from fighting out this struggle. I refer only to the hot internal struggle that has to be fought through when the man gives up his earlier vocation and surrenders to another because he conceives the latter as a new Christian vocation, which God offers him. Assuredly Christian preaching and Christian education can lighten the spiritual struggle and aid it towards a favourable issue.

There is a possibility for the Christian vocation to become a power. In its own way it causes the life-effort of man at the present day to come to its own. Man suffers from the divergent interests and breathlessness of his life ; he

complains at the purposelessness of his life, he has no possibility within himself of setting his life under a guiding and emancipating reality. The need of concentrating life is also powerful in the man of the present day. Equally urgent is the need of obtaining security in the turmoil of life. Such are the possibilities within reach of the preaching that bears witness to the fact that in our time also God takes man under His protection and calls him to His work and to be a participator in His work.

On the other hand, the fact must not be concealed that in the present day special difficulties accumulate for the Christian vocation to develop force in the difficulties of life. The difficulties are caused by the cultural crisis in which we live, and which exercises an influence that is in part unfavourable to human work and to our conception of our life's calling.

Great numbers of men are bound by present-day life to a kind of work where life is made mechanical, and where there is a danger that he should run round and round for ever in a hopeless circle. The steady increasing of factory production which holds a man captive, but seldom allows him to feel joy in the result of his work as a whole ; the disconsolate deserts of the great towns, the greater part of whose inhabitants go astray ; the very highly developed division of labour, which confines the share of work performed by the individual labourer to the production of one small detail from morning to evening, from year to year, at a deadening mechanical rate—all these forms of present-day labour threaten to deprive man of the inward and spiritual warmth which is necessary to the fulfilment of the Christian vocation even in humble circumstances. The worker easily rebels against his work, and the joy in his work is reduced to a minimum : on the contrary, his work can easily become a mere perfunctory performance,

possibly even a mere necessity, to which he submits with reluctance, often even with hostility. In principle those who regard the accumulation of money as the sole object of their work are in no better position. Their attitude to their work is merely external, compulsory, mechanical.

Thus there are difficulties in the way of the Christian vocation coming to its own, but they must be overcome. For the levelling down of the difficulties that are caused by the present crisis in our civilization we have to remember two circumstances. Especially for those who in a way that is alien to the Christian view of life call themselves 'daily wage-earners,' the idea of the Christian vocation offers infinite consolation, such an elevating power in life that no other can be compared with it. For the Christian even the humblest work is creative work, for that too is the service of God. Even monotonous labour brings with it a living relationship to God, for it teaches us to regard labour as the service of God, as spirit and life. The man bound hand and foot to his machine comes to realize that he is much more than a machine: as a Christian, he finds his soul even at the machine, he keeps his personality, he experiences a spiritual emancipation that is incomparable in value, the glorious freedom of the child of God. Those that labour and are heavy laden can even in our time obtain for their heart the peace that is bestowed by the Christian vocation. They are able to learn that their work for their own living and existence is at the same time work for the good of their brothers and sisters; and, as such, that too is a service to God.

Alongside of this it is of importance that the range of vision for the Christian vocation should in our time be extended till it is as widestretched as is the range of honest creative labour in general. Christian men must learn to perceive that the living God, the Father of our Lord Jesus

Christ, is a partner in the feverish, inexhaustible work of the present day. God takes part in it in order to glorify and sanctify it. That the work of man has been extended and multiplied to such an unexpected degree as is the case in our day shows that it embodies the intentions and plans of God Himself. Christians must perceive and comprehend God's own share in the bustling, laborious work which is carried out especially in our time. The complete revolution that has occurred, and is still going on, in all departments of human life, is not of the Evil one but of God.

As Christians in ever wider circles come to perceive this, the Christian vocation also will obtain the expansion and the deepening that it must have nowadays. It is not merely a question that every individual Christian should strive faithfully to fulfil his own vocation ; it is not restricted to such an extent that the individual need only stand fast at his post in life where God has placed him. Christians must learn to think out the thoughts of God courageously. They should more and more willingly place themselves at God's disposal to carry out and serve His intentions. Nor can these intentions mean anything else but that the living God should receive an ever fuller measure of honour in the fellow-life of mankind. When men give God the honour, goodwill, love and service will reign in the mutual relations of mankind. Then there will be peace upon earth. The function of the Christian vocation is to help to bring it about that the knowledge of God may fulfil the earth as the great waters fill the sea.

Even in the age of machinery man is not a machine. Man is a spiritual individuality, who alongside of his work needs leisure hours to deepen and enrich his spirit. The representatives of Christianity in our day ought decidedly to place themselves on the side of those who work for the promotion of a regular alternation of labour and rest in the

life of the present day. The armies of labour are mobilized. But the Christian vocation alone will give them strength and victories, so that both their individual members and the great masses will be able to accomplish the task that God has given to every individual and to all together.

In this way then the Christian vocation strives in the Christianity of our day to be placed in the very forefront in accordance with both the nature of things and the needs of the time. The Christianity of life and work must be lived in faithful fulfilment of the Christian vocation. The Christians who in this way conceive their lifework and strive to fulfil it, not with their own strength but with that of God, hear the truth and the promise attached: 'Be ye stedfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.'

PROFESSOR D. MAHLING (Germany)
(Professor of Theology, Berlin)

A MAN'S vocation embraces the field of work in which he takes part in the civilization of his own people as well as of mankind. It belongs primarily to the organized life and civilization of a nation. One may say that a man's calling is the arm which civilization stretches out to him in order to gain his co-operation and to establish him in the sphere of his work. The individual is not always equally conscious of the connection between his own vocation and that of the whole society to which he belongs. He frequently sees only the small portion with which he himself is concerned. The workman at his machine, the carpenter in his workshop, the laundry-maid in the laundry, see just the work that lies before them. They work for their living. They know perhaps that they are only a part of a whole, but they do not know that their work is essential for the whole. It is

like looking at a mosaic. The stones taken separately look like a disorderly heap without connection, but properly put together the complete picture emerges, and then we notice that even the smallest piece of stone is necessary to perfect the whole. Thus is it with the calling of the individual. It is a necessary part of the whole. If the individual should fail to do his duty in his own sphere of work then the whole community suffers. It follows from this that we ought to respect every calling, however humble, provided that it fulfils the condition of a real calling.

The word calling is quite familiar to us. For instance, we have to-day a census of callings. We speak of a boy learning a calling, and everyone knows what we mean by this. It may be defined thus : the lifework of an individual for which he must prepare himself and which has been assigned to him as his particular sphere from among the many kinds of work that make up the life and work of society.

This meaning of the word calling is comparatively new. It dates from the time of Luther. It is true that Luther was not the first actually to use it, neither did he coin it ; but he was the first to give it the meaning which it has to-day.

Prof. Karl Holl, of the University of Berlin, in a paper read before the Academy of Sciences, has given the history of the word. He points out that it occurs first in the letters of St. Paul. The Apostle regards Christians as called by God to salvation in Christ. Taken possession of by Jesus Christ they felt themselves called, invited to fellowship with God. They have accepted the invitation and are now certain of God's call and of their own calling to union with God. The Greek word κλῆσις (calling) is frequently used in the New Testament in this sense. The members of the Christian community are bidden to walk worthy of the calling wherewith they were called. Only once, in

1 Cor. vii. 20, where St. Paul speaks of a man's condition of life or social standing, does he probably use the word in the sense of class or station in life. In the verse that follows he says, ' Wast thou called being a servant ? care not for it : but if thou canst be made free, use it rather.' The interpretation is a little difficult. Whether the slave remains in bondage or becomes free, he is the bondservant of Jesus Christ. Christians are those who have been called to the worship and service of God. The word ' calling ' was taken over by the monks from the early Christian communities. The monk regarded himself as having been called to a life of special holiness. Entrance into a monastic order and the vows this involved became a second baptism in which he devoted himself to God and received grace through the forgiveness of sins. Henceforth he desired, he aimed at living his life in the contemplation of God and in the sight of God. He lived in His presence and thus was called to a life of holiness.

In contrast with the monks were those who had received no special call. Their task was to serve the ' called,' in order that these might devote themselves in prayer for those who worked with their hands. Thus arose the idea, peculiar to the Middle Ages, that the only holy calling was that of the monks and the priests. They lived in the immediate presence of God, while the others were the people who made a compromise between God and the world. The former were holy, while the latter lived, so to speak, on sufferance, sustained by the superabundant merit of the saints. This was rather a hard condition for the simple Christians of the Middle Ages. They were, in the last resort, the despised, the enslaved, in fact, those who were condemned to remain in a position of disadvantage.

A changed standpoint came first through the influence of the Mystics. Eckart, Tauler and others speak of the real

experience of the presence of God which those may enjoy who are engaged in temporal affairs. Even these may hear and obey the call of God. This new interpretation of the word 'calling,' which the Mystics were the first to unfold, was accepted by Luther. He believed in a God who was just and holy and who was at the same time good and merciful, and became gradually convinced that a holy life consists in the fulfilment of the Divine Will, and that the ideal of holiness which the monks had embraced was an illusory one that left out of account this fulfilment in daily life. The earthly vocation thus became for Luther the sphere within which each individual may learn God's will regarding himself; and when, in his daily work, he realizes the presence of the Living God, that very work provides him with the confirmation of the fact that God has called him and that he has accepted the call. Thus a man's daily work, for the reason that he has perceived in it the call of God, becomes a calling. The true calling of God is then embodied and expressed in the practical life of the world. Luther's view then is, according to Prof. Holl, that God helps us to live our whole life with its burden of disappointments and anxieties as in His sight. Our moral task consists in the perception of the essential harmony between the call that comes from the Gospel and the call that comes from the inevitable facts and conditions of our lives. Every office and every service, conceived as assigned to us by God, must be discharged in His Spirit and as a trust from Him.

To such heights our evangelical faith raises us, and we owe this elevation of our thought to Luther. From the time (1534) when he first used the word 'calling' in this sense, it has passed into the currency of the German language, so that to-day we speak of many different callings. In the census of occupations made in 1907 the population

of Germany which belonged to one calling or another amounted to 55 millions, while only $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions were classified as without occupation. The callings were many and various, and included such as agriculture, forestry, rearing of animals, hunting, fishery, mining, smelting, engineering, metal, stone and wood work, etc., etc. Men and women employed in factories numbered about 7 millions. The callings in a modern state are infinitely varied both as regards the influence they exert and the satisfaction they give and as regards the effect they have on the spiritual life of men. But the greater the sphere of influence is, the heavier becomes the burden of responsibility. The widened sphere of activity with its corresponding growth of responsibility creates distinctions between man and man, but it should not keep them apart. The members of a profession form a professional class. But these classes should make it their business to understand and tolerate one another and to unite in a true community in the interest of the common tasks of civilization. If they keep from one another they tend to develop a class consciousness, and this leads at length to disunion and to class war.

Such class war is, under all circumstances, injurious to the life of a people and to the life of mankind. Classes must rise above this by recognizing that men ought to work together with a common will and with mutual understanding and respect. They must co-operate with one another, each fulfilling his part and his calling. It is given to all men to form one family with God as Father and to regard their fellow-men as brothers and sisters.

Our guide on the road towards realizing this ideal is Jesus Christ. If a man's calling forms a part of the general culture of his age, this culture consists, on the one hand, in the mental work devoted to the conquest of nature and on

the other in the education of the human spirit through those peoples in whom that spirit has received its highest development. As God is spirit, so the spirit of man is developed to the highest degree in those who live in closest union with Him. Among these there is no one who is so completely filled with the spirit of God as Jesus Christ. He is therefore of the highest importance for the spiritual culture of man. And this importance of Christ extends not only to the development of the individual man into a true personality, but also to the development of mankind into a true community, in which free personalities unite on the basis of fellowship with God in a service of love for the promotion of righteousness.

It is from this standpoint that we must view civilization (*Kultur*) and regard a man's calling primarily as a service of civilization. This calling is a product of the life of our age, and it should enrich that life. It must develop also under the influence of that highest spiritual culture which we owe to Jesus Christ, and it must contribute to the deepest spiritual life of the community. This standard must be applied to individual occupations or callings. But when it is so applied we find that there are a great number which must be described as inimical to civilization. For example, there is the occupation of the usurer, if he is at the same time dominated by the spirit of Mammon and becomes a scourge of his fellow-men, or an extortioner. Does such a calling further the ends of civilization and promote the spiritual well-being of men ? Again, does an industry serve these ends if it is engaged in the production of commodities that endanger or even destroy life ? The occupations connected with the manufacture and the sale of alcohol are hostile to the highest ends of man if the effect of its consumption endanger happiness and health, honour and welfare, human dignity and self-respect and all the

finest and noblest qualities of the soul. Is it not our Christian duty to resist and even to abolish those occupations that damage civilization instead of promoting it? Is it not a matter of serious concern for us that men should be worshippers of Mammon and should be handing over both themselves and their fellow-men to corruption? Ought we not to aim at disentangling them from the net into which they have fallen and into which they have drawn their brethren? Our love for men should inspire us with the desire to abolish occupations that are dangerous to civilization, so that we may help men to attain to the freedom of personality.

But a man's calling is not only a service rendered to civilization. It must be regarded as a service rendered to men, as a love of one's neighbour, as a service of love. The ultimate purpose of a calling ought to be not the satisfaction of one's own selfish interests, but the opportunity which it gives of rendering service to others. We say *ultimate* purpose because it is both natural and morally justifiable that every man should have a calling to secure his own existence and to provide for his family. This last point implies that a calling serves the interests of others besides those of him who follows it. It is thus a service of love which is a benefit to others. The important thing is that we should not regard a calling as a service of love in the abstract but as a definite attempt to further the interests of men so that it becomes in truth and reality a service of love for others. This is the very soul of a calling, and this soul is often seriously threatened. Are all occupations services of love? Can they be regarded as such? Is it not very difficult indeed to regard as a service of love the work of a man in an engineering shop who day after day and night after night has to strike one single blow with a hammer or repeat again and again a single manual process?

Frederick Naumann once pointed out to an audience of miners the benefits of their work in the mines by drawing a picture of the mother who, owing to the warmth of the room in which she dwelt, was able to minister to the needs of her sick child. It is certainly a good thing to draw such pictures in order to help men to endure the monotony of their work, and the Christian community might render helpful service in this connection. But what about the waiter in a restaurant? Will he be able to regard his calling as a service of love when he has to lay the table for feasting or bring in bottles of liquor for a carousal when he knows that thousands are starving? Can a compositor regard his calling as such a service when he has to set up type for an article in which obscenity is encouraged and purity and modesty are undermined? How can a servant look upon his work as a service of love when he meets with only selfishness and greed in his employer? The answer to these questions is that the occupations in which the service of love cannot be performed must be transformed through the work of the Christian community and by the agency of the men engaged in them, as, for example, is the case in the movement among Christian waiters. Anyhow it is clear that the fight with selfishness and self-interest and lovelessness must be fought with the utmost energy. It must be fought so as to purify the occupations themselves and so that those who belong to them may regard their calling as a service of love for mankind.

When we have gained this standpoint we are able to rise to the heights that Luther reached and to regard a calling as a service of God. Only when the calling of a man is a service of love to his neighbour is it a service rendered unto God. For God says: 'I do not need your service, but if you would serve Me, then behold your brother and in serving him you will serve Me.' These words describe

the highest ideal of a human calling, and Luther under the inspiration of the Gospel has led us to this.

But again, we must ask, are there not callings which are much more the service of the devil than the service of God? Does not prostitution belong to this category? We can only regard a calling as a service of God when it is at once a service of man and a service of love. This conception of a calling as a service of God implies that a man lives every moment in the presence of God, looks to Him for guidance as to ways and means and ends, and endeavours to embody in his conduct unconditioned fidelity and conscientiousness. Whatever I do for the honour of God, I do with the consciousness that He watches over me and determines all my ways. The important point then is *how* a man fulfils his calling. The decisive fact is not so much the calling itself as the spirit and temper with which I fulfil it, that is to say, whether I put my whole soul into it and use it as an opportunity for advancing the cause of humanity by helping my neighbours to live a life more worthy of man. Every vocation must therefore be so organized as to make it possible for everyone engaged in it to live a dignified human life. Hence emerge for us such problems as hours of work, rates of pay, the character of the work, advisory bureaus, etc. All these problems are comprised in the one task of creating a new social order with the object of helping the individual man to realize himself as a personality and of helping humanity to become a fellowship of love. Jesus Christ represents that harmony and unity of interests which consist in this, that in spite of all the difference and varieties of vocation each one lives for others, the one for all and all for one.

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HUMAN vocations, for our purpose to-day, may be divided roughly into two classes: (1) Profession, (2) Business. The distinguishing motive of the professional vocations, such as the Ministry, Law, Medicine, Teaching, Art, etc., is *Service*. The remuneration received, while not incidental, is secondary. The success or effectiveness of a clergyman's work, for example, is not as a rule gauged by the size of his salary, but by the service he renders his fellow-men. The same is true of the physician; he is rated in his calling, not by the amount of money he makes out of it, but by the cures he effects. So along the whole line of what we call the Professions. They are built on the idea of Service.

This does not necessarily imply that all who adopt the Professions as their vocations order their lives in accord with the basic idea of a Profession. But the thing that is expected of them as professional men is service to their kind. Their first interest is people, not goods.

In the Business vocations the distinguishing motive is commercial. The great business enterprises of mankind are built on the idea of monetary return. They are chiefly concerned with the production and distribution of articles mankind wants or needs. They render service, of course, indispensable service, but their *raison d'être* is financial. They are established and managed first of all to make money, with service in the second place, if it is there at all. This is as true of labour as it is of capital. Wages are both paid and received on this basis, the motive of service is in the background and the motive of gain in the foreground and often occupying it all.

The Christian conception is that which tradition has attached to the Professions. Our Lord made it clear, both by parable and direct teaching, that the 'disciple of the kingdom' is a *servant*. 'The greatest of all shall be the servant of all.' Vocation is simply the channel through which service to human welfare, which is the glory of God, is to be rendered. God is just as much interested in what a man says and does across his office desk as in what he says and does in his church and on his knees. In the mind of the Master all work is holy even as worship is holy, and is to be performed in that atmosphere.

One of the tendencies that is concerning thoughtful Christians in most countries to-day is the swing away from the professions on the part of educated and capable young men to business. Does it indicate a swing also from the service idea of life to the idea of personal gain? Our Lord makes no such distinction in the vocations of His disciples. Service is the governing motive of all and equally of all. If business is to be christianized, and it is the field from which most of our unchristian wrangles spring, it must adopt the motive of the Professions, and business men manage their business with a view to the service that can be rendered rather than with a view to the dividends that can be earned. The man who adopts it must realize that he owes more to Christ and his fellow-men than he does to his own pocket or his corporation. It is a question of where his loyalties centre.

As long as the dominating motive of any vocation is mercenary it is bound to have trouble. If the main reason for conducting a business is money, why should not one side, labour, for example, get as much out of it as the other? And why not institute strikes and lock-outs to get it? Why not resort to any measure of retaliation that will force the other side to yield what you think is your share of the gain

you are both after? The motive of gain is just as sure to cause envyings and suspicion and fear and hate and strife as a storm is to cause a troubled sea. It is selfish, and selfishness is not only the essence of sin, but it is sure to be resisted.

The remedy is the substitution of the Christ-motive of service to others for the motive of personal gain. We want co-operation and brotherhood in industry, we will get it when the men who manage industry make its motive the good they can do through it and not the gain they can make by it.

By this standard all our life, industrial, political and social must be measured if we are to make it Christian. And whatever there is in our present order that cannot meet this test must go. The whole wage system must meet it. If the men who lead society and manage industry cannot under the present wage system serve their community, for example, to the extent of finding a solution for the unemployment problem, and not only for that but for uncertain employment as well, then the mind of Jesus Christ, expressed in His Church, will demand another system. The Church, of course, is not and cannot be committed to any particular system of human activity or relationship, whether in government or industry or anywhere else, but she is bound to seek the best, and the best she is bound to believe is Christ's law of love and service for every man and every institution.

IIIe. THE TREATMENT OF CRIME

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THE Treatment of Crime is a most pertinent subject for the consideration of this great International Conference.

Joseph, Isaiah, John the Baptist, Peter, John, Paul, and even Our Lord Himself were numbered among the transgressors. Our Saviour made the treatment of the criminal a test of Christian character and standing when He said: 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world, for I was in prison and ye came unto me'; and to the wicked He said: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, for I was in prison and ye visited me not.' He forgot His agonies upon the Cross to bestow forgiveness and consolation on the dying robber.

'Paul, the Prisoner,' who had suffered for years in unjust condemnation, wrote to the Christians of the Church of Galatia: 'Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye that are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of gentleness, looking to thyself, lest thou also be tempted.' Jesus and Paul expressed the spirit of the New Testament: 'Ye have heard that it was said: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy," but I say unto you, Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you.'

Until very recently the Christian world has adhered to the ancient spirit of revenge: 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,' and the Mosaic declaration: 'He that sheddeth blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' The opposing spirit of the two dispensations may be exhibited as follows:

Paul's teaching	*The Christian World's teaching*
Brethren, even if a man be	Gentlemen, if a man be
overtaken in any trespass,	caught in a crime,
Ye that are spiritual,	Ye that are worldly minded,
restore such a one	punish such a one
In a spirit of gentleness,	In a spirit of revenge,
Looking to thyself, lest	Looking out for yourself, lest
thou also be tempted.	you suffer damage.

The International Prison Congress

I have just come from the great International Prison Congress at London, to which delegates were sent from fifty-two nations, and where plans and methods were advocated and confirmed by unanimous votes of the Congress which, only a few years ago, were regarded as sentimental pampering and as tending to promote crime. Five addresses were made by eminent Britons at the Prison Congress: one by the Home Secretary, one by a former Prime Minister, one by the Lord Chief Justice of England, one by the Lord Chancellor, and one by the former head of the British Prison System. Each one of these five men declared himself earnestly in favour of the milder and more humane methods which now prevail, in preference to the harsh and severe system of former days.

The New Treatment of Crime

For the past forty years I have been familiar with conditions in America, and have given special attention to them for the past three years; and, on my journey hither I visited twenty-eight prisons and reformatories and studied conditions in France, England, Scotland and Norway. In all of these countries I found an amazing change of theory and practice in dealing with crime, and most of these changes are in the direction of the Christian spirit of humanity, fair-dealing and restoration instead of the old methods of harshness, cruelty and revenge. These changes are visible in legislation, and in the administration of courts, police and prisons; and also in the establishment of new methods.

Prisoners like Other Men

The most important change is the recognition of the criminal as a human being, a man like other men, who should

be dealt with according to his individual personality and needs. Under the old system society dealt with the crime; under the new system it deals with the man. Formerly the effort was to protect society by inspiring fear in the heart of the criminal through the harshness and severity of the punishment; under the new system the effort is to protect society by improving the character of the prisoner.

Social Diagnosis

A second great advance is 'social diagnosis.' In order to treat the criminal as an individual we must understand why he is a criminal, and what are the causes of his perversion; just as the physician must discover the nature and cause of the disease in order to treat his patient successfully. To this end, in America, France and England, provision is now made by law for the most careful study of the prisoner by trained experts. He receives a medical examination more thorough than would be given to an applicant for life insurance: heart, lungs, liver, throat, adenoids, tonsils and teeth. Treatment is given for any remediable trouble. If there is any indication of abnormalities he receives a mental examination by an expert psychologist, with treatment, if necessary, by a psychiatrist.

The results of these examinations are made available for the judge, to assist him in determining what treatment should be accorded to the prisoner: whether he should be released on probation, or committed to a prison, a reformatory, a hospital for insane, or an institution for feeble-minded. The information is available also for the guidance of the warden, the superintendent, the physician, or the chaplain of the institution in their dealings with the individual.

Probably the most accurate and efficient use of mental examinations is being made in England, and in the State

of Massachusetts, U.S.A. ; but their use is rapidly extending to other states and countries, and there is abundant testimony from judges of courts and superintendents of institutions, even those who were at first prejudiced against them, as to the value and helpfulness of such examinations in the wise treatment of the criminal.

Adult Probation and Parole

A third mark of development in dealing with crime is the adult probation system. Juvenile probation is not a new method ; it has been widely used for more than twenty-five years ; but the use of the probation plan for adults is of very recent growth. Under this plan one who is convicted of a crime may be released by the judge under supervision of a probation officer, without being committed to prison, but subject to commitment to prison if he violates the conditions of his probation. The probation system, also, has reached its highest development in England and in Massachusetts during the past fifteen or twenty years. In both cases the number of prisoners has diminished more than fifty per cent. and numerous prisons have been closed. The best authorities agree that this decrease of prisoners has been accompanied by a corresponding diminution of crime. Similar testimony comes from other states and countries where the plan is used to a more limited extent.

The success of the probation plan depends upon securing competent and devoted probation officers. It has worked badly in communities where probation officers have been selected by political favour or where probationers have not been held to strict accountability for the fulfilment of the conditions of their probation.

Closely analogous to the probation system is the parole system, whereby a prisoner may be released before the expiration of his sentence if he shows trustworthy signs of

reformation, remaining under the care and guidance of a friendly parole officer who assists him in obtaining employment, observes his conduct and progress, meeting him at frequent intervals, befriending him in case of difficulty, and returning him to prison to serve out his sentence in case of persistent violation of the conditions of his parole. Here again success depends upon the character, wisdom and interest of the parole officer.

The parole system is tied up with what is called the indeterminate sentence. This term has different meanings in different countries. In the United States it means a minimum and maximum sentence, usually not exceeding five years for young and presumably reformable prisoners; in England it means a sentence given to confirmed criminals, recidivists, who receive an additional term after serving a sentence of penal servitude. The additional sentence is intended for the protection of society by the indefinite retention of dangerous criminals; but with the provision that they may be released on parole if they give evidence of genuine reformation. Great Britain has established, on the Isle of Wight, a new prison for this purpose in which the discipline is much less severe than that of penal servitude. There are flower gardens, recreation fields and other privileges; but the prisoner is held for an indefinite period; it may be given for life.

Defective Delinquents

A fourth mark of progress towards Christian ideals in dealing with crime is the institution for defective delinquents. In Great Britain and in the American States of New York and Massachusetts, such institutions have been established. The law provides that if a person who has committed a criminal act is found to be insane, feeble-minded, or psychopathic, the judge may issue an order

committing him to the institution for defective delinquents, to be detained as long as may be necessary for his own protection or the protection of society. There are multitudes of such persons in every country, who are committed to prison time after time. They are unable to adapt themselves to prison discipline and are frequently subjected to severe punishment because of that fact. In the institution for defective delinquents they are under the care of physicians and trained nurses who know how to deal with such personalities. They are treated with patience and forbearance, are happily employed and cease to be disorderly, while society is protected from the menace of their unsocial acts.

The establishment of such institutions does not necessitate an addition to the burdens of society. All prisons contain many individuals of this sort who are arrested and re-arrested, committed and re-committed at great expense to the community. Transferred to a suitable institution, such individuals can be usefully employed and largely self-supporting.

Juvenile Delinquents

A fifth mark of progress is the vital change in dealing with boys and girls who commit acts which would be considered crimes if committed by adults. From time immemorial it has been recognized that young children were incapable of crime. In some states and countries the limit was set at seven years; in others at ten years. In 1899 I had the honour to serve on a commission which drafted the notable Juvenile Court Law of the State of Illinois, whose principles have been embodied in the laws of many states and countries throughout the Christian world.

The Juvenile Court Law was unique in the refusal to recognize a child under the age of sixteen years as a

criminal. It took children's cases out of the criminal courts and put them under the judges of high civil courts. It did away with criminal indictments, verdicts of guilty, sentences to prison, confinement in jails, and all the ignominy of criminal procedure. It gave to the judge the assistance of juvenile probation officers, chosen men and women, to study the cases of the children before trial and to watch over them after trial. It provided for the use of the family home in preference to any institution, however good, for the great majority of delinquent children, on the probation system. Juvenile reformatories are used as little as possible. Juvenile courts are now found in nearly all American cities, and in many European cities; but as a rule they have not extended into the rural districts. The efficiency of the juvenile court varies greatly according to the development of public sentiment, the comprehension, and interest of judges, and especially upon the quality and training of the men and women appointed as probation officers; but it is generally agreed that the creation of the juvenile court is one of the greatest steps of progress towards the realization of Christian standards in dealing with the delinquent.

Prison Reform

A sixth mark of progress is the improvement of prisons. Tremendous advances have been made in prison administration during the past fifty years, and especially during the past twenty-five years, throughout the civilized world, and in some countries that have been regarded as particularly backward, such as Egypt, China, Japan, Mexico and the Philippine Islands. At the London Prison Congress an elaborate cinema was exhibited to show the advanced prison methods of Egypt, and a book was distributed setting forth the progress of prison reform in China.

I have visited prisons for forty-two years, and I remember the days when shaved heads, the lock step, the shameful striped clothing, flogging, dark dungeons, and starvation were common practices in prisons, and I have seen exhibited the horrible convict ship, and the instruments of torture which were used in earlier days. All of these diabolical instruments and practices have disappeared from well-regulated state prisons, though we still hear echoes of such practices from some of the southern prison camps of the United States and from some antiquated prisons of other countries. During my recent journey I have seen prisons where the solitary system, first used in the City of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, U.S.A., is still used. Prisoners are forbidden to communicate with each other, and, in some prisons, must wear masks whenever they leave their cells. In some cases this confinement continues for years ; but it has been abandoned in America, Great Britain and France, except for short periods.

Formerly the idea widely prevailed that it was a gross impropriety to allow prisoners to have flowers, sweets or other amenities. Now many prisons have flower gardens, and flowers are abundant in their dining-rooms ; and in many prisons the inmates are allowed to purchase limited supplies of fruits, canned goods, cakes, chocolate and tobacco.

Formerly it was considered improper to allow prisoners to have any form of recreation. The idea prevailed that the prisoner ought to suffer in consequence of his wrong-doing. It was thought that if we could only make a man miserable enough he would straightway abandon his evil courses and become a good citizen. Nowadays we have come to recognize that recreation is an essential part of normal human life, and prisoners are allowed to practise out-door sports, to play sedentary games, to attend cinemas

and occasionally to participate in amateur theatricals. These things are permitted, not simply to give the prisoners pleasure, but to keep them in wholesome spirit. The prisoner who sits in his cell and broods over real or imaginary wrongs does not make much progress towards reformation.

Religion as a Reformatory Agency

From time immemorial religion has been recognized as an essential element in reformatory treatment; but too often prison chaplains have been superannuated or perfunctory, and in many cases their work has been hampered by red tape and by the ancient traditions of prison officers. We are now discovering that the chaplain must be a live, active man; one who can understand the heart of the convict and can inspire in him hope and courage for the struggle of life. What is still more important, we are awakening to the profound truth in spiritual psychology that the greatest redemptive influence for the human soul is close vital contact with a genuine follower of the Lord Jesus Christ. The work of the chaplain at the cell door is far more important than his message from the pulpit. Many criminals never in their lives came into close contact with a real, upright, right-thinking man. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the prison officer and the prison guards shall be men of character. It is a revelation to the prisoner to discover that such men exist.

Some time ago I visited the Massachusetts State Reformatory, and I found an officer in charge of the cabinet shop who was intensely interested in his prisoners. He was trying to persuade them that there was nothing finer than to make a table, a desk, or a chair, just as good and perfect as a piece of furniture could be. He was inspiring them with the ideal of faithful and efficient work as an expression of manhood. To my mind that was real religious training.

The County Jail

From the days of John Howard the county jail has been an abomination, a breeding place, and school of crime, whose inmates infallibly became worse instead of better. The county jail was transplanted from England to America where to-day there are about twenty-five hundred county jails, nearly every one of which is a public nuisance. Prisoners who are awaiting trial are in idleness and are forced into association with the worst people to be found in the country. Many jails are dark, filthy, vermin-infested and insanitary. The jail is a perquisite of the sheriff, who is chiefly employed with other duties, and who delegates the responsibility to a jailer, who is selected because of his help in electing the sheriff and his expected help in re-electing him, without reference to his fitness for the place. The condition of the jails of the United States is in marked contrast with that of the state prisons, which, as a rule, are clean, well kept and fairly well administered.

Similar conditions formerly prevailed in the jails and detention prisons of England and France; but for many years past all the prisons of those countries have been under the control of the State. Their rules are prescribed by the central superintendent of the prison, and their officers and guards are selected either by civil service examination or with special reference to their fitness. Prisoners awaiting trial are separated from those serving sentence and are for the most part separated from each other. In both France and Great Britain it is recognized that the unconvicted prisoner cannot be compelled to work; but he is permitted to work, with a very small wage allowance, and nearly all of them do work. Under these circumstances injurious and corrupting association is prevented and the jails have ceased to be schools of crime.

In Great Britain and France there are local committees in the towns and cities where prisons are established. The members of these committees pay very frequent visits to the jail, hold personal conversations with the prisoners, assist in providing work and selling the products; find employment for discharged prisoners and befriend them after their dismissal. In the United States there are state prison associations, but there are very few local committees, though such work is done to a limited extent under the auspices of the Salvation Army, Rescue Missions and various religious bodies, especially the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Christian Science Church and the Roman Catholic Church.

Recently efforts have been made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to enlist the co-operation of the churches throughout the United States in the prisoners of the county jails; but, thus far, with very limited success.

I plead for vital interest on the part of clergymen and laymen in behalf of the restoration of the prisoner: 'Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.'

CHRISTIANITY AND CRIME

DR. WALTER SIMONS (Germany)
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THE theme allotted to me by the International Committee for my address at the Universal Conference, on 'The Attitude of Christianity to the Problem of Crime and Punishment,' has seemed to me to increase in difficulty the longer I have studied it. And this I have done for many years, for I was appointed a judge at an early age, and I have reflected a great deal on the question whether and why my Christian conscience would allow me to sit in judgment

on crimes committed by my brethren and to mete out punishment on them, whilst I was obliged to confess with Goethe that 'There is scarcely a crime, the capacity for which I have not detected in myself.' But when I sought in the doctrines of the Christian churches for clear guidance in regard to the principles and conduct of my office, when I searched the writings of Christian teachers and philosophers in quest of such wisdom, I found no sure and certain path. The attitude of Christian communities to crime and punishment has since ancient times often been vacillating, obscure and contradictory.

There is no reproach in this, neither should it surprise us. Crime and punishment are concepts belonging to the sphere of those human relations which are concerned with law and order. But the Christian religion and the Christian Church, which is its guardian in earthly things, are concerned with the relations of the human soul and the community to God. They are not concerned with crime but with sin. They are not anxious about punishment, but about repentance, confession and conversion. One must even go a step further and maintain that the Christian religion from the outset was, to a certain degree, opposed to the legal conception of crime and punishment. Just as Jesus Christ, our Lord and Master, refused to act as a judge or divider in legal disputes between His followers, so He also declined to pass judgment on the criminal. When they brought before Him an adulteress, who, according to Jewish law had been guilty of a crime punishable by stoning, He declined to condemn her, although He was not, like her accusers, silenced by the consciousness of His own guilt, but was the embodiment of the Divine Justice. Even to this criminal He merely said: 'Go and sin no more.' And to the malefactor on the cross, who confessed Him, He promised eternal blessedness.

Is not the cross, is not the Christian religion itself, a vehement and eternal protest against the attitude of the state towards crime and punishment? According to the public law then in force in His native land, the doctrines and teaching of Jesus were undoubtedly in opposition to the constitution of Church and State. His accusers and His judges were by no means malicious men who committed a judicial murder to serve selfish ends. By the side of the traitor Judas and the false witnesses were to be found convinced zealots for belief and law, and conscientious officials who believed, what, since then, has so often been believed, that it was better that one man should die than that a whole nation should perish. In their view, it was a case of proved crime, and the cross was the penalty laid down by law. Jesus, as a blasphemer, had no claim to the mercy granted to Barabbas, the murderer. This Our Lord knew full well, on His fatal journey to Jerusalem. Submitting to the penalty, He prayed to His Father to forgive His judges and tormentors, because they knew not what they did.

This religious opposition to the legal system of crime and punishment is to be found even in the Old Testament; and in several passages in the Gospels, which seem to offer guidance to a Christian man in regard to his attitude to crime and punishment, we find echoes of the Psalms and the Prophets. I am thinking here of that great saying which was opposed to the harsh Jewish law of retaliation, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' These words involve the demand for a complete renunciation of earthly punishment and agree with the command of Jesus not to resist evil, but to overcome evil with good, to let the man who steals one's cloak have one's coat also, and to subdue defamers with humility. The saying also corresponds with the commandment of Our Lord: 'Judge

not and ye shall not be judged,' a commandment which men daily break to the peril of their eternal salvation.

While, however, the Old and New Testaments reserve the power of punishment to God alone, both proclaim to those who suffer penalties because of their estrangement and their remoteness from God, the abundant grace which, again and again, forgives the penitent and which ought to be our pattern in our intercourse with our brethren : ' Merciful and gracious is the Lord, long-suffering and of great kindness,' says the Psalmist, and Jesus urges us to be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect, ' for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust.' He admonishes us ' to forgive the evil-doer not seven times, but seventy times seven.' In the light of these sayings, and the injunction to love one's enemies, how can we justify the treatment of crime now practised in Christendom ?

As a matter of fact, many deeply religious thinkers have rejected the whole system of punishment built up on the power of the state. I do not intend to enter into the history of this school of thought, but will merely remind you of a man who, before the war, exercised great influence on the mind of Europe, Leo Tolstoy. Anyone who has read his *Resurrection* will find it difficult to forget those terrible descriptions of the proceedings of the Assize Court and of the punishments inflicted. Tolstoy's fundamental principles are in many respects allied to those of Gandhi, whose doctrine of non-resistance and opposition to the use of force rule out the infliction of punishment. In his great defence before his British judges and which Romain Rolland has made famous throughout the continent of Europe, he characterized the deep gulf between his mission and the profession of the Jurist by exclaiming : ' If you want to

judge rightly, you have no alternative but to condemn me. Otherwise step down from your seats.'

Dostoevsky also wrestled with the problem of crime and punishment in his great novel *Crime and Punishment*. He approached it with that deep religious spirit which, in spite of all deviations and aberrations, never left him, but also with that wonderful knowledge of the human soul, in which this Russian master of psychological literature excels. If I understand him rightly—and this is not altogether easy for a German—he comes to a conclusion which is more favourable to the infliction of punishment by the state than was the case with Tolstoy. I shall refer to this again later. Here I would merely draw attention to the fact that the condemnation of the legal punishment of crime, which has been inspired by religion, has in recent times found effective support in psychological, sociological and humanitarian movements of thought.

The point against which the attacks of these opponents of state punishment are directed is the conception of guilt. At one time the recognition of guilt was a great advance in civilization ; for primitive peoples punish any act which is harmful to the community even if the doer had committed it accidentally—nay, even against his will. They go so far as to punish even dumb creatures. As, by a stroke of genius, the Romans had made the conception of guilt clear in all its stages, ascribing an illegal act to the personal guilt of the doer, so it has been regarded as established for all times. But now attempts are being made to throw this conception overboard. I am not now thinking of the philosophical determinist, who denies the freedom of the will and for whom all the events of the world are predetermined, either in the theological sense as ordained by the will and providence of God, or in the mechanical sense through the law of causality. There have always been

such opponents of the freedom of the will, and though from their point of view, the conception of just punishment has lost its meaning, the theory of predestination has not prevented a Calvin, nor the determinism of Marx a Lenin from resorting to punishment. This reminds us of the story of the slave of that Stoic philosopher, who taught the predetermined necessity of all human happenings. When the philosopher caught the slave thieving and was about to chastise him, the slave, excusing himself, exclaimed : ' I was predestined to steal,' ' And to be flogged,' retorted the philosopher as he applied the whip.

Less radical and therefore more menacing to the continuance of penal justice is the attack made by psycho-analysis. This searches for the origin of the criminal will and shows out of what pleasurable or painful feelings it develops, from what ' suppressed complexes ' it suddenly breaks forth, how it overpowers inhibiting motives and finally gives birth to criminal acts. Psycho-analysis has, in my view, involved the danger of dissolving not only human guilt, but also the human soul, of treating man even in mind and soul as a complex product of nature which can indeed be influenced, but which cannot be made responsible for its activities. Every time I hear a jurist speak about the accountability of an accused person from a psychiatrical point of view, I am conscious of a danger for penal justice. Many of the grounds which I have heard alleged for the unaccountability of a particular culprit, who is supposed to be abnormal, are applicable to any culprit even if normal, who acts under the pressure of abnormal circumstances. In the last resort, these grounds lead to the elimination of all responsibility.

Then there are the criticisms of the Sociologists. They rightly insist that the majority of the present-day crimes, which fill our prisons with miserable prisoners, and our

dwellings with unhappy victims, are to be traced to bad social conditions, to abnormal circumstances which bring dishonour to our civilization. Heart-rending pictures of such an education in crime as results from these conditions are to be found in a book which I have just seen, with the title: *The Prisoner: Experiments in Education in a Penal Establishment.* This book was written by a warm friend of the people, Dr. Otto Zirker, who until his death last spring (1925) was superintendent of the juvenile prison at Eisenach. It also contains records of cases which seem to confirm the dreadful doctrine that some men are born criminals. Here we meet with the old idea of predestination only in a new 'mechanical' form. But, generally speaking, the Italian school, the school of Lombroso, which holds these views, is superseded by the Sociological school, whose leader was the famous German criminologist Franz von Liszt, and which is also represented by the Italian Enrico Ferri. Liszt held the view that social politics are the best criminal politics, and Ferri based his well-known penal code for Italy on Sociological principles. From this point of view the problem of crime and punishment assumes quite a different aspect, so that both as regard its diagnosis and its treatment, it is conceived sociologically rather than biologically.

Individual adherents of this school actually go further. For example, Prof. Freudenthal of Frankfort, a well-known German criminologist, delivered a lecture last Whitsuntide (1925) in Halle on 'The Meaning of Punishment,' in which he maintained that criminality was in itself a normal phenomenon, that it should be regarded not as a pathological but as a social condition. According to him, crime plays the same part in the life of society as bacteria in the human body. To a certain extent bacteria are normal in the human body. The human organism like the social organism

absorbs these or rids itself of them. Bacteria or crimes only become dangerous when they increase in such numbers that the necessary antidotes do not operate. Among the social antidotes against crime he includes, in addition to social political measures and a good social education, punishment ; but this only as a last resort. He moreover adopts the principle of the German law for juvenile offenders, which lays down that if the court considers reformatory measures to be adequate, punishment shall not be inflicted. Further, in the new draft penal code for Germany this view has been adopted in a large measure. It contains ten rules which aim at reform and the protection of the public ; but among these punishment is in the foreground and measures of education and reform are merely supplementary.

I must admit, however, that from a strictly sociological point of view, Freudenthal's contention that punishment ought to be imposed only as a last resort and only in proportion to the danger of the criminal to society, seems more logical than the German draft code, which is avowedly based on a compromise. Nevertheless even this view of punishment is not entirely consistent. For if the danger to society is made the sole criterion, there is no essential difference between an ordinary criminal, let us say a criminal lunatic, and a rapacious animal, and I fail to see why the one should be punished and the other should be merely rendered innocuous. In all these cases it is necessary to protect society from the danger that threatens it. The methods to be adopted to avert this will be determined by the dictates of humanity. The rapacious animal will be shot, the criminal lunatic confined and if possible cured, the ordinary criminal will be placed under observation and if possible reformed. What justifies us then in designating certain severe forms of surveillance and education as punishment ?

Hence it is becoming the increasing practice in criminal procedure to adopt the reformatory method with the threat of punishment only in reserve, in order that the culprit may have time to pull himself together. This may take the form of releasing him 'on good behaviour,' after he has obediently submitted to a part of the penalty, or the judge, in passing the sentence, may remit the penalty conditionally by fixing a term of probation. Since I became a judge this conditional remission has been adopted in almost all civilized states. In the leading circles of those countries it has met with much approval, and according to statistical reports, which, however, are of doubtful value, it has answered its purpose. But nevertheless it has aroused the strong opposition of the man in the street. Anyone who listens to what is being said on the subject will notice the opposition. Recently I passed through the solitary streets of Eisenach by night, accompanied by a hotel porter, who had met me at the railway station. He took this opportunity of pouring out his heart to me on many an injustice in the world—as the Chief Justice of Germany I hear and read many such outpourings—and he ended by saying: 'The judges are no longer doing their duty, for they are letting the criminals go. What advantage is it for us to have courts, if they merely condemn the evildoers, but do not see that the sentence is carried out?'

This entire movement, which at bottom is a protest against the present system of punishment, involves its bankruptcy. The humanitarian movement of modern times which is for ever associated with the name of Beccaria, has gradually abolished the severe and cruel retaliatory punishments of ancient days, to wit, corporal and capital punishment, and has replaced them with imprisonment. This movement seems to give the widest scope to the humanitarian ideals of education and reform, without

entirely losing the character of threat and deterrence. But this one-sided system has missed its aim in both directions, for neither solitary confinement nor ordinary imprisonment affords any guarantee of education or reform. Solitary confinement when strictly carried out is in the long run ruinous to the mind and the soul of by far the majority of all prisoners, and the result of ordinary imprisonment is that through the contact of prisoners with each other the criminal mentality is transmitted like a pestilence from the habitual criminal to the occasional offender. The punishment which was designed to act as a deterrent has so missed the mark, that at the beginning of the cold season many a criminal act is committed only that the offender may be able to count on a warm lodging and a regular supply of food. I have been for years the superintendent of a small prison for minor offences, and I know what I am saying.

The statistics of relapses are a clear condemnation of the whole system. If it is really the object of judicial punishment to deter the criminal from the criminal act, and to educate and reform him after it has been committed, then the state has signally failed in attaining that object. Charles Dickens, that great sociologist and judge of human nature, foresaw this. Everyone will remember that description in *David Copperfield* of the visit to the penitentiary, where the hypocritical criminal understood so well how to turn to his own advantage the reformatory purpose of the establishment. But Dickens was wrong in his final conclusion : ' Perhaps, it's a good thing, Traddles, said I, to have an unsound Hobby ridden hard, for it's sooner ridden to death,' for the one-sided or unsound system of imprisonment has persisted for a great length of time.

Consequently in Germany, as well as in several other countries, imprisonment is being superseded, to a great

extent, by fines. Formerly the reverse procedure was adopted. If a judge decided that an offence was so venial, that it could be atoned for by a fine, he threatened imprisonment only in the case of the non-payment of the fine. In the popular view a fine is always regarded as a less severe penalty than imprisonment. The threat was thus effective. According to the new German law in regard to fines, the judge, if owing to the gravity of the case, he is obliged to sentence the offender to several months' imprisonment, may allow him to escape that penalty by paying a fixed sum to the Exchequer. The new system has certain advantages ; for the offender is preserved from the demoralizing influence of a short term of imprisonment and the taxpayer is saved the expense of his maintenance during incarceration. The latter, as a matter of fact, receives a contribution towards the cost of the administration of justice. But the idea that the criminal can buy off from the state a legally awarded and justly determined sentence by means of a money payment, tends to undermine the confidence of people in the administration of justice, and moreover seems to be doubtful from a Christian point of view, because it satisfies neither justice nor mercy.

I have led you into a labyrinth of opinions, but all the paths seem to converge to one point at which the original conception of punishment is lost. Should the Christian Church follow this course ? Will the materialists and determinists, the psycho-analysts and the sociologists unite and rise in arms against the system of punishment by which the state endeavours to protect itself against crime ? Before we decide to answer this question in the affirmative, we must consider the opinion of the opponents of these views and particularly those who still maintain the justice of retributory punishment. They are indeed in a minority, but they have by no means admitted defeat.

A short time ago a society of criminal jurisprudence was formed, which in contrast to the International Criminalist Association, does not follow Franz von Liszt, but the older, or so-called classical school of criminal law. This school starts not so much with the personality of the offender, whose antisocial and dangerous characteristics are brought to light by the crime and are rendered innocuous, as far as possible, by state action; but rather with the criminal act, the objective violation of law. In the view of this school, punishment is the means by which the violated law or order is restored. Punishment bends under the will of society the will of him who has set himself counter to that will, by compelling him to give up a right—freedom, honour, property, even life itself—as a retribution for having infringed a right protected by law. The gravity of the deed is measured by the importance of the right which has been violated by the evildoer and the severity of the punishment must correspond to the gravity of the deed. The scales in the hand of the goddess of justice are the ancient symbol for the equilibrium between crime and punishment. Punishment as a means of education or as a means for the protection of society need not, strictly speaking, presuppose the criminal act, if the antisocial and socially dangerous mentality of the criminal is capable of being judicially determined some other way. In any case its duration and severity would be regulated by the effect it has on the mind of the criminal, and not by the effect of the criminal act on the law and order. Hence the increasing tendency to punish attempts at crime, nay, even preliminary measures. Hence also the ever wider latitude given by law to the judges to vary the punishment for the same crime. Hence the demand for sentences to imprisonment of indefinite duration. All this is at variance with the principles of the classical school, for whom Themis

always has her eyes bandaged. She knows no respect of persons. This school accepts the proposition: equal punishment for equal crime. Only when the scales of justice have weighed crime and punishment according to their nature and gravity may the circumstances be taken into account which brought the criminal will to maturity whereby the act was perpetrated. Accordingly the classical school affirms the view that the adult person is responsible for his actions. It holds him to account for the violation of the law. In other words, it treats him as the possessor of a free will, of a capacity for self-determination. The classical school has done a service to human liberty in another direction. It protects the liberty of the citizen from the unrestricted discretionary power of the state, with which it is threatened by the sociological school. This power has been used by an humanitarian age in order to weaken the administration of justice. But it is also liable to lead to the result that the official sociologists and psychologists, who have to decide the fate of their fellow-men, may under the slightest inducement, make the most serious inroads into their rights and liberties, if the social danger of these people should sufficiently justify such a sacrifice to science. In this way we should arrive at those subjective and partisan punishments which are known to us from the history of all political and religious persecutions from antiquity down to quite modern times. Such punishments have always been held to be the worst forms of penal justice. Only precise and fixed laws, only definite and just penalties can save liberty.

As we have seen, the two tendencies or schools of criminal law hold different views as to what constitutes justice. The sociological school would fit the punishment to the crime, but in such a way that the psychological antidote to the danger of an antisocial individual would correspond, in each

case, to his personality. On the other hand, the classical school would fit the punishment to the criminal by regulating the severity of the punishment by the gravity of the breach of law. What is justice? This question, like the question of Pilate, presses for an answer, when we hear how each school objects to the other that its method leads to injustice, and when we see how each has been compelled to make concessions to the other—the sociological school by estimating the dangerousness of the criminal by the gravity of his crime, the classical by judging the gravity of the violation of law by the strength of the criminal will. Once more we ask what is the attitude of Christianity to these fundamentally different views?

It seems to me that even Christianity fails to give a clear answer to this question. So much indeed is certain that neither Our Lord, nor His disciples, nor any other recognized Father or Teacher of the Christian Church, has adopted the anarchist view of a Tolstoy, who rejected any human penalty applied by force. If Jesus forbade His followers to pursue the evildoer with punishment, He made no attempt to forbid the authorities from protecting the social order to which they were entrusted, by penalties imposed on the criminal. If He declined the office of judge and warned His disciples against judging others, He nevertheless assumed the office of a judge as existing by right. He refers to it in His teaching and parables without any attempt at influencing its constitution or procedure. And St. Paul, in the famous thirteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, designates the 'higher powers,' in their capacity as administrators of penal justice, actually as the ministers of God, and he regards them as appointed for the good of man and of the Christian. I need scarcely say that Luther, in this respect, was in complete agreement with Paul. This conception rightly takes its place with the commandment

to love one's enemies and to be ready to forgive them. Both virtues acquire their value only in a community where a man may take vengeance on his enemies and where injustice can be punished, but where, nevertheless, under the influence of the Spirit of Jesus, the injured person renounces these possibilities. In a society where unrestrained crime prevails, love of one's enemies and readiness to forgive may still perhaps remain as a personal and private matter possessing ethical and religious value, but the end which Jesus sets before us of overcoming evil with good is no longer attainable.

While recognizing the penal power of the state, our great Christian teachers have adopted a different attitude to the purpose of punishment. Luther, in his consideration of this, started with ecclesiastical punishments and expressed himself repeatedly in favour of educative methods. Thus in the sermon on ' Excommunication ' he says that ' It is in the nature and character of all punishment to reform sin.' As a matter of fact, he was not entirely consistent, at least in his attitude to the rebellious peasants. For if this was not based on the right of defence against threats to the social order, it is explicable only on the assumption of retaliatory punishment. This would be in harmony with the teaching of St. Paul, that the higher power as the minister of God is ' an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil.' The uncertainty as to the ultimate basis of a theory of punishment, which I noted at the beginning of this address, is indicated with special clearness in the controversial question on the admissibility of capital punishment. The only social ground on which this can be based is that it is retributive. It can also be regarded as a deterrent, although that object is never really attained. But it cannot possibly be based on the idea of education or reform. The execution of a human being on account of his danger

to society is as such no punishment but merely an act of self-defence.

Now the Christian Church from its very beginnings recognized ecclesiastical punishment. If we leave out of account the death of Ananias and Sapphira, which is reported to us not as an ecclesiastical but as a divine punishment, the Church has always borne in mind the word of Scripture, 'I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live' (Ezek. xxxiii. 11). How the Church, nevertheless, at the time of the Inquisition, made use of the 'worldly arm' in order to put to death heretics and other ecclesiastical offenders, forms one of the darkest chapters in Church history. I have already pointed out that Luther, while referring to ecclesiastical punishments, emphasized the reformatory purpose of all punishment, and that this purpose shuts out the possibility of the death penalty. But even here St. Paul shows us that the Christian view of the state and its divine function does not exclude, in principle, the death penalty. In the same passage in which he designates the authorities as the ministers of God he continues, 'But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain.' The sword of justice signifies the power over life and death. Thus, from a Christian point of view, we must leave it to jurists to decide whether the judicial power of the state requires the death penalty in order to combat crime and to vindicate law and order. But if we keep in mind the infinite worth of every human soul, we shall endeavour to restrict the death penalty, as far as possible, so as to allow time for remorse and repentance. But we should also remember that in Christian and enlightened countries heinous crimes have compelled public opinion to insist on the death penalty. At any rate, we find good Christians both among the opponents and the defenders of capital punishment.

I am convinced that the uncertainty and confusion in our conception of crime and punishment are due to the fact that people have always tried to base them on a single ethical or practical foundation, whereas they really have a double root which is bound up with the profound dualism of our human thought and knowledge. Man perceives and knows by becoming conscious of the differences and resemblances of his perceptions. He learns from the law of contradiction that all men differ from one another and from the law of identity that all men resemble one another. Law, whose function is to establish order among the volitional impulses of man, varies fundamentally according as it lays down rules between the equal or between the unequal. We see this already in the family, the original cell from which the state has developed. Among the children of the same family the law of equality holds good. Whoever tries to get more than his share will lose even what he has. He who strikes his brothers will be struck in return. Justice is administered on the principle of the law of retaliation, according to the maxim, ' As you treat me, so I treat you.' Between parents and children the law of inequality is in force. The will of the father commands, the will of the son obeys. If the will of the son attempts to place itself on a level with that of the father, it would violate the just order, whereas in relation to his brothers that order rests on equality. The right or just order regulating the relationship of parents and children is maintained by means of educative and reformatory punishment, according to the maxim, ' He who will not hear must feel.' And if deterring punishment proves necessary one need only think of the rod behind the mirror. The mitigation of retributory justice is forgiveness, the mitigation of remedial justice is mercy. In this connection it may be noted that children and primitive peoples regard retaliation

as a sacred duty, for example, the vendetta in Corsica and Albania. It may also be noted that an unwise and weak bestowal of mercy undermines the respect for law, as for example in Germany where amnesties are granted only to reactionary and communistic disturbers of the peace. The Roman people, which possessed a natural genius for law, had two different terms for the two fundamental forms of law: law among equals was termed 'jus,' while law that came down from above was known as 'fas.' 'Jus' was administered to citizens by the judge, while 'fas' was bestowed on the people through the priests. Even to-day the distinction remains in the popular consciousness. In the case of crimes committed by one citizen in violation of the rights of another, whereby he does injury to an equal, the injured person demands retribution and the people support him in the demand. But in the case of violation of official orders, which are intended to preserve the complex organism of the state and society, public opinion is much more lenient, and indeed sometimes takes the side of the offender against the public authority. This was particularly the case during the Great War, when the authorities overstrained the people's capacity for obedience.

As it is the function of the Christian religion and the Christian Church to permeate all the conditions and relations of life, as far as they are able, with the Spirit of Christ, so they ought not to be baffled by the problem of crime and punishment. True, the Church will exert herself chiefly in order to prevent crime and therefore also to prevent punishment. Against the violation of law among equals and thus against retaliatory punishment, she works by inculcating the command of Jesus: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' Against the violation of law by disobedience she works by referring to the words of Our Lord, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's,' and to the words

of St. Paul, ' Be ye subject to the higher powers.' At the same time she ought not to neglect to secure just conditions among equals by a better and more equitable division of the good things of life, while she also uses her influence to induce society, by legislation, to practice brotherly feeling. On the other hand, she ought not to neglect to warn the state against a ruthless employment of its authority, so that excessive interference of government may not have its counterpart in lawlessness. It is a mistake, when Christian peoples imagine that it is their duty to advocate mild penalties and wide exercise of mercy. The Christian needs a merciful God, but also a just state. In the case of offences against official regulations or disobedience to the authorities, the state may mitigate or remit the penalty, according to its sense of the importance of the order which is to be safeguarded. But in the execution of retributory punishment it must think more than is usual to-day of the injured person. The reprieve of a criminal, whose victim has not forgiven him, is a danger to law and order. Jesus Himself connected divine grace and forgiveness in a mysterious way with our human forgiving love. Ought not the Church to shrink from demanding mercy from the state for a criminal who has not yet reconciled himself to a brother whose rights he has violated? Otherwise she would forget the profound lesson, which the great pagan poet Aeschylus has given us in the last act of his *Oresteia*. Orestes had fulfilled the duty of blood revenge and had slain the murderer of his father; but in so doing he had committed the heinous crime of murdering his mother. The goddess Athene saves him from the pursuit of the Erinnyes, in whom the laws of Athens are incarnate. She submits the crime to the judgment of the Areopagus, the supreme court of Athens, and when the judges are found to be divided, she herself gives the casting vote for acquittal.

She appeases the infuriated Erinnyes by bestowing on them divine honours, that is, by acknowledging the idea of retribution. But she warns the court not to be lax in imposing just penalties, so that the Erinnyes may not emerge again from the depths and take the retribution into their own hands. This warning is in place even to-day.

But the most arduous task of the Church and of the Christian community is imposed on them when the crime has been committed, the sentence pronounced and the expiation of the crime begun. This subject has been so thoroughly treated in the preparatory memoranda drawn up for the World Conference that I have little to add. And indeed I do not consider that it is the function of an ecclesiastical organization to enter too deeply into the technical side of the execution of punishment and of the prison system. I merely wish to endorse the claim made by those who drew up the memoranda that the ministers and officials of the Church should never under any circumstances be denied the opportunity of admonishing and consoling the condemned, and if possible, it may be even on the way to the place of execution, of stirring him to repentance and to the desire for salvation, and of recovering him as a living member of the Christian community. The same applies to the relatives of the offender, while he undergoes the sentence and for the prisoner himself, on his release and return to a suspicious world. The Church and the Christian community have here a wide field for following Christ's example in the care of their neighbours.

But we ought never to forget that every crime has two victims, the evildoer and the person injured. Nowadays we are concerned solely with the criminal. The other victim or his family stand no less in need of Christian love and service. Altogether apart from the material distress into which they are often plunged in consequence of the

crime, they suffer the mental distress due to the feelings of hatred and revenge which are all the stronger and the more bitter as these victims of crime are less protected and supported by the outside world. To help them out of both these kinds of distress is a Christian duty. We should endeavour to give them practical help and to persuade them to cultivate a forgiving spirit. We shall not succeed, however, in this if we merely stand aloof in the enjoyment of our own rights and privileges and preach forgiveness to those who are overwhelmed with the desire for revenge.

This brings me to my final point. In one respect the Christian Church, as I think, ought to try and exercise an influence on the system of punishment, that is, in the selection of the penalty with which the law may be vindicated. The best vindication seems to me that whereby the injury committed by the evildoer is as far as possible made good. A human being, whose soul has not been entirely perverted, feels within himself the deep need of making atonement, if he has committed a criminal act. He is conscious that it is not a chain of circumstances, but he himself that has committed the act, that the responsibility rests on him, and that making atonement will relieve him of this burden. But how can he feel this relief if his victim still suffers? On this aspect of the problem the state lays too little weight. It inflicts the penalty and leaves the victim to take care of himself. Instead of this, the state ought, above all things, to ensure that the evildoer faithfully expiates his act by work for his victim, preferably voluntary work in an organized workshop, but when necessary compulsory work in an institution. I am sure that the Church in such efforts will obtain the support of the adherents of retributory justice as well as the psychologists and sociologists. It will not, however, be easy to realize this ideal; but if we are imbued with its inner

truth, it will not be impossible. All things are possible to him that believeth.

It was with great hesitation that I, a layman, interested in theology, undertook to address this Conference, at which so many learned and enlightened representatives of the Church are present, on the subject of crime and punishment from the point of view of the Church and Religion. I have done so because I believed it might not be without interest to you to hear how a judge, who confesses himself a Christian, thinks about these difficult matters, a judge who believes with Luther that the position of the criminal judge before God is more precarious than that of the convicted criminal. The problem is now becoming wider, and from being an individual matter it becomes an international affair. The peace of Versailles, the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Geneva Protocol have now extended the conceptions of crime and punishment to nations and communities, conceived as having rights and amenable to justice. Thus arises a new and wider field for international jurists and for the whole of Christendom. But this is a task which I must leave to others.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1925

PUBLIC MEETING (9–10.30 P.M.)

Chairman—THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP IN LIFE AND WORK
OMNES UNUM!

THE BISHOP OF KARLSTAD (Sweden)
(Dr. Eklund).

OMNES unum! All one! It was thus Christ prayed thinking of those His Father should give Him.

Those two words seem in themselves quite insignificant.

They express so little. All, that is an uncertain quantity, which does not evoke much meaning. And unity? Yes, unity, that seems to be an idle fancy and to mean little or nothing.

And yet, in the prayer of the Saviour, these words rise with living life.

For Him that 'all' is evidently not an empty thing. There is not one of those that come under that word, that has not for Him living life and greater value than all that is valuable in the world. For each one among these 'all' is a soul. And for them all He prays, for them all He thinks, for them all He suffers and He battles and He dies and—He lives.

And the unity Jesus thinks of, that is certainly not insignificant or meaningless. No, it contains the most meaningful of all meanings. When the praying Saviour would express the essence of unity, He seizes on the deepest, richest, and most intimate He knows: His own life's unity with the Father. He wants the unity which is in God's life and being. All in one, as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee. That is the oneness of the spirit and of life. It is the oneness of eternal divine love, the oneness of God.

Is it not in our days, that this word about the oneness of all men has acquired a new strange meaning? I mean: through the striking contrast with reality. Does not all human life, as soon as one wakes and thinks about it in the morning, immediately appear like a world where *all is in pieces*? Does it not seem, when one has woken and is thinking, as if this 'all one' were the most impossible, the ideal of all ideals, most removed from all reality? And does it not seem as if one could scarcely find a prayer further from its fulfilment than that which Christ prayed, that all should be one?

And yet what He prayed for is indeed no greater than what we pray for in the ' Our Father.' For certainly the prayer, ' Our Father which art in Heaven,' is, when one thinks of it and faces reality, a prayer which least of all has reached fulfilment in history and in actuality. Am I right ? What about the holy name ? What about the kingdom ? What about the words of the prayer which say : ' In earth, as it is in Heaven ' ? What about our daily bread ? What about the words : ' As we forgive ' ? Has the kingdom become His, and the power and the glory ?

Christ Himself prayed for ' the impossible.' And He has been teaching mankind too, for nineteen hundred years, to pray for the impossible.

Then would it not be best for us to cease such praying ? And to rule out of the annals of history the prayer ' ut omnes unum ' ?

We are gathered together to consider the problem. And we should look at it in all its difficulty, its depth and its breadth.

In its breadth ? Perhaps not that. This is neither the time nor the place to speak of it in regard to individual human life or to the life of peoples in general. It speaks for itself. Present day so-called real politics and powerful world *Kultur* have turned out so deplorably that one questions whether any generation ever managed its affairs more badly. It may indeed have been true of the times when the culture of antiquity went to pieces. In the extremely complicated human life of the present day, where the sources of life should run together as the veins of an organism into the heart—all went to pieces. Thinking men the world over wonder if this cultural period, in its complete inability both to see and to act, will continue to its downfall and its doom. Pride seems to leave no room

for any understanding. And there is no prospect of a change of heart.

'The Lord shall smite thee with madness and blindness, and astonishment of heart: and thou shalt grope at noonday as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways.'

'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have thee in derision.'

Certainly never before has there been such a grotesque contrast between the unheard-of pretences and resources and the pitiful result. And this, above all, because there was not the slightest sincere wish for unity. Men's world was inwardly asunder before the outward break came.

We Christians do not for a minute doubt that this lack of inner unity in life is due to the fact that Christ has not been allowed to implant His unifying spirit in the increasing life of the human word. It is dangerous for the world to deny Christ. And that the world has done.

But when that thought comes in earnest, then God's derision does not stop at the spheres of political power. From there the problem comes nearer to us and deeper into our own lives. Then is asked: How have the churches stood the test? How have Christians thought? As men and as a group, how have we, Evangelic Christians, acted before the words: all in one, omnes unum?

Perhaps, too, the Prince of the World derides us. Perhaps not without cause. Perhaps he is asking ironically so that the Lord on high will hear, as in the time of Job: What does it avail that Christians lament? Are there any who have fought as bitterly against each other as Christians? For what have they prayed in Jesus' name for years and for generations?

Yes, it is a story nearly as old as the Church's own. One can well ask if division and rupture and enmity have

been anywhere as intense and profound as among Christians. The Prince of the World, the accuser, is, as always, partly right. He has sufficient testimony in the case. Mere denial is hardly worth while.

Will the accuser be right in all time and eternity ?

We are gathered to consider the problem more in its depth. Think of *unity among Christians*. For Christians, souls, communities, and churches, omnes unum !

Confronted with present-day reality it is not strange if all about us and even in this room voices are saying out loud and in whispers, about the unity of Christians : It is useless to attempt the impossible, the absurd.

But we cannot feel silenced with those words. Extremely paradoxical, they should wake opposition rather than timidity. The reasonable, the possible, the obviously sensible, are all words so essentially meaningless and stupid and pitiful, that no living soul can seize them. The one thing that can grip a live human being is the unreasonable.

Christ willed the impossible. And He was right in willing it. As those who wished what is wise and reasonable in the eyes of the world have only made a mess of it, it is only He and those who in His name follow after the impossible, on whom God can count. And, in the deepest sense, it is only they who have been of any use to humanity.

However reasonable or unreasonable it is, we are now gathered together in this little corner of God's world to think of unity.

At times it has seemed as if it were by election that this corner of Europe was able to remain at peace.

This has not been without God's permission. And it may indeed be that this has been our appointed task, as there are extremely few in the world who can enjoy peace for more than a hundred years.

Therefore, if our presence is called up here in a church corner, in an unassuming hall of the evangelic world, the choice may be well grounded. Our Church history may also show the reason for this. Our Church, to speak only of the Church in Sweden, though what I say might apply in many respects to the Church in Norway, in Denmark, in Finland, in Esthonia, and in Lettland, is a younger sister in the family of churches. Thus for a thousand years she has learned from the older and greater. And she has learned a lot under the period of schooling.

Our 'Apostle' came from the Church in France. From the Church in Germany came our first instruction in creed and in the art of government. From the Church in England came the men who, in many places, as in the region of my home, succeeded in organizing a Christian community and in raising churches; it was Anglo-Saxon master-workmen who first hewed out the beautiful rock from Västergötland's mountains. And in such succession it has gone on through hundreds of years. We have gone to the convent school of St. Bernard and studied mysticism. Luther taught us preaching and singing. English Christians of the time of Queen Anne inspired missionary plans in Jesper Svedberg and later, in Jakob Serenius, ideas for the confirmation of youth and for the voluntary relief of the poor. In the century and a half which have just passed we have followed with the closest attention the philosophical and religious thought of Germany. And during the last half of this period an increasingly strong current of popular awakening has come from the Anglo-Saxon world of dissenters on both sides of the Atlantic.

We are, therefore, not lacking experience as regards various Evangelic Church types. We have in our own life had deep experience of the good and the beautiful in receiving from others, and of the hard, the harsh, and often

of the deeply painful in being unkindly treated by other nations—often in the most intimate questions. We know that the problem of uniting religious movements is not an easy one. It does not yet lie solved on the shelves of history.

Above all we are convinced that there is no more dangerous enemy to Christian unity than the sort of spiritual compulsion which forces similarity through authority and which will solve the question by commanding uniformity.

That has not succeeded with us, though the attempt was not lacking. And I wish to send no humble prayer to the children of the larger churches for pity for the smaller. That would scarcely do. For we are not especially humble in this case. In spite of our small size we have not managed so badly. In this connection it is not a question of quantity. A small head can, from the Christian point of view, reason as well as a big one, if it only bring forth to be christened the real live child of its own thought.

We have remained so firm and so evangelically Swedish that no one has been able to master us completely. Gustaf Vasa, who wished to rule the Church like a German prince, and who had good hard fists, enlisted help from the south and planned to remove bishops and considerably more. But that did not succeed. We did not wish it. Karl IX, the father of Gustaf Adolf, was a keen man, and in close sympathy with German Calvinism, and would gladly have led us in that direction. That did not succeed either. We did not wish it. Gustaf Adolf II and Axel Oxenstierna and the powerful nobles wished to have a real state church with government direction. That too failed. Men like Johannes Rudbeckius did not want it. The all-powerful parliaments of the Period of Freedom, which had all authority in Sweden's deplorable political policy, if not both

in heaven and on earth, and wished to have it in the Church. That did not succeed, at least not then. Somewhere there was a Swedish Church will which opposed it.

Pressure from outside may have been very strong. But we too, concerning this, held ourselves pretty firm.

I spoke of the German scholarliness. It has indeed put pressure upon us. It was stated that we were completely behind the times when we did not immediately accept any of the fifteen or more systems which grew up during the last 150 years and claimed to have the final solution for the problems of theology and philosophy. We took it rather calmly. We waited, and then we often used what was especially worth-while. We waited usually until the system in question broke, and then we often used the especially worth-while bits. It perhaps cost us one or more excommunication from the ecclesia of the sciences. But one does not die of excommunications, if one does not let them work too directly on the heart.

When the awakening in the Anglo-Saxon community of dissenters broke upon us, we were faced, perhaps especially we priests in our early days, with choosing to be converted immediately according to the methods of this movement, or with otherwise risking entrance through the gate of heaven. But many of us declared, perhaps not in word, but in deed: Rather than get an Anglo-Saxon or a Methodist admission ticket up there, we will take the risk which the earnest brothers of the creed outline for us. And, after a generation, we have not yet changed our minds.

Later than the dissenters, the original group of the English Church showed us interest and friendliness. And we recognized it as good. But when we were confronted with special questions: for instance, as to whether we lay enough stress on the Episcopate, then we answered unhesitatingly that we were not Anglicans. We bishops,

we are priests and preachers of the Gospel in a Protestant and Evangelic Lutheran Church. And there is in the deepest sense no other order than that of the Word, and no might other than the pastoral. And that is enough for us. This order contains enough honour without needing to be doubled. That does not prevent us from thinking that the Episcopate is a fine office. I always say that it is almost as fine to be a bishop as to be a rector.

The examples produced are only examples. But I have chosen them as characteristic illustration of the fundamental thought I firmly hold: The only truly Christian way towards unity is that which lets both churches and individuals keep their individuality and which respects it. Unity should be sought, not in uniformity but in the living life which lies behind shifting forms, the forms of evangelic education, of liturgies and of legal church constitutions.

But will any unity remain? Yes, indeed. Along this road unity lies—but much further on and much deeper in. But in return it is richer and freer and more living and healthful. And above all: it stands in the same true relationship to the genius of Christendom as the free creative power of our spiritual life in relation to life's material in the world of experience.

The unity I want has room for the genuine, free and unrestrained development of all kinds of living life from the world of Christian spiritual life. I love with a certain passion the real and genuine, and despise manufactures and imitations and blends in life.

Neither do I want a reduction, made in the interests of unity, of the religious and moral contents of life, a loss of the concrete for the so-called universal. The most significant attempt in this direction was the attempt through enlightenment. Men thought they had found in rational,

so-called natural theology or natural morals something in which all could agree. And still, they achieved no unity. It was only appearance. It was an abstraction and a label which were used in place of reality. An idea cannot be a substitute for life. Finally, one had left of Christianity only the words—not even those.

Neither is it neutrality or tolerance that I mean. Both these words do very well as most decorative labels, intended to win questionable intercourse with what Luther calls 'falsche Waren und Betrug.'

The meaning is singularly ambiguous. Some simple soul has declared the 'neutrality of souls.' In my opinion such neutrality is forbidden anyone who lives and thinks. It is not permissible to be neutral in any spiritual or human matter of moment. Tolerance is not much better. The tolerance of modern times is not much more like Christianity's way of seeing than Voltaire is like Christ. Christ stands, actively repelling all that threatens and hurts life and the soul. Such cannot be tolerated. Christ stands actively loving towards all that His Father planted, all that is fit for the Kingdom, all that forwards the life of the soul and the community. The problem is to learn to know, to understand, and to value all that through centuries can be used by creative power of Christ's life. All this shall be formed in love at the same time that love reacts unyieldingly against all which hurts, ruins and enslaves.

It is this positive attitude towards that which is other than I and other than mine that is so difficult. Difficult before all *for the big* and *the strong*, the big churches and strong life.

But why should there be such differences and diversity and so much peculiarity? To answer that I must say a few words about my own home-made theology or theory of religion.

To me religion is not a speciality. To me the real religion

of a man, a church, or a nation is the result of the total experience of the man, the church, and the nation. It is not only the Bible, the creed, the religious tract, divine service, meditation, psalm, and prayer which determine my own or my people's or my church's religion. It is all which I have heard and seen and read and thought and done. And as far as my church is concerned it is not only a question of what we as a generation have experienced in the life of the spirit, the soul, the body and the community. It is also the experiences gathered in the course of centuries. It is what we experienced even before the Vikings heard of the white Christ and what we lived through during the struggles of hundreds of years and under the training of self-imposed Germanic law. Everything is significant, from the time of the rune to the thinkers and poets who were still thinking and singing when our century began. None of this has gone by without leaving tracks. It has set its imprint in our souls and in our whole being, and in the character of the nation and of the Church. Is it then surprising that forms are numerous? Should we wish it otherwise?

But at the same time religion, when it is living, is the most strongly personal, even in an individual and subjective sense. It is therefore almost impossible for those who are directly moved by religion to recognize 'another.' That which my soul has lived through with God, is it not universal and alike for all men? For the unthinking man and for him who is not versed in history it is therefore perfectly natural to look wonderingly askance at his nearest neighbour and to think: He is certainly wrong! This has been tradition from the time of the first disciples. The twelve considered themselves as having a monopoly on Jesus' name. It was absurd to imagine anyone else using it. St. John was zealous in preventing such abuse.

It is characteristic of religion both to include much that lies deepest in racial heritage and history and to emphasize strongly the personal call, if I may so express it. Both factors make the ability to understand and value anything foreign a very rare one. Therefore the problem of unity within Christendom is more difficult than outside it. And it need hardly be stated that the difficulty is not least there where, as in the Evangelic churches, national traits, and personal individuality, and the individual life of the conscience is fundamentally asserted and emphasized.

But if it now is true that we lay so much stress on individuality, why worry about the question of unity? Let things remain as they have been, and go as they have gone.

I answer 'No.' For things as they have been have not been all right. And they have gone badly up to now.

In many respects a sort of stagnation has lain over Evangelic Christianity. Through the rupture which isolated it, the Evangelic Church has to a large degree renounced the duty and the privilege of availing itself of its riches in Christ and of making them fruitful for the world. Only through learning to know each other better shall we become richer. Churches, especially the large, would gain through learning to know the lesser churches. I believe especially that all would profit greatly if, once more, the depths of deep religious life and searching thought, and the noble word and tone poetry, which now in central Germanic Europe is yielding all too little interest, were again brought into use. Both England and America could profit from it. They are threatened by the something which always approaches when mass-power becomes great, so that life hobbles, so to speak, in spiritless mass-movement. It becomes something 'the biggest in the world' which is more like a tower of Babel or a sky-scraper than a sanctuary

The spirit mind which traces its source directly from Luther, contains more depth within. Both sermon and psalm and tones of the organ sound, more subdued perhaps, but more heart-felt and richer here. It is not desirable that the effect should be one-sided.

Then comes the question of *outward unity*.

I said that things have not gone well up to now.

What has happened in the ' Christianized ' Europe ?

A profane worldliness has made itself as broad as it was shallow, has made headway as much without scruple as without soul. Viewed from the unbelievably complicated technique which has set in active rotation masses of men and material, masses of perceptions, words, tones and paper, it is indeed a most non-spiritual return to the renaissance and to antique paganism.

It is my belief that all this could not have happened, if Christians and the churches had preached seriously and unanimously God's ten commandments and the Gospel of Christ. And not least of all for the proud heads on thrones, and in parliaments, and in cabinets,—those who have thrown Europe into great suffering. It could scarcely have happened, if those concerned had not agreed in advance : We do not reckon with churches and Christians —they are harmless on account of division and can attempt nothing in common.

It should be otherwise. Men would perhaps find, if we Christians acted as one, contrary to our custom up to the present, that the majority of votes never again would lie where the voting apparatus of political democracy has at times been able to place it.

I shall not dwell upon how this, in its outward form, may be brought about, but shall limit myself to its inner meaning. And if someone says : The problem is impossible of solution, for one cannot form *a unity which does not*

exist, then I answer: There is an inner unity, *a growing unity*, in life and spirit, in thought and belief. It exists and it is greater than we wish to acknowledge it. Therefore the question should be formulated thus: it is most important that what is inner should also appear in outward form.

It is my conviction that the general existence of unity in the evangelic churches has increased at least from the time of the enlightenment and perhaps from an even earlier period. It is indeed to a high degree our enemies who have compelled us to direct our efforts towards unifying necessity. But at the same time inner Christian thought and Christian faith acting in practical ways have spontaneously been directed in the same direction.

Everything secondary has therefore of necessity been passed by and everything of primary importance been more emphasized. Diverse dogmatic alternatives, for which one has fought even with the sword, have become so antiquated as hardly to be noticed in school-books. Antitheses in constitutional questions have been moved to a lower plane. Liturgies and aesthetics have gained the rank of acting forms. The moral life ruled by religions in which often in the past adiaphora formed the chief ground for division, has acquired a greater flexibility and is thought out less logically. It is as if men realized, perhaps more instinctively than consciously, that it is unfitting to struggle over the lesser when the biggest is at stake.

Historical research has, in this connection, had a good effect. To a great extent its chief contributions have been concentrated instead on epochs of mere reproduction and of formal systematizing on the comparatively few epochs of original creation. Nearest to us in history rises Luther's period and personality. His experience and

preaching have far greater significance than all subsequent orthodoxy or criticism. The earlier figure of St. Francis was, for similar reasons, seen in a new light. It would not surprise me if, soon, especially in the evangelic church, we were to experience an Augustinian renaissance. His thirty years meant more than whole centuries of numerous others.

But even stronger is the rallying around the Scriptures. What the Bible gives us is more important, more rich, more deep, more vital for religion than all that the fathers and Church councils and tradition have brought us. And at least for us who have been influenced by the historical-critical study of the Bible, it is, in this regard, perfectly clear that in the Scriptures we possess the primary creative bearer of the revelation of God. There lies what we may call the centre of the world of religious experience. Prophets, psalmists, and apostles step forth. All of them in closest connection with the historical sequence of the events of the revelation, but at the same time richer and more individualized. A wholly different atmosphere of life from that of a hundred years ago surrounds them now that the historical treatment of the Scripture has been accepted.

But with that, we have not said the last word. The last word is the one with which we began. The most decisive fact is the strongly apparent concentration around Christ Himself: His teaching and life and death and resurrection, His work and person.

That entails no dilution or reduction of the vital contents of our Christianity. Seen, as Christ shall be seen, in the centre of the line of predecessors and successors, He is richer than all scholasticism and mysticism and dogmatic orthodoxy and modern philosophy and morals. Viewed in connection with everything else in the world of religions

and cultures,—the faith and love, the religion and morals which Christ created will never become a mere addition to something else, for instance, to natural religion and natural morals ; but rather the all-important new creation, genuine in every respect, from the highest metaphysics of the thought of God, and the determining ideals of the kingdom of God, to man's mental life and to the most every-day details of active life. And I believe that agreement concerning the sun of this new spiritual life is steadily growing in those who with eager interest absorb themselves in it.

But at the same time I know nothing that has the same attraction and transforming power toward all that is human as this. Just because Christ wants but *one*, can He embrace *all*. He will seize the soul's inner world and make it free in God. But at the same time He has seized the most fundamental law of mankind's life together : He calls it the law of love. In this way all else in the world of God's creation comes, through Him, to its right place. In Christ the deepest experiences of human life are had and can be had over and over again. In Him is all that which we have already named free creative power in relation to everything in the life and history of man. Therefore there is liberty—and unity. Both together.

All free in Christ. *All one* in Christ. It was for that He prayed—' ut omnes sint unum.' And His prayer, it is also heard of His Father which is in Heaven.

Sir Henry Lunn, M.D. (Great Britain)

(Editor, *The Review of the Churches*)

Ten years before the great war which has desolated Europe, in those happier days, I invited Count Bernstorff to address the Mayors of the London boroughs. On the afternoon of the day of the reception, I called upon him

and he said to me: 'I am quite happy. I have just sent my speech to the Press Association, and now I can say what I like.' In similar fashion to-day I am protected from indiscretion by my address having been printed in two languages, and if in my own tongue I should say anything indiscreet, you will know that it was not intended.

This great gathering must bring home to all with added force the words of Galileo: 'The world moves.' In nothing is this more true than in the remarkable advance this generation has witnessed towards co-operation and complete co-ordination of the forces of Christianity for the good of humanity. Thirty-three years ago with the audacity of that youth, which in the prophet's words 'sees visions,' I dared to invite the leaders of the British churches, Père Hyacinthe and Théodore Monod from France, Eugène Choisy and Bishop Herzog of Switzerland and others to meet in the first Reunion Conference of the nineteenth century. We met in the lovely valley of Grindelwald, with the great mountains saying to us: 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in.' We gathered there to declare that the gates, which separated humanity, should be thrown wide open: the barriers which separate the churches in effective service for their Lord should be broken down: that the compelling evidence of real unity in Christ as to His mission from the Father should be given to an unbelieving world. If we look back to these days, we can indeed say: 'What hath God wrought?' Everything seemed to be against us in that first experiment. We have a hymn which says:

> 'From fire and tempest, plague or foe,
> Protect us whereso'er we go.'

Fire ravaged the little village: cholera broke out in Hamburg and threatened to prevent travelling: a storm

wrecked two ships which were to carry our members, who first proposed gathering in Norway. One little incident, little in view of what is happening to-day, aroused enormous indignation that would astonish this generation. The village of Grindelwald had been laid low by a fire: the English church had been burned: no chaplain had arrived and four hundred Christian men and women were gathered there. In these circumstances I asked the Bishop of Worcester, who was in our company, to administer the Holy Communion to the members of the Conference, and he consented. A passionate outburst of indignation appeared in the columns of our great English newspaper, the *Times*. Bishop Hensley Henson, then young and not so wise as he is to-day, charged the Bishop with 'courageous hypocrisy' when he presided a little while afterwards at the Church Congress at Birmingham. The thought that he should have dared to give the emblems of Our Lord's love to Hugh Price Hughes, the Methodist, Charles Berry, the Congregationalist, Aked, the Baptist, and Pastor Strasser of the Reformed Church in Switzerland, was a blessed breach in the dividing rules of the churches which roused the wrath of all who think, to reverse Lowell's words, that 'constitutions are more than man' and that traditions should be allowed to hamper the free movement of the Divine Spirit.

When the fire destroyed half the village of Grindelwald, the London *Times* in one of its solemn leaders expressed its gratification that the ecclesiastical theorists at Grindelwald had been burned out of house and home. This gathering represented the first endeavour of the Free Churches of England to make any adequate response to the Christian overtures of the Lambeth Conference in 1888. We discussed there the great Lambeth Quadrilateral, in that and succeeding gatherings.

This Conference had been made possible by the growing conviction in England that social problems called for the best energies of the united forces of all the churches.

Thirty years before we met, the grandfather of Hugh Price Hughes, one of our leading speakers, a Wesleyan Methodist, rode out on a certain route, along which he was followed by a Calvinistic Methodist minister. Such was the antagonism between these two products of the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century that the Calvinistic Methodist preacher would not allow his horse to drink water at the pool at which the Wesleyan Methodist's horse had watered. But these things were being changed when we met at Grindelwald. Andrew Mearns has written his *Bitter Cry of Outcast London.* General Booth was appealing to the sympathy of all the churches for the 'submerged tenth.' Cardinal Manning, that great prelate of the Roman Church, with a heart wider than his creed, united with Bishop Temple, then Bishop of London, the father of the President of COPEC, and distinguished leaders of the Free Churches of England, in the endeavour to settle a great labour dispute with the dockers of London. The churches were just beginning to realize that they must co-ordinate their forces and co-operate in solving the social problems of the age.

At these Grindelwald Conferences the first four Presidents of the National Free Church Council, Hugh Price Hughes, Charles Berry, Monro Gibson and Alexander McKennal, met together and matured their plans. It was a step in the right direction, though it did not co-ordinate all the forces of Great Britain, but only half.

In the years immediately following that gathering, it was my privilege to visit America and to advocate Christian co-operation at great meetings of the clergy in New York, Boston, Chicago, Washington, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

At that time the great Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the President of which will address us, was still undreamed of. My American friends will agree with me that the American churches had not yet realized the greatness of the social problems which they must unitedly endeavour to solve.

On my second visit to America I was asked to speak at a weekly prayer meeting in one of the greatest churches of Brooklyn, not the one ministered to by the last speaker. When I had spoken, the meeting resolved itself into a discussion of the interesting problem whether money made by dishonourable company promotion should be accepted by the Church. Steel Commons had fallen to 10 (my American friends will appreciate what that meant); there was keen resentment felt by the investing class against the great millionaires. This was scarcely a sufficient indication of a passion for social reform. In the Middle West I was invited to attend the clerical club of one of the great cities of America. The discussion that evening was *How to deal with young Agnostics*, and the reader of the paper advocated insistence on the Virgin Birth and prophecy, in the sense of foretelling, as the two great buttresses of the Christian faith. The ideas of men like Dr. Parkes Cadman and others have changed all that in America to-day. The powerful desire for social reform is represented with great vigour in papers like the *Christian Century* and others.

In this third decade of the twentieth century, we are invited to co-ordinated effort by the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in Clause XIII of the Appeal to all Christian peoples:

> 'The Conference recommends that, wherever it has not already been done, Councils representing all Christian communions should be formed within such areas as may

be deemed most convenient as centres of united efforts, to promote the physical, moral, and social welfare of the people, and the extension of the rule of Christ among all nations and over every region of human life.'

Bishop Temple, Canon Raven and Miss Gardner, in the great COPEC movement, which they lead, have done much to carry this resolution into practical effect. This Universal Conference represents the yet wider vision of His Grace the Archbishop of Upsala.

It is not necessary for me to say more than a few words as to the dire necessity for international co-operation. We have heard so often of late that civilization can only be saved if the nations of the world agree to have done with war for the settlement of international disputes and understand that they are members one of another. We are in danger, by the mere fact of repetition, of disregarding these grave warnings. The immortal words of Bishop Butler tell us that ' Passive impressions are weakened by repetition and do not of themselves form habits.' Unless we seriously set ourselves by action to oppose those tendencies in the life of the world, which threaten the destruction of all that is worth preservation, the penalty of our lethargy and indifference will come upon us, and civilization will perish in a night of fear. The invitation to speak to you on this subject came to me in the midst of a careful study of what was really for those days an inter-state—and therefore in a sense an international gathering, of great moment for the future history of the world. I have been engaged in the endeavour to understand the forces that brought about the great Philadelphia Constitutional Convention of 1787 when the foundations of the American Commonwealth of States were well and truly laid. There was much in that gathering that parallels the necessity of to-day. George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton,

James Madison, Livingstone, the two Morrises, and the other great men of that epoch, found themselves confronted by a condition of things only too similar to the state of affairs that exists to-day. Men were plastering the walls of their houses in derision with paper money, which had lost its value. Dreams of unity, with which the war had ended, were being shattered in every way. Jealousy of the states against each other appeared to be fatal to the national spirit. Disillusion, disgust, disappointment characterized the attitude of many, who had looked for great things as soon as peace was declared. It was eleven years since Jefferson had penned the Declaration of Independence, and it is eleven years now since those fatal days of August '14. The peace from which so much had been hoped had existed for five years. We are little further from the Peace of Versailles.

If we seek to co-ordinate our forces, we shall do well to study briefly the method adopted by these men when they sought to overcome the influence of the rival interests of thirteen states and to unite them into one strong unity, to give a young nation, only eleven years old, right to a place amongst the great nations of the earth.

It may be permitted to point out that on the lines of the Philadelphia Convention the first step may be taken and the churches of the different lands may through this Stockholm gathering proceed to the summoning of another gathering entrusted with the task of studying avenues through which co-operation may be reached and the method in which that co-operation should work.

If we retain this idea in our minds, we note first of all that the Convention of Philadelphia was, as any such convention ought to be, a small body meeting in secret and not a great public gathering. In those days the journalistic tyranny of a Northcliffe or a Hearst did not

by a system of stunts establish a despotism. The Philadelphia statesmen were wise in moving slower. They took months in privately working out the constitution of the future. They sat from May the 25th to September 17th, four, five, six and seven hours a day, resting only from their labours on Sundays, with only the brief interval of a few days.

Washington had said, in those dark days when the inefficacy of the constitution, called the Articles of Confederation, had been proved : ' Influence is not government.' Similarly, the Christian churches to-day must realize that, if they are to be effective, power must be given to the body that represents our federated efforts. That young democracy in America found itself then in danger from the very passion for freedom, which had called it into being ; and each of the thirteen states, especially the smaller states, was jealous of interference with state rights. It was not until they learned in those months of secret conference, followed by the months and years of advocacy of the Constitution by Hamilton, Jay, Madison and other intellectual giants, that national liberty depends upon certain sacrifice of individual and local freedom that the future of the United States as a great nation was assured.

The same thing is true in our Church life to-day. If we are to co-ordinate our forces, the churches must each of them be prepared to surrender some of their power to a council which will represent all of them.

The supreme need of to-day is an international organization which shall express the convictions of a united Christendom. What we want to-day is a real Catholicism, not the despotism of a Pope, not the tyranny of an ecclesiastical oligarchy, but a sense of the unity of the whole Church of Christ, which shall express itself in a moral teaching that shall have its due influence in the world.

The one great necessity of all to-day is that war shall be outlawed, but who is to outlaw war? In the last great conflict the Pope did his best, under the political limitations by which he was bound. Papal interests made his message suspect. The Pope cannot effectively outlaw war.

It is difficult to imagine that the civil governments of the world can outlaw war. Their jealousies will always be in danger of leading to combinations that may give us war.

The one force, that may make war impossible, is for a united Christendom to declare 'War is outlawed and shall not be.'

Such a convention as I am suggesting will mean a real sacrifice on the part of the churches and of the men who form it. The churches must surrender certain of their leaders, as the state did in the case of Philadelphia, for some months, and the men who enter that convention must devote themselves exclusively to the consideration of a constitution, which it may produce.

The world is moving in the direction of federal unity, and the churches will be wise to follow that line. The Lambeth ideal of local unions is excellent, but it must be extended to give us a body, which shall speak with the authority of Christendom in great international crises. He would be rash indeed who dared to suggest in detail the methods by which these great forces can be given their adequate expression and their due weight in the affairs of mankind. The wisest intellects in the Church, the valued time of the best men in the Church would be well expended in the consideration of such a constitution.

Our duty is to create an international atmosphere on all great moral issues, which will bring home to the conscience of mankind everywhere the evils which men of religious temper and conviction can fight in common, and the responsibility which rests upon them for dealing with such

questions. The churches must inculcate and exemplify in their own lives that spirit of complete abnegation, which is essential if these problems are to be effectively handled. And finally we must attempt all these things as we are impelled so to do by the Cross of Christ with its message for sinning and suffering humanity.

THE REV. FREDERICK LYNCH, D.D. (U.S.A.)
(Editor, *The Christian Work*)

I HAVE been asked to speak on the churches in their co-operative work for the Kingdom of God, and it was intimated to me by the committee that you might be especially interested in a short history of the co-operative movement in America. This co-operative movement has reached the highest stage of perfection in America not because of any particular genius for unity in America but simply because denominationalism is much more pronounced in America than in any other nation, thus affording greater scope for co-operation. Necessity has been the mother of co-operation in America. In Sweden where you have one church and practically no denominationalism, if some great moral crisis arises, the Church can act as one undivided body. If some moral crisis arises in America you have eight or ten great communions which have got to get together if the Church is to exert any real influence in the crisis. Because of these things, as well as because we have had some real prophets of unity, the co-operative movement has reached its highest stage of perfection in America.

The beginning of it on a large scale was the forming of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. This is a federation of practically all the large communions of America and many of the smaller ones—twenty-nine in all. The permanent members of it are officially appointed

by their own communions, so that when it acts it really acts for the United Protestantism of America. One of the first steps of the Federal Council was to appoint commissions of fifty or sixty members each, chosen from the various denominations, to bring the united influence of the churches to bear upon the various moral and social problems facing the nation. These commissions, especially those dealing with the Church and Industry, the Church and International Goodwill, and the Church and Race Relationships, have been particularly active and have exerted a real influence on a Christian solution of these problems. Not only have these commissions themselves acted and spoken effectively for the United Church, but they have been instrumental in securing the appointments by each one of the communions in the Council of its own commissions to study these particular questions, and from time to time these denominational commissions have met together in two or three days' conferences. Thus all the denominational commissions on International Goodwill are to meet together in Washington early in December to consider the problem of the attitude of the Church toward the whole question of war. Perhaps no organization in America has done so much to keep the United States and Japan upon friendly terms as the Federal Councils Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. Speaking for united Protestantism, it has constantly represented to the Japanese people that the churches of America have no sympathy with the injustices often inflicted upon them by the Congress of the United States, and desire that Japan be recognized, in every way, on the same basis as every other nation.

The next outstanding instance of the co-operation of the churches is in the organization of the union missionary boards into one council which maintains a central office and holds annual conferences, where for several days the

common problems of missions are considered, and these deliberations have led to much co-operation in the foreign and home mission fields, and in several cases to actual Christian unity.

Perhaps the most effective co-operation of the churches both in Federal Council and in other Christian organizations of America has been in the field of international goodwill. This is natural, because the late war, and especially the years since the war, have made this the most outstanding problem facing the churches. Not only has this problem been to the front at annual conventions of the various communions and at meetings of the Federal Council, but great Christian organizations, made up of representatives of all Christian communions, have come into existence whose one aim and purpose is to promote international peace, and which have been very active in this way. Thus in 1914 Mr. Carnegie established a foundation composed of twenty-nine trustees representing all the denominations, which he endowed with two million dollars, the income to be used for the promotion of international goodwill through the churches. As a sort of child to the Church Peace Union, the World Alliance was born. The Church Peace Union is national and works in America, while the World Alliance is international, linking together the Christians of all nations, but the Church Peace Union largely finances the World Alliance. Perhaps no instance of such widespread and effective co-operation of different communions has ever been witnessed in the history of the Church than that manifested in the work of these three organizations, the Federal Council's Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, the Church Peace Union, and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.

But I think you will be much more interested in hearing what is the new truth that has gradually dawned upon the

American churches during these years of united effort than in hearing the history of their co-operation. For out of this co-operation certain new convictions have been born, which are gradually coming to be widely and tenaciously held. I think I am right in calling them new, and the product of this co-operation, for one seldom heard them before the churches undertook the united service of which I have been speaking. Especially have they impressed themselves upon the common conscience of the Church through the united work for a new and Christian international order during the last twenty-five years.

The first of these new convictions is that there can be only one morality, one ethic, one righteousness, one code of honour, one rule of conduct in the world, *the same for individuals and nations*. There can be no double standard of ethics in any real civilization, one for individuals, another for nations. We have had this double standard, Christian for individuals and pagan for nations, up to very recent times. We have said the nation had a right to do what the individual should not do. We have said that it was unchristian for an individual to steal, but perfectly right for the nation. We have said it was unchristian for an individual to kill his neighbour, but perfectly right for the big nation to destroy the weaker nation. We have said that 'Might makes Right' was a barbaric doctrine for a man to hold, but the principle by which nations should live and act. We agree that selfishness as the law of life for a man is pagan, but for the nation not only right, but necessary for its existence. We have said that true greatness for the individual, Christian greatness, is in service, but who ever heard of service as the test of national greatness until recent years. Now fortunately as a result of this co-operative life, all that is largely gone in the American churches, and one will find its condemnation in practically

every denominational resolution of the past ten years as well as the minutes of every annual meeting of the Federal Council of Churches. I do not think I am wrong in saying that the conviction has become practically nation-wide in our churches, that nations are bound by exactly the same Christian principles that are binding upon individuals in all their relationships. It is wrong for a man to steal; it is equally wrong for a nation. If it is wrong for a man to kill his weaker brother, it is equally wrong for a nation to destroy a weaker nation. If the principle 'might makes right' is barbaric for a man, it is equally barbaric for a nation.

If selfishness as a rule of life is pagan rule for a man, it is equally pagan for a nation. If the true and Christian test of greatness for an individual is service, this is the only true test for a nation. If the only Christian way of settling disputes between individuals is by peaceable, conciliatory and judicial methods, and not by fist and iron and powder, then the only Christian way for nations is by peaceable, conciliatory and judicial methods, and not by iron and gas and bombs and powder. In short, through the co-operative work of the American churches a consciousness has been born that nations are in every respect accountable to the same moral judgment bar to which individuals are accountable. There is only one morality, one righteousness, one ethic, one law, in any true and abiding civilization, and there can be no peace until this is recognized.

2. The second conviction which has been finding wider and wider expression in the meetings of the American churches, both in denominational and joint conventions, is that war is unchristian, a crime against both God and man, a violation of the Christian doctrine of brotherhood, an anachronism in a civilization calling itself Christian *and*

should therefore be outlawed for ever. It has been very interesting to watch the growth of this conviction in the American churches. It found spasmodic expression here and there before the war. The conviction spread and became much deeper during the war. The Christian people of America, reading every morning the horrible stories of hate and carnage, began to feel that that sort of thing could not be reconciled with the Gospels. A moratorium of the Sermon on the Mount seemed necessary. It was almost impossible to mention Jesus Christ and poison gas in the same breath. They did not go together. Within a year or two after the war conviction began to find expression in the meetings of the Federal Council and of the World Alliance. Then the great denominational assemblies embodied it in their resolutions. A large group of devoted Christians has come into being with the ' outlawry of war ' as their slogan, and is carrying on very active propaganda. Such men as Senator Borah are prominent in this movement. There is considerable difference of opinion as to how this outlawry of war shall be accomplished. Some look to the League of Nations as the organ which must bring it about. High hopes were raised in the Christian hearts of America by the fact that the Geneva Protocol used the expression ' Outlawry of War.' Others who have not much hope that the League of Nations will ever seriously direct its attention to this question want a conference of all the Governments of the world called to outlaw war by joint action and begin the creation of a code of international law that will make war a crime. But whatever method may be suggested there is surely a growing feeling in the American churches that war should be outlawed for ever.

3. The third conviction which as a result of this co-operative work has perhaps become more widespread and

deeper than any other is this, that the only path to security, happiness, and permanent peace, so far as the nations are concerned, is that path by which individuals have come to security, happiness and peace, namely, *the passing from individualism into the community life.* The reason that we have security, happiness, peace in every village, town and city in Christendom, is because we have put individualism behind us as a doctrine or philosophy of life and organized ourselves into the Christian community, the 'common' life. Individualism always means strife, confusion, a state of war. The community means peace. Individualism means that one puts self first. One follows out one's own ambitions regardless of others or uses others to obtain these ends. Individualism means the free indulgence in all one's own desires, lusts and passions. It means that one acts as one's own sheriff, judge and avenger. It necessarily follows that with every one living this life of individualism war is a natural state—as it was with our ancestors. The community life means each for all and all for each. We share each other's ills and each other's joys. We sink our individual aims, and often our desires, for the common good. We have the common court, the common school, the common hospital, and whatever force there is, is invested in a few men appointed by the community. We do not act as we please, and we could not if we would. We realize that our destiny is all bound up in the community—we rise or fall together. The community means security, happiness and peace. If the members of the Christian community should go back to the law of individualism to-morrow, each man live his own life, each man arm himself and take the law into his own hands, we could at once have 1914 in every town, war raging among individuals. *The feeling is becoming very widespread in America that there is no other way to security, happiness and*

peace for nations than by exactly this same path, the abandonment of individualism, that is, extreme nationalism, as the law of life, and uniting themselves into some form of community life. Individualism or extreme nationalism as the principle of national conduct means war, the community of nations means security, happiness, stability, permanent peace.

You may think it strange that one should say that this is a growing conviction of the American Christians, for you will say : ' We have the beginning of just such a community of nations in the League of Nations. The League is nothing more or less than an attempt to bring the nations into a community similar to the communities of *individuals* and grew out of just this conviction that nations will find peace, just as individuals have found it, by sinking nationalism in the community life, and yet America is not there.' My answer to that would be that if the best Christian conscience of America could have its way America would be there. During the last year of the war several organizations, representing the churches, joined in a nation-wide campaign educating the people in the principles of the League. The fundamental principles of the League which President Wilson carried to Paris had been drafted by the Church people of America. Mr. Wilson received, just the day before the Peace Conference opened at Paris, resolutions from all the great societies of the united churches, to the effect that the Christian people of America were behind him in his endeavour to create the League of Nations. On the day Mr. Wilson moved the League at the Peace Conference at Paris I believe practically every Protestant church in America was with him. A poll of the Protestant clergy by the Church Peace Union at that time showed eighty-five per cent. in favour of the League. When the ratification of the Paris action came before the Senate

various influences of a political and sectional nature, as well as the acuteness of the Irish question at that time, prevented its achievement. But I firmly believe that the great majority of the Church people of America still believe the community life for the nations is the only path to peace, and if those nations which are now committed to the experiment can sink their nationalistic principles and really commit themselves to the community principle they have espoused, it will not be long before the Christian people of America will force their Government to abandon its individualism and throw in its lot with the great community of nations.

My final word is this, that the great and significant outcome of all this co-operative activity in America has been to deepen the conviction of *the unity of all believers*. Denominationalism is still strong in America, for patriotism, loyalty to the denomination, is deep-rooted, and one cannot expect the speedy transfer of loyalty from the particular denomination to a united church. But one of the most apparent outcomes of the activities of the Federal Council of Churches and other Christian organizations, including the young people's interdenominational groups, such as the Christian Endeavour and Student Christian Movements, is the growing conviction that *the Church is greater than the churches*, and that after all, *the Church is one*. This feeling growing year by year as the result of the co-operative activity, has become so strong that even movements looking toward organic Church union have come into being, such as the Faith and Order Movement; but whether organic union be long or soon in coming, one thing is certain, namely, that if it ever does come, all this labouring together for the Kingdom of God will prepare the way; indeed, is now preparing it. Our labours together are showing us that the things we hold in common are the great

matters of the faith, while the things on which we differ are the lesser. It is while we labour together that we realize our oneness, and it is while we work together that we learn to pray and worship and perhaps at last sit together at the Lord's Table. Sometimes I think that the way actual church union will come is by the Church of God being caught up into the clouds, as it were, and being consumed by so great a passion for the service of humanity that it shall forget its differences in its all-consuming devotion to its Lord.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 23, 1925

11th Sunday after Trinity

9 a.m. A Service of Preparation for Holy Communion was held in Engelbrekt Church: conducted by BISHOP MAX VON BONSDORFF.

11 a.m. A Communion Service was held in Engelbrekt Church. The officiating clergy were THE BISHOP OF VÄXJÖ, THE BISHOP OF LUND, KYRKOHERDE J. LINDGREN, KOMMINISTER A. LINDH, KOMMINISTER G. KYHLBERG, KOMMINISTER E. ARBIN, DOCENT G. LINDBERG, PASTOR B. JONZON.

THE REV. ARTHUR J. BROWN, D.D., preached

THE SERMON

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PUBLICAN'S PRAYER

THE Pharisee arouses our dislike: the Publican appeals to our hearts. He had a genuine spiritual experience. His cry came from the depths of a penitent soul. It voiced the tenderest and loftiest aspiration of man. Doubtless he was not thinking of its implications. Perhaps we may dwell upon them to our profit. My own thought has been helped by considering the essential truths of our faith, not in terms of denominational differences, but in terms of Christianity as contrasted with non-Christian beliefs.

The first implication of the Publican's prayer is a right idea of God. He believed Him to be a Person. He believed Him to be Sovereign. He believed Him to have both the power and the disposition to forgive sin. This idea of God is the organizing principle of all true religious thinking. Ignorance of it empties human life of all that one deems essential to the spiritual life. The higher classes seldom conceive of a supreme Being in terms of personality. The lower classes people the earth and air with evil spirits, who haunt man from the cradle to the grave. Religion is an attempt to propitiate or outwit them. Could anything be more pathetic than the sight of a dying man lifting vain hands to a poker cat! Victor Hugo in a fine passage represents the natural man as bowing down with a sort of sacred horror before the forces of the visible universe—under the murmur of the trees, the crash of the thunder, the blaze of the lightning.

Have we any message for such men? We know that God is a person—holy, just and wise, our beneficent Sovereign, our loving Father. Will He hear us when we cry to Him? This is the profoundest question of humanity. Anxious men, careworn women, suffering children, illness, adversity, bereavement—the world is full of them.

Does God care? Other religions give no answer. The heavens remain brass and the earth iron. Christianity alone replies: 'God is Love'; 'Cast all your anxiety upon Him because He careth for you'; 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him.' We can endure the tragedies of life, bear its burdens, be undismayed by its adversities if we are sure of the heart of God, confident that over all is One who understands even if we do not, and that we 'cannot drift beyond His love and care.'

Amid all the hard materialism of our modern life, do we not need to keep our faith in this vital concept of our religion more clear and true ?

And yet to conceive of God in this way is not enough, enormous as its advance is upon the non-Christian idea. Man needs an incarnation. Without it, he feels that God is distant, vague, intangible. Living in a world of physical phenomena which is apprehended by sight and sound and touch, man would find it difficult to make real to his thinking a God who never manifested Himself to the senses which human beings are accustomed to use. Grant for the sake of argument that there are philosophers who might be satisfied without an incarnate God. Few men are philosophers. Thomas spoke in the voice of our common humanity when he doubtingly said : ' Except I shall see in His hands the prints of the nails, and put my fingers into the print of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe.' Thomas wanted physical evidence of spiritual reality. Perhaps he ought not to have wanted it : but he did, and so do we.

God manifest in the flesh, visibly, walking among men, sharing their burdens, clarifying their obscure ideas of the Divine, and exemplifying the life of service and self-sacrifice —that was what men needed. History tells us of the universality of this desire. Almost every race has ascribed divinity to one or more of its ancestors and built its religion around them. Humanity demands a God in the form of man and where it does not have one, it proceeds to make one.

But what a difference between Jesus and the alleged god-men of non-Christian faiths ! Gautama and Confucius were undoubtedly men of superior type. But who can think of them in comparison with Jesus ? The difference is not one of degree but of kind. Goodness in Him became sinlessness, character perfection. We do not

overlook the fact that there are two conceptions of Jesus: one that He was only the best of men and the most exalted of teachers; the other that He was both human and divine, 'the only Mediator between God and man, who, being the eternal Son of God, for us men and for our salvation became truly man.' Whatever the first conception may be termed, it is not that of historic Christianity. If we have only an ideal man to present to the world in what respect are we better off than the generation to which Plato pictured the perfect man who existed only in his imagination? Non-Christian faiths have their own sages who were so much loftier in character than the average man that they might serve as patterns of propriety. But we preach One who was 'very God' as well as 'very man' and who can thus answer the deepest cravings of their souls.

The Publican's prayer also implied belief that he was not beyond the range of divine mercy. A part of the significance of this incident lies in the fact that it was a despised Publican who not only sought mercy but received it. The incident might not have been deemed worth recording if a man of good standing had been concerned. Here was a social outcast who, when repentant, was justified above a man of social influence.

This accords with the Biblical teaching concerning man, and it is another vital element in our Christian faith. The conception of universal brotherhood was not in the thought of the ancient world, and it is not in the thought of the non-Christian world to-day. Here and there an isolated sentence may be extracted from the huge mass of pagan literature which appears to indicate humanitarian sympathy, but it was merely the transient dream of an individual who had no idea of applying it to slaves, or even to women. The defective classes were neglected. Suffering was not relieved. There are hundreds of thousands of insane

in Asia, but no one manifested any interest in them until the Christian missionary came. Multitudes of the blind groped feebly about, but nobody concerned himself with them until the missionary arrived. In a certain city I saw a man dying in the street. Hundreds of people were passing, but none stopped, none cared. In 1913 a provincial governor had his soldiers shoot fifty-three lepers, throw their bodies, some still living, into a trench, saturate them with oil and set the awful mass on fire. Of India, P. C. Mozoomdar says: 'The idea of brotherhood and equality of mankind before God is not to be found in any of our ancient writings. The idea is decidedly foreign, western, and I think I might say Christian.' The Asiatic is not naturally more cruel than the white man; he is simply apathetic to suffering. If he neglects it in others, he endures it in himself with equal indifference. Human life, his own included, is not valued. Nor let us blame the Asiatic as if he were an exceptional being. We do not have to go far back in the history of our own race to find similar callousness. The white man, before he came under the influence of Christianity, was as brutal as any savage, and he still is, except where Christianity has changed him.

It is significant that Jesus was the first person on this planet who really saw man as man. Others had seen man in relations, man in position, in power. Jesus was the first to see man irrespective of relationship or position or power. He transmuted His vision into reality. He made it a practical operative principle of action. Not only the publican but the beggar, the leper, the prodigal son, the woman that was a sinner, and thief on the cross were included in His compassion. 'One is your Father,' He said, 'even God, and all ye are brethren.'

This teaching concerning man struck at the root of slavery and all class injustice. It has elevated women and

dissolved barriers of caste. It is one of the mightiest altruistic forces in the world to-day. There are twenty thousand slave prostitutes in Shanghai. The divine conception of humanity led a few Christian women to open a rescue home. Word sped through the underworld that girls who could reach the home would be welcomed, and ere long it was filled. The news reached a high official, and he took his wife to see this strange thing. As they saw the kindly ministries to these poor outcasts and the marked change in their lives, he exclaimed to his wife: 'No one but a Jesus person would do this'! Was there ever a finer tribute to Christian altruism, ever a truer characterisation of it? No one but a Jesus person would do this—stoop to the lowest of the fallen and lift them up in the name and the spirit of Christ.

In innumerable ways the followers of Jesus are exemplifying His teaching by helping the weak, feeding the hungry, healing the sick, and seeking the lost. The first hospitals in Asia were built by missionaries of the Cross. So were the first orphanages, the first schools for the blind and the deaf and dumb, the first asylums for lepers and the insane. Christianity makes no exclusive claim to human sympathy. Kind-hearted people may be found among the adherents of all religions. But it is a historic fact that human sympathy never became strong enough to prompt men to altruistic effort on a large scale until Christian teaching vitalized it. To-day the numerous mission hospitals and institutions for the defective classes in Asia and Africa are almost wholly dependent for support upon the followers of the compassionate Saviour.

Imperfect yet is the white man's realization of our Lord's teaching. American treatment of the negro and Asiatic immigrants, the growing bitterness of the struggle between labour and capital in both Europe and America, and the

elemental passions which raged in the World War, sorrowfully prove that Western nations still have much to learn. But there is profound significance in the general conviction that such manifestations of race prejudice, class strife and ruthless militarism are radically at variance with the teachings of Jesus. Never before in all history has war been so universally condemned as a means of settling international disputes. Never has militarism appeared so wanton and inhuman. Never has outraged humanity so imperiously demanded its abolition. And this is because the world is beginning to comprehend that the ambitions and jealousies and hatreds, which are the causes of war, are fundamentally unchristian. The horrified protests of enlightened mankind against the brutality of war is in itself a testimony, not that Christianity has failed, but that men have failed to be Christians. Those who have caught the spirit of Jesus should strive more earnestly than ever to make that spirit so pervasive that it will characterize the relations of nations as well as of individuals. If all men are brethren, why should national groups of them be enemies ?

Jesus' conception of man : how wonderful it was ! We read that ' when He saw the multitudes, He was moved with compassion for them because they were distressed,' or, according to another rendering, ' torn and bleeding,' burdened, sorrowing men and women, and the Son of Man grieving over them and entering deeply into their woe because He loved them and yearned to help them. This spirit of sympathy with man as man, this catholic recognition of his need, this self-forgetting desire to succour him, is one of the great contributions of Christianity to the world. Only where Christ is known do men, as Whittier truly said :

> ' Give human nature reverence for the sake
> Of one who bore it, making it Divine
> With the ineffable tenderness of God.'

The Publican comes even closer to our personal experience in his recognition of sin. He did not say: God be merciful to me a poor man, or a sick man, but 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' The truth regarding sin is an element in the Christian message that cannot be ignored. This also is a contribution of large value to the world. It is not a popular subject to-day, but it is a vital one. When did the modern science of medicine begin? Was it not when physicians learned to make correct diagnosis of disease? As long as they did not know what the trouble was or what caused it, epidemics raged unchecked. In like manner the moral evils were rooted in sin, and any method of treating them that failed to deal with it was utterly futile. Apart from Christ the world has no real understanding of sin. No word in non-Christian languages expresses the idea of sin in the sense of moral evil, and missionaries have had to do what the disciples of the first century did—take some word or phrase and fill it with new meaning. A sinner was one who disregarded some religious rite or broke some canon of etiquette, and the perfect man was one who, like the Pharisee of old, punctiliously observed prescribed ceremonies.

Non-Christian religions never succeeded in establishing a causal connection between religion and conduct. Some of them have theorized about it, but no one of them has effected it. A man may meet all the requirements of modern Buddhist opinion and yet openly violate the most elementary laws of right living. Of the most advanced of non-Christian nations Ernest Clement writes that the social evil is 'not merely not condemned but actually condoned.'

When a new resort of vice is to be opened, it is not uncommon for priests to dignify the occasion by religious ceremonies. The most obscene things that I saw in two journeys around the world were in the temples of China

and India. Confucianism ignores sexual vice, which its adherents deem a venial offence. Mohammedanism puts a premium upon it. Brahmanism has no term for chastity as applied to men. Non-Christian lands are not so much immoral as unmoral. They appear to have no conception of the wrongfulness of licentiousness, and protests against the establishment of vice districts near mission schools have been met with ill-concealed surprise. Untruthfulness and gambling are hardly considered wrong at all. The vilest men and women have shrines in their rooms and pray to them for protection without a thought of inconsistency. Some theologians affirm that the sense of sin is universal. I doubt it. Fear of the supernatural, consciousness of need of help may be universal, but not the realization of sin in the Christian meaning of the term.

We do not forget that there is vice in Europe and America, but it is not condoned by Christian sentiment. An immoral clergyman is excommunicated. Vicious resorts could not be opened with religious ceremonies. Vice is known to be contrary to religion. One of the most influential statesmen of Great Britain was driven out of public life some years ago by the discovery that his private life was impure, and the most powerful bank in America forced out its president on account of a domestic scandal. A director of a great corporation which had dismissed its chief executive remarked: 'Any man who fills such a position and disregards the ordinary standards of propriety is sure, sooner or later, to find his position too uncomfortable to stay in.' Christians have learnt from Christ the true nature of sin. They know that it is not merely external to man, a failure to observe a ceremonial rite or custom, but that it is something internal, an evil that is always and everywhere and in all circumstances radically wrong. The Scribes and Pharisees, who were regarded as the most righteous men of their day, were

denounced by Christ in words that cut like whips: 'Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!' . . .

But can any Christian think of sin, in the scriptural meaning of the term, without confusion of face? He knows what it is, and he also knows that it is not extinct within him. Do not all of us need a keener perception of sin, a plainer understanding of Christ's teaching regarding it? God forbid that we should ever gloss it over, or delude ourselves with the idea that any change in physical or sociological conditions, any intellectual culture, can eradicate the sinful nature of man. The Publican was true to the most tragic part of human life when he called himself a 'sinner,' and he pathetically voiced our common need when he cried out in agony of soul: 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'

It is clear that we have now come to another essential element of the Christian's faith and message to the world-salvation. What is the use of crying for forgiveness if there is no supreme Being who can grant it?" Of what avail to diagnose a disease if there is no remedy for it, to tell men that sin is ruining them if we are not able to tell of a Saviour from it? Here is the vital characteristic of our holy faith, the one that most sharply distinguishes it from all other religions. Confucianism can only counsel men to do the best they can do for themselves. Brahmanism vainly tries to extinguish desire by a life of austerity and self-mortification. Buddhism imagines that the chief evil of life is pain, and its object is to escape it. Christianity believes that the chief evil of life is sin, and its object is to save men from it. Buddhism, therefore, appeals to the feelings, while Christianity appeals to the conscience. Buddhism runs away from life; Christianity transforms it. Confucius wrote beautiful maxims about conduct, but he admitted that unless a Holy One should appear he saw no

prospect that his moral precepts would ever be realized. The founders of the Ethnic faiths did not themselves know what the real trouble with humanity was, nor how it could be remedied. Even when they spoke of rectitude in speech and action, they could communicate no power to attain it.

In distinction from all these systems, St. Paul defined the Gospel as ' power,' not the power of man but ' the power of God.' He used a word which has been almost transliterated in English speech as ' dynamite,' and he states both his negative and positive action. ' The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation,'—the stupendous, sin-shattering power of Omnipotence, the result of whose operation is not only the destruction of evil but the supreme constructive good ' salvation.'

It is not easy for us who have long known this great truth to realize its wondrous meaning. It is too vast for our limited minds. We need often to read the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah and those chapters in the New Testament which tell how this salvation was achieved, to walk in imagination with Our Lord as He staggered with aching back and bleeding feet along ' the sorrowful way ' to Golgotha, to stand with the weeping women before the uplifted Cross, and to partake of the solemn sacrament of Holy Communion which commemorates the Lord's giving of Himself for the sin of the world. Never let us obscure the clarity of this message or imagine that there is any substitute for it. Salvation is the transcendent need of humanity. So St. Paul felt. ' The Gospel which I preached,' he said, ' wherein ye stand,' ' by which ye are saved,' ' the Gospel of your salvation ' ; ' hold it fast ' ; the Gospel ' that Christ died for our sins,' ' that He hath been raised from the dead,' ' that He might redeem us from all iniquity.' This is the central, the prominent message of Christianity to a stricken world. ' He will come ' is the

theme of the Old Testament; and the eyes of those who heard looked forward with wistful yearning. 'He has come' is the exultant announcement of the New Testament. 'Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people, for there is born to you this day a Saviour.' And the men of that generation who received this glorious message 'went forth and preached everywhere' 'the redemption that is in Christ Jesus'; that 'He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world.' This is the supreme message of the Church. 'God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have eternal life.'

This is not a theological treatise, and therefore I cannot give a complete list of the essential elements of Christianity or an adequate treatment of any of them. Each one that has been mentioned might well have a separate volume, while a comprehensive statement would include other subjects which are also held by all evangelical communions. I have merely outlined a few of the vital truths as I saw them against the dark background of the non-Christian world. At home, we come nearest to realizing them when we 'walk through the valley of the shadow of death.' In adversity or illness or bereavement, we think not of the things regarding which we differ, but we are comforted and sustained by the truths which are valued by all who love and serve our one Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. As I grow older I prize most those beliefs which I hold in common with my fellow-believers of every Christian name, among which are God as our Sovereign, Jesus Christ as our only Saviour and Lord, Sin as the root of the world's guilt and ruin, Repentance as the primal duty of man, Salvation through Him who died that man might live. I love to think of the Church as the body of Christ composed

of all those who profess this faith and witness it to the world in worship and sacraments and the works of God for the furtherance of His Kingdom. Surely these essential verities of our holy faith suggest no denominational distinctions. Men differ in relative emphasis and in form of statement, but such differences are subordinate and do not justify the perpetuation of divisional walls which exaggerate their relative importance and thereby tend to obscure the transcendent majesty of the central truths that are held in common.

Let us, as we now approach the table of our Lord in the precious sacrament of Holy Communion, testify anew to our utter need of Divine forgiveness, our sole dependence upon Christ's atoning sacrifice, our reverent sense of His presence in this place, our fellowship with one another in the Gospel, and our full purpose for the coming days to walk more worthily as His disciples. And may our paths, which have converged from many distant lands to this house of prayer, which must shortly diverge again as we return to our respective homes, converge again in God's good time to the General Assembly of the saints in Heaven where we shall see face to face the King in His ineffable beauty and glory.

Services were held in other Churches as follows :

Storkyrkan (the Cathedral). 11 a.m. Preacher—Bishop Raffay (Hungary).

St. Jacobs Kyrka. 11 a.m. Preacher—Rev. M. G. S. Scherer (U.S.A.).

St. Clara. 11 a.m. Preacher—Bishop Ammundsen (Denmark).

Suomalaisessa Kirkossa. 11 a.m. Preacher—Docent A. Lehtonen (Finland).

St. Gertrud. 11 a.m. Preacher—Dr. Doehring (Germany).

The English Church. 11 a.m. Preacher—Bishop Brent (U.S.A.). 6 p.m. Preacher—The Bishop of Willochra (Australia).

Reformed French Church. 11 a.m. Preacher—W. Monod (France).

Russian Church. 11 a.m. Liturgy.

4 p.m. A Service was held at Engelbrekt Church; when sermons were preached by The Rev. Dr. R. C. Gillie (England), Professor Althaus (Germany), The Metropolitan of Transylvania (Dr. Balan), Bishop Ravasz (Hungary).

4 p.m. A Service was held at the Storkyrkan; when sermons were preached by Pastor Lauga, Vice-President Conrad (Germany), The Rev. Dr. Cadman (U.S.A.), Bishop Nuelsen (U.S.A.), Gen. Superintendent Bursche (Poland).

4 p.m. A Camp Meeting was held in Hagaparken; when addresses were given by Dr. A. E. Cory, Pastor Ricard, Dr. K. E. Laman, Mr. Fred B. Smith, Mr. Leisegang, Mr. Bolling, Pastor Koren, Pastor Fjellbu, Kyrkoherde Thysell.

9 p.m. A Service in Commemoration of the Patriarch Tikhon was held at the Church of Gustav Vasa, under the direction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, when the Archbishop of Dublin and the Metropolitan of Bucovina preached.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9.30 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA.

Prayers were said by THE ARCHBISHOP OF NUBIA.

III. THE CHURCH AND MORAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*)

IIIF. THE PROBLEM OF ALCOHOL

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ON this subject there is such a variety of opinion and practice among Christian people that it would be impossible to frame a report upon it that would be equally satisfactory to all members of such a Conference as this, drawn from so many different countries and representing so many different churches. Our ideas and habits in regard to the use of wine are in great measure due to our upbringing and education, as well as to the climatic conditions and the traditions and customs of the country to which we belong. The consequence is that many of us see nothing wrong in the exercise of a right which is given to us both in the Old and the New Testament, and for which we can cite the example of Our Lord Himself at the wedding feast of Cana and on other occasions, which is all the more significant

as it was directly at variance with the conduct of His predecessor John the Baptist. On the other hand, there are many of us so deeply impressed with the dangers that attend the use of strong drink, and so shocked at the evils to which its abuse often leads, that they regard total abstinence as the only safe and proper course for a Christian man to take, especially in a country where there is much drunkenness, and even approve of the enforcement of this rule on the whole community at the cost of individual freedom. It cannot be denied that for the Christian the law of liberty is to be held subordinate to the law of love; but the question remains and must be answered by each one for himself whether it is a token of love to deprive his brethren of their legitimate freedom against their will, even where there is no evidence that they are likely to abuse it. While there can be nothing but admiration for the man who gives up any form of pleasure or amusement for the sake of others, the case is different when he not only denies himself what is in itself lawful, from a Christian point of view, but seeks to force upon others a similar abstinence. Generally speaking, freedom of action in matters which admit of a difference in opinion is essential to the formation of character, and the loss of liberty may be too dear a price to pay for an improvement in outward condition. It was in this sense that a great ecclesiastic declared with reference to his own country that he would rather see England free than England sober.

There can be little or no doubt that 'total abstinence' in any community, in whatever way produced, even though mainly due to the strong arm of the law, is likely to be attended with many blessings of a material kind. But the supreme interests of the Christian religion are spiritual, not material; and if a similar result could be achieved by fostering habits of strict sobriety and self-control through

the influence of Christian teaching and example, without interference with the liberty of the subject, except in the punishment of criminal excess, the attendant blessings would be spiritual as well as material, moral as well as social; the reform would be a triumph for the Church even more than for the state, and a real advance would be made in the fulfilment of the prayer, 'Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.'

It is because the Committee believe that their report is fitted to promote the great cause of Temperance in one form or another, by one means or another, that they ask this great Conference to receive it and to transmit it to the churches for their careful and earnest consideration.

Bishop James Cannon, Jr. (U.S.A.)

(Bishop of Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington; Chairman of World League against Alcohol)

What should be the attitude of the Church of Jesus Christ toward the traffic in drink? How can the Church most effectively apply the principles of the Gospel of the Kingdom to prevent the awful fruitage of the appetite and the covetousness which are the twin tap-roots of that traffic? It is agreed that there is no absolute prohibition of the use of wine as such in the teaching of Christ or of the apostles, but this fact does not justify the claim that Christ or Paul would approve, or even tolerate, the covetous, body- and soul-destroying Liquor Traffic of the present time any more than the payment by Christ of the tribute money justifies the conquest and oppression of small by large nations to-day, or the sending back by Paul of the Christian slave, Onesimus, to his Christian master, Philemon, justifies the selling of men as chattels in the infamous African slave trade. The question to be asked to-day is not, What was done 2,000 years ago, under conditions

existing then, but what does the teaching of Jesus and Paul demand shall be done under twentieth century conditions?

The Teaching of Jesus and Paul

What is this teaching? 'Therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them'; 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' even if that neighbour is a Jew or a Samaritan. And this neighbourly love is declared to demand self-sacrifice at the peril of personal damnation. 'If thy right eye,' as precious as it is, 'cause thee to offend' thy neighbour, 'pluck it out and cast it from thee. It is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God,' *which is love,* 'with one eye than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire,' by selfish indulgence; and 'Whoso shall cause one of these little ones to offend which believe in me it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were drowned in the depths of the sea.' Tremendous, awful warnings are these from our Master of the danger of insisting upon the most precious indulgence if in such indulgence we shall selfishly ignore the danger to one's neighbours.

This same teaching was specifically emphasized by St. Paul more than once. 'If thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not lovingly. Destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died.' 'All things indeed are pure, but it is evil to that man who eateth with offence. It is good neither to eat flesh, nor drink wine nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, is offended, or is made weak.' 'We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves, for even Christ pleased not Himself.' Christian liberty is good, but Christian liberty unless absolutely controlled and directed by the law of love, unless joyously surrendered at the command of love, becomes self-condemning, soul-destroying selfishness.

The Quickening Leaven

To-day, nineteen hundred years after Christ and Paul, the most outstanding fact in the life and work of the world is the steady, irresistible translation into the lives of individuals, and into the social order, of this very teaching of Jesus Christ concerning this vital, absolutely central truth of Human Brotherhood, of the obligation of neighbourly love, including willing self-denial, and the implications which necessarily follow the recognition of that fact. This teaching, as Jesus Himself prophesied, has been as leaven hidden in the meal which will work till the whole shall be leavened. It is this teaching which declares the right of all men and women to a living wage, to limited hours of service, to a larger participation in the fruit of industry, to better medical care, to more parks and playgrounds ; in short, to whatever makes for a fuller, richer life. This same teaching declares that men must no longer kill their brother men, and so demands the abolition of war, adherence to a world court, the formation and maintenance of a League of Nations and physical and spiritual disarmament. This teaching demands the complete abolition of the sale of human beings into slavery, or the traffic in women and children for immoral purposes, and traffic in narcotic drugs.

All these things the Church recognizes and declares to be the necessary, the inevitable consequences of the working of this quickening leaven. Does this same teaching lose its meaning and its imperative when it faces the horrible ravages of the Liquor Traffic ? Are human brotherhood and brotherly love weak and helpless against the appetites of Christian men for drink ? Is this monster, with its awful toll of misery and death, to continue to exist, not simply tolerated but actually protected by the Church

because some Church members are unwilling ' to pluck out their right eye ' or to ' cut off their right hand,' but are willing to ' destroy those with their wine for whom Christ died ' ? There can be no evasion of this question. This is the real issue, the real battle-ground in the fight against drink. *As long as the Church demands as a right for its members the indulgence of appetite for drink the awful traffic will continue. Will the Church cease to be a ' stumbling-block ' to the weak, mount the heights of sacrificial love and lead the entire social order in an aggressive, intelligent warfare to protect humanity from slavery to drink ?*

Alcoholism the Enemy of Organized Society

Assuredly it must. If it does not do so the new social order will certainly turn elsewhere than to the Church for leadership in this and other matters in its struggle with the deeply seated forces of human appetite and covetousness. *Whatever the Church may decide, the present-day economic, industrial and social life will not much longer tolerate alcoholism with its attendant evils, but to save itself from ruin will compel the total abolition of the traffic which produces such results.* For this teaching of Jesus has developed a new social conscience which declares and emphasizes the rights and the duties of organized society as positively and with as sweeping an imperative as the individual conscience declares the rights and duties of the individual.

This social conscience brushes aside without any hesitation any claim of any individual to perform any action, or to enjoy any privilege, which action or indulgence is a menace to the physical or moral safety or life of the community in which he lives. This social conscience flatly declares that a man's private life, his right to unrestrained personal activity, ceases the moment any act of his life affects the life of other members of the social order of

which, whether he likes it or not, he is a part. Robinson Crusoe was free to shoot when and where he pleased while alone on his island, but when Friday came it was his duty to locate Friday before he fired. Men may own high-powered motor cars for pleasure or business, but the killing of 22,000 and the maiming of 676,000 people in the United States of America last year, and a similar awful record in other countries, compel stringent restrictive speed laws and also sober drivers. A man's income may be no more than he thinks necessary for proper comfort, but organized society—the state—compels him to give up part of that income to pay for roads, police protection, support of paupers, unemployed, insane, and for education, even though he may have no children. Smoking in powder mills or garages is forbidden. Quarantine laws, building restrictions in business districts, compulsory military service and other similar laws, are striking examples of the restriction of the private life of the individual. The social conscience of to-day absolutely refuses to recognize anything as 'private life and personal conduct' which affects 'the general welfare.' If therefore at any time the issue is clearly joined between the right of selfish individualism to the indulgence of the appetite for strong drink and the right of society to protect itself from the effects of such selfish indulgence, the new social order, which itself is the product of the teaching of Jesus, demands that whether willingly or unwillingly all opportunities for the indulgence of appetite be prohibited, if in providing such opportunities it has become evident that the best interests of society invariably and inevitably suffer. This prohibitory method may not be approved by the selfish offender; it may indeed excite great resentment and the determination to indulge the clamouring appetite despite any law however drastic, but organized society, or government, has swept in its aim

beyond the single question of the control, or the reform, of the appetite of an individual for his sake alone (which is still truly exceedingly desirable) to the much broader question of how society can best protect itself from the refusal of such individuals to abstain voluntarily from a selfish indulgence which admittedly involves danger to the entire social life.

Attitude of the American Church

The churches of America have been studying this question in all its phases for many years with an open mind, with the single purpose of finding the best solution, and have with practical unanimity reached the conclusion that the *Liquor Traffic is a public nuisance, the enemy of the economic, social, moral, religious, welfare of the people. And the decision has also been reached that the evils arising from the Liquor Traffic cannot be abolished except by the abolition of the Traffic itself.* Therefore, the churches of America, through their membership, demanded the prohibition of the Traffic by society for the protection of society. It was the Christian Pulpit and Press which not only stated the awful, unescapable fact concerning the Traffic in intoxicants, but which emphasized more and more strongly the responsibility of Christian men and women for the legalized existence of the same. For the members of the churches are citizens of the nation, and are to the extent of their personal influence and vote responsible for the laws of the country. Slowly but irresistibly for half a century, the educative process went on in the schoolroom, in the Press and in the pulpit, until finally practically all the leading Protestant Church bodies, with some Roman Catholics, united in one great, swelling protest against the continued existence of the legalized traffic in intoxicants as absolutely contrary to Christ's teaching of self-denying

sacrificial brotherly love and petitioned for the passage of Local, then of State-wide, and finally of Nation-wide prohibitory laws. The churches, acting through their various agencies and their millions of members, were not simply an influential, but were the originating and determining factor in the adoption of the American Prohibition Law. The praying bands of women in the 'seventies were Christian women. The Women's Christian Temperance Union is a Christian Union. The Anti-Saloon League of America was founded, and has been led, by Christian men, and has declared from the beginning that it is ' The Church in Action against the Saloon.'

What is the Prohibition Law of the United States ?

To use the language of the Constitution of the United States, in order to ' promote the general welfare,' ' the manufacture, the sale, the transportation, the exportation, the importation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited in the United States of America and its insular possessions.' This action was taken by amending the Constitution itself and not by the passage of a statute law.

It should be noted that the keyword to the law is the word ' intoxicating.' The law does not forbid the traffic in soda-water, lemonade, root beer, ginger ale, sweet cider, unfermented grape juice, fruit punch, etc. All such drinks are permitted and are increasingly used not only without any ill-effects to the drinkers or to society, but greatly to the enjoyment of the people. The Constitution prohibits only ' intoxicating ' liquor. Intoxication is that condition in which a person, having consumed alcohol, becomes less efficient in the use of his physical, intellectual and moral powers, and complete intoxication is that condition in which he has lost entire control of those powers—that is,

of himself. The state prohibits, therefore, the traffic in any kind of liquor which, when used for beverage purposes, can produce intoxication in its citizens. That is to say, the state asserts its right to forbid any traffic which experience has demonstrated renders many of its citizens not only less efficient and less productive, but more helpless, more dependent, more dangerous to society.

Why the Prohibition Law?

Why did the people of the United States put the brand of the criminal, the outlaw, upon the Liquor Traffic? It was not a hasty action, nor was it the result of hysteria or fanatical, narrow-minded Puritanism. *The Traffic was outlawed for one reason only: the inescapable record of horrible facts.* The highest tribunal of the country, the Supreme Court of the United States, nearly forty years before national prohibition was adopted, in an ever-memorable decision, officially declared 'The liquor traffic is the most prolific source of poverty, misery, insanity, vice and crime.' And that verdict has stood unchallenged and unchallengeable until the people have finally adopted that verdict as their own, and by the adoption of the Prohibition Amendment have put the brand of the outlaw upon the traffic so justly and unequivocally condemned by that great court. During the forty years following that decision there was a steady increase in the Prohibition territory. The local option policy was adopted in state after state, and every area which was freed from saloons showed such great material and moral improvement that the saloons were driven gradually out of the rural districts into the towns, out of the towns into the cities, and finally, when it was evident that the traffic entrenched in the cities was a source of evil to the rural districts, the demand for state-wide prohibition found voice, and the movement set in under

the leadership of the Anti-Saloon League of America and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which swept the saloons out of state after state until, when National Prohibition was adopted, the people of thirty-two states had adopted local and state-wide prohibitory laws, so that, including the local option areas in ' wet ' states ninety-five per cent. of the area and seventy per cent. of the population were under prohibitory laws.

National Prohibition Result of Liquor Lawlessness

But with characteristic lawlessness the traffic entrenched itself in strategic cities in ' wet ' states and endeavoured to nullify the laws of the ' dry ' territory. *National Prohibition was the inevitable result of Liquor Lawlessness.* Realizing their inability to protect themselves legally or otherwise the ' dry ' voters in 1916, before the United States had even declared war, elected a Congress with a two-thirds ' dry ' majority in both Houses, which Congress in 1917, before over 150,000 men had sailed for France, voted overwhelmingly to submit the Prohibition amendment, which amendment was promptly ratified by forty-six out of forty-eight state legislatures, the greatest number ratifying any amendment for over a hundred years. And not because the best part of the male population was fighting in France, as absurdly claimed, for had all the soldiers in France been opposed to national prohibition (and they were not) there were only 2,000,000 in France and 20,000,000 at home. The fact that the two-thirds ' dry ' Congressional majority, elected in 1916, has been maintained in the elections of 1918, 1920, 1922 and 1924, and that five more states have adopted State Prohibition since the amendment was submitted, is conclusive proof that National Prohibition is the will of the people.

Smuggling and Illegal Sale Expected

It is frankly admitted that there is smuggling, illicit manufacture and selling of intoxicants, and that was to be expected. Prohibition law is in its essence not different from other laws. All law is a restriction of the activities of the individual for the common good, and a law cannot be denominated ' good ' or ' bad ' by the extent of its violation. The Ten Commandments are the laws of God, and they are openly and flagrantly violated every day, but no one demands their repeal because they are violated. There were 141,000 arrests for violation of the traffic laws last year in New York City alone, and doubtless many times more violations without arrests. The New York *Times* recently published a special article in which it was stated that the Treasury Department declares that there are more violations of the income-tax law than of the Volstead Act. But there is no demand for the repeal of either traffic or income-tax laws. On the contrary, the demand is made for more stringent penalties and stricter enforcement. Why? Because traffic and income-tax laws have been adopted for the good of the social order. Likewise violations of the Prohibition law do not call for repeal but for more stringent provisions and stricter enforcement. Because the Prohibition law is demanded for the good of the social order. Moreover, the smuggling and the illicit manufacture, bad as they are, are grossly exaggerated. British Government reports show that total shipments of spirits to all countries in 1924 were approximately 8,500,000 gallons; although one half that amount is a liberal estimate, yet if every gallon had been smuggled into the United States, it would have amounted to less than *one-half pint* (or one-fourth of a litre) per capita per annum.

Illegal manufacture or moonshining, if it could be tested in like manner, would show similar small proportions.

Indeed, the enormous prices charged are sufficient proof of comparatively small supply. There were before Prohibition 236 distilleries, 1276 breweries and 180,000 saloons joined in a most highly organized trade in America which sold over 2,000,000,000 gallons of intoxicants annually—over 20 gallons per capita. Concerning conditions *to-day* the New York *Times* editorially says : ' Take in the Canadian border, the West Indies and every other illegal importation ; take in the domestic moonshining and the man who works miracles with industrial alcohol, and is it believable that they surpass, or even approach, the 500,000,000 quarts (or litres) of hard liquor consumed before Prohibition ? ' Besides which it must be emphasized that we consumed nearly 2,000,000,000 gallons of intoxicating beer, which is admittedly no longer manufactured. And another editorial in the same great newspaper, which has never supported Prohibition, recently fairly expressed the present attitude of the American people : ' Of one thing we can be sure, that there is no intention in the United States to abandon Prohibition. The bootlegger does flourish as yet, and probably always will to some extent as do the violators of other laws.' And, referring to the abolition of the insolent, baneful, political domination of the Liquor Traffic which existed before Prohibition, the *Times* declares that ' between the bootlegger and the old-time liquor interests there is a difference which is both complete and fundamental. Nobody questions that the saloon has gone and gone for ever from the United States, and nobody ventures to defend it or demand its return.' But if not the saloon, what method of distribution can be devised to distribute intoxicating liquors without resulting in intoxication ? It is impossible. If poisons, drugs and rattlesnakes are sold, could a change in the place of sale change the nature of the poisons, the drugs or the snake ?

Why will Prohibition in America not be abandoned? Not because it is a perfect system but because the people know conditions are better than they were before, and that the benefits from the law are far greater than the evils.

Benefits officially declared

And all the time allotted for this paper would suffice barely to outline these benefits. Official police reports from numerous representative cities reporting, show the reduction of arrests for intoxication from 24.1 per 1000 of population in 1916 to 13.4 in 1924, a reduction of 44.4 per cent. A great decrease over 1922-1923 showing more efficient law enforcement, and Judge Gemmill of Chicago estimates an average reduction of 500,000 yearly for the entire country. The abominable political domination of the Liquor Traffic has been abolished. The Committee of Congress appointed to investigate the alcoholic liquor traffic, which took testimony from bankers, manufacturers, merchants, labour leaders and social workers, and received official reports from various departments of State and Federal Governments, issued its report in April, 1925, which official Government document states: '*Prohibition is a leading factor in our present prosperity. Former expenditures for intoxicants now enter the channels of constructive business. Increased efficiency and, therefore, productivity of labour, decreased industrial accidents, 250,000 yearly, a multiplied demand for new homes, and for both necessities and luxuries, have been accompanied with a decrease in poverty.* Under Prohibition the number of savings accounts, mostly of working people, has increased 400 per cent., from approximately 10,000,000 to 40,000,000 separate savings accounts; increase in insurance is largely attributed by insurance experts to the effects of the "dry" law, the average monthly purchase of accident and ordinary life insurance,

increasing from approximately $275,000,000 in 1917, to approximately $825,000,000 monthly in 1924, 300 life insurance companies issuing new and paid-up policies of the enormous sum of approximately $13,900,000,000 in 1924. *Prohibition is reflected in decreased* death-rate ; the actual mortality in ordinary companies was only 54 per cent. of the expected mortality, and 61 per cent. in the industrial companies. The Metropolitan Life Insurance reports in May, 1925, that the death-rate from alcoholism among its policyholders in 1924 was 2.8 per 100,000 as against 4.9 in 1917, a gain of 42 per cent.' The Congressional Committee further declared that Prohibition has greatly increased home building. 'In 11 months of 1924, $3,596,000,000 worth of new buildings were erected, one-half being for homes, and 40 per cent. of these being for working men. General building operations were 59 per cent. greater than in 1919, the increase in houses for working men being 300 per cent. since Prohibition. Furniture production has increased accordingly 41 per cent. The $2,500,000,000 formerly spent annually for intoxicants is now being largely spent for shoes, hats, clothing, milk, meats, fruits, groceries, automobiles, radio sets, musical instruments, etc., demanding greatly increased output of factories, thus greatly reducing unemployment.' The report further states that 'Prohibition is one of the principal factors in the automobile industry ; 18,000,000 autos were registered in 1924, and the bill for automobiles and gasoline exceeded $4,000,000,000. The charitable organizations spent $74,000,000 less per year to support drink-caused poverty.' Bread lines in the cities are gone and free night lodging in New York City, as an example, has fallen from a nightly average of 912 to 203. Out of approximately 300 inebriate and drink-cure establishments only a few remain. The report of the Department of Education of

the United States Government shows the average annual increases of public school enrolment, 1900-1920, was 300,000; 1920-1922, under Prohibition, 800,000, and the High School average increase rose from less than 100,000 to over 200,000 per annum. The membership of the churches has had remarkable increase, averaging nearly one million per year. As has been said 'Some of the "high-ups" and "low-downs" ' are drinking intoxicants and engaging in spectacular lawlessness, which is conspicuously headlined in the 'wet' Press, but the testimony of humanitarian workers like Jane Addams, Doctors Mayo and Kelley, great business leaders like Judge Gary and Henry Ford, economists like Roger Babson and Irving Fisher, labour leaders like Stone, Lee, Robertson and Sheppard, and thousands of pastors who go in and out among the people, declare that Prohibition has so increased the number of happy homes in America that the people will never agree to repeal the law at the behest of those who put appetite and covetousness above the general welfare.

THE PRESENT ANTI-ALCOHOL LEGISLATION IN SWEDEN

PROFESSOR T. BOHLIN (Sweden)

THE present anti-alcohol legislation in Sweden has its starting-point in the law of 1855 according to which the distilling of gin, which had formerly been free, was regulated in several respects. One of the drawbacks of the new legislation was that the sale of liquors lay in the hands of private persons whose chief concern was the increase of the business for their own benefit.

At this point we meet a form of legislation peculiar to Sweden, the system of concessions, which has been called the Gothenburg system, and which in a modified form is

part of the present system of restrictions. The leading principle of the Gothenburg system, which was adopted in Gothenburg as early as 1866, is the handing over of the sale of burnt and distilled liquors to licensed bodies, not in order to afford the members of the bodies any financial gain, but with the aim of reducing the drinking habit through careful measures. The using of the profits on the alcohol traffic for the starting of some useful institution in the town was intended to benefit the public. And the whole measure was an attempt to cure, to some extent at least, the evils of the alcohol traffic. This system, which soon proved its merit, was copied in the majority of the Swedish towns.

But the one weak point of the system was that although the private interests had been eliminated, it placed at the disposal of the municipality such considerable economic advantages that thereby serious obstacles arose against the introduction of new measures, intending still further to reduce the consumption of liquor. To remove this difficulty the state in 1913 passed a law that all profits from the sale of liquors must primarily revert to the state, to be handed over according to certain principles to the municipalities, thus making the state essentially independent of the profits from the liquor traffic, a principle which, alas, has not yet been fully carried out. At the same time the legislation of 1913 meant a definite enforcement of the leading principle in the Gothenburg system, namely, the sale of liquors through private companies, but in the interest of the public, an attempt to neutralize the evil social effects of the traffic, individual control of the retail business and increased restrictions of the sale.

The anti-alcohol legislation in force since 1917 has continued on the lines of that of 1913. Without doubt the most important and, at the same time, the most

interesting, of its decisions concerns the retail business. The legislature here has accepted in principle the system which after its originator has been called the Bratt system. This aims at encouraging the licensed bodies to keep a steady and efficient control over the purchases of spirits by their customers. The fundamental premise of the whole system is the clear distinction between the use and the abuse of liquor, and the conception that the state must fight the abuse of liquor through such means which permit the temperate use of them—a conception which evidently appeals to the majority of the people. For the keeping of this *individual control*, which really is the pivot point in the Bratt system, the whole country has been divided into circles for the retail sale of liquor, and the licensed bodies have been strictly enjoined not to sell any liquor to persons belonging to outside circles. In order to make the individual control possible and effective it is stated that the retail sale is limited to those who on application have received from the company a 'Pass-book,' which indicates a particular retail shop, where he can make his purchase. You are forbidden under penalty to hand this 'pass-book' on to another person. The general companies keep a list of the names of those who are entitled to buy, and in this list also the names of those are entered who have no right to alcoholic drinks.

No 'pass-book' is granted to persons under 21 years of age, or to several other categories. Thus the attempt is made by different rules to establish a guarantee to enable the individual control over those to whom alcoholic drinks may be sold to be exercised in an effective manner. The double question that presents itself to be answered now is: How has this system actually worked up to the present? For good or evil? Does this system give a satisfactory solution of the drink problem?

I quite admit the great difficulty in giving a really fair reply to these two questions. Perhaps it is necessary to admit that the system has been worked too short a time to draw final conclusions from the results obtained as to its failure or as to the expediency of further development. As an instance of what has been obtained, it may be mentioned that the statistics of the years 1913-1918 show a distinct decrease of the consumption of alcohol. The figures from 1919 to 1924 vary a great deal, although with a tendency to rise, but the total amount was in 1913 considerably higher than in 1924. The statistics of consumption are not, however, an exact gauge of drunkenness and the abuse of drink, partly because the illegal traffic is not included, partly because they do not give the consumption of each individual. It is also to be kept in mind that the exceedingly good results for the period 1914-1918 coincide with the great war and the ensuing depression in the market.

On the other hand, we must not forget that the war has caused abnormal conditions in other respects which simply cannot be regarded as constituent for the system itself. If we, in order to get a reliable statement of the abuse of liquor, compare the statistics of the consumption of liquor with that of chronic alcoholism and the statistics of crime committed under the influence of liquor during the years 1913-1924, it is noticeable that these statistics show a lower total on the whole than those of the years immediately preceding the introduction of the system, but they do not show a continual decrease. A comparison, *e.g.* between the crimes of drunkenness during the two last years shows an increase of 8 per cent. for 1924 above those of 1923. Even from the side of the pronounced prohibitionists it has been admitted that the Bratt system has been effective not only in reducing the most brutal

manifestations of drunkenness, but has had positively beneficent results in the larger towns. But in the country it seems to have had the opposite results—or so at least it appears.

Three practical inconveniences are noticeable which seem to contribute to the neutralizing of the significance of the individual control, namely: (1) the system can be applied only to one part of the alcohol traffic, the retail sale. The sale in the restaurants cannot be effectively checked. (2) One of the corner-stones of the whole system is that the licensed body is supposed to know its customers and therefore is forbidden to transfer to others the 'pass-book' mentioned above. But this command is violated everywhere in the country. And the transgression is not regarded by the great public as anything serious. (3) Finally, the application of the system is arbitrary—on account of its consideration for individuals. But from the side of the organized anti-alcohol movement, besides the practical observations mentioned, the important criticism has been made that the system, while attempting to fight the abuse of liquor, at the same time legalizes the custom of drinking. The system of restrictions starts from the supposition that the use of alcohol is a normal need, and that the custom of drinking must therefore be regarded as a normal phenomenon in the life of the people and of the community. As the state permits each citizen the use of a certain amount of alcoholic drinks, though with certain restrictions, the natural consequence is that the general public, and especially the growing generation, naturally begins to look upon the use of liquor as a custom authorized by the state, and to desire the possession of a 'pass-book' as a sign of civic rights, and a proof of having attained full civic age. The psychological effect of this system will be, as was shown by the Anti-alcohol Committee in 1920,

that the consumption of liquor becomes popularized. And thus the system defeats its own object, the introduction of public temperance, in a disastrous way. The fact that the system in a way legalizes the drinking habit is the decoy whereby gradually new generations are induced to become regular users of liquor. From the standpoint of the anti-alcohol movement such a system as legalizes the drinking habit in this way cannot surely be regarded as a satisfactory solution of the temperance question.

In reality the great majority of the anti-alcohol advocates consider the system now obtaining in Sweden far more as a real danger to the public temperance than as an ally, and insist upon total prohibition. The demand for total prohibition has repeatedly been presented in the Parliament since the year 1887, but without success. During the general strike in the summer of 1909 a temporary prohibition was introduced with very great success. Three years ago a referendum was taken with the result that 901,000 voted for Prohibition and 930,000 against it. The temperance people thus did not get the qualifying majority which they regarded as essential for the introduction of total prohibition.

The question of total prohibition, therefore, hardly is an actual problem in the real sense of the word.

The prohibitionists are, of course, working for the bringing about of a public opinion in that direction. But it is generally agreed that the time is not yet ripe for the making of another attempt to realize the goal, which they believe to be the only effective solution of the liquor problem. In such circumstances it seems that not only the indefinite or shuffling temperance friends, but also the very prohibitionists, ought to agree that the present system, in spite of its evident defects, still signifies the only possible way legally to restrict the liquor traffic. And thereby the temperance people seem to favour the fundamental idea

of the system of restrictions, which, on the one hand, is its critical point, but on the other hand its undoubted advantage, namely, its elasticity.

The Church in Sweden has taken an important and active part in the struggle against the misery caused by alcohol and in the attempt to further public temperance, even although we have to confess that a great deal of indifference and misunderstanding still exists. All Christians must unite in the effort to reach the goal, and be prepared to sacrifice their ease and perhaps their cherished customs for the gaining of it. And if the abuse of liquor, as I believe, can be radically rooted out, it becomes important and necessary in the present situation that more and more people by their example and influence break with the habit of drinking. And it appears as if such a demand to limit personal ability for the sake of solidarity is gaining ground, especially with those people who admit the truth of the word of the apostle: 'We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.' In spite of all difference of opinion regarding means and ways the Church in Sweden has the undeniable duty of attempting to make the present legislation as effective as possible and at the same time to try unitedly to fight the habit of drink, and to strive to attain the great goal of public temperance. Thus the Church not only fulfils her simple duty, but she also enters the confederation of the powerful religious and moral forces in the Swedish people.

ALCOHOL AND LEGISLATION

THE RT. HON. LORD SALVESEN, K.C. (Scotland)
(Formerly Judge of Court of Session, Scotland)

IN an assembly such as this it is unnecessary to dwell on the evils of intemperance whether from the point of view of the drunkards and his dependents or of society as a whole.

These are sufficiently well known to all social workers, especially to the clergy. The vice is especially prevalent in those northern countries where the climate during certain periods of the year is either damp or cold and where there is a temptation to counteract the resultant physical depression by recourse to stimulants—especially spirits. Until very recent times the efforts of legislation in all such countries have been directed towards lessening temptation by limiting and controlling the houses in which alcoholic liquors are retailed, by increasing their price by taxation and by penalizing those who offend against public decency and order by becoming intoxicated. That these methods have not been unsuccessful (no doubt in counteraction with other causes) is demonstrated by the progressive and marked decrease of insobriety in all countries where they continue to be employed. To take my own native land as an example, in 1854 when the present licensing legislation was inaugurated, the arrests for drunkenness in Edinburgh were over 3 per cent. of the entire population. In 1924 this percentage had diminished to .44 or not much more than one-seventh. There is no room here for criticism of the statistics except to this extent, that the law has been enforced with increasing vigour as time has gone on, and the police have been less and less occupied with ordinary crime, which has likewise greatly diminished. The statistics are borne out by personal observation. A complete change has come over public opinion on the subject of drunkenness, and this applies to all classes. Although alcoholic liquors can be freely purchased, our population is gradually but surely learning the virtue of self-restraint.

Nobody questions the right of the community to regulate the conditions under which the trade in drink is carried on as long as it permits the consumers to satisfy their legitimate requirements. This is not true of Local Veto nor of its

more drastic successor Prohibition. In my opinion, no majority, however large, has any juridical right under normal conditions to prevent the adult individual from regulating his mode of life as he pleases provided he does not thereby injure himself or the society of which he is a member. Assuming, as I do, that it is no more wrong to drink a pint of beer or a glass of wine with one's dinner (when one can well afford it) than to wash it down with any other beverage, it follows that a wrong is inflicted on those who find enjoyment in the temperate use of alcoholic drinks when the state makes it illegal for them to obtain them. Until Prohibition came this was the universal rule on which the legislation of free countries was based. In Great Britain there is no law which penalizes an individual for doing any act which is in itself innocent. This principle is at the root of the difficulties that have been met with in enforcing Prohibition. Speaking as a lawyer of forty-five years' experience (seventeen of them on the Supreme Bench of Scotland) I affirm that it is impossible to enforce a law with which the vast majority of the male population is not in sympathy. The administration and execution of the law whose ultimate sanction is physical force must be entrusted to men just as an army must consist of male soldiers. However loyal the judiciary may be in aiding the enforcement of the law, they cannot act effectively without the support of a large majority of the citizens. If witnesses decline to speak or profess a want of recollection there will be no evidence on which a conviction can legally be obtained. If this want can be supplied by the evidence of paid spies or officials, the verdict in a country where jury trial is in vogue nevertheless depends on the citizens who compose the jury and who in England and America must be unanimous. The enforcement thus in all cases depends on the loyal co-operation of the general

body of the people. If they are overwhelmingly law-abiding it can be adequately enforced, otherwise not. The ethical sanction is recognized as being behind the law. This is not so in the case of a law which does not command the general assent of the male population as in the case of Prohibition. So long as evasion is easy, the law may remain. If in course of time it should become possible to enforce it drastically (of which there is no evidence at present) there is a risk of revolution. All this is familiar to jurists whose aim it has always been that laws should never be enacted which violate the sense of justice even of a considerable section of the law-abiding citizens.

In the religious sphere, however, there are many historical instances of similar experiments having been tried. When the Roman Catholic religion was supreme it prohibited the preaching of any doctrines which were antagonistic to the prevailing faith. In the southern countries of Europe fierce and persistent persecution secured an outward conformity at the expense of the religious life of the people. In the northern, where the spirit of freedom was stronger, the Roman Church was destroyed. The earlier Protestant churches to some extent continued the intolerance of their predecessors. To say Mass or to be present where Mass was said was a highly moral offence. All this was most intelligible when one considered that each church regarded itself as the sole repository of truth and any deviation from its doctrines as proceeding from the enemy of mankind. Prohibition of worship according to any form except that approved by the majority had therefore a potent religious sanction, and after centuries of struggle this view has been recognized in all the civilized states of Europe. No longer can the arm of the law be invoked to punish those who are guilty of heresy as defined by the church of the majority. Thus the commonsense of mankind has finally

triumphed over religious fanaticism and individual liberty of conscience vindicated against the tyranny of a majority.

Recently there has been a remarkable attempt, especially in America, but also to some extent in Scotland, to seek a religious sanction for the prohibition of drink. The extreme exponents of this view maintain that the consumption of alcoholic drinks in however moderate quantities is contrary to the religion of Christ. There are many passages in the Bible which it is impossible for any fair-minded person to reconcile with this view. Hence the shorter Bible recently published in the United States under the auspices of two of the churches that have most identified themselves with Prohibition, from which are omitted all passages in the Old Testament where the use of wine is spoken of with approval. In other passages where it is thought desirable to retain the words, ' flagons of wine ' are translated as cakes of raisins. Something may be said for omitting large parts of the Old Testament as not being suited for the instruction and edification of the young. But what is to be said of the omission in the New Testament of part of Christ's own teaching as in chap. xii. of St. Matthew's Gospel when He contrasts His own mode of life with that of John the Baptist ? or the complete suppression of the narrative of the first miracle ? The only explanations of such dealings with the Gospel is that the suppressed passages do not square with the religious views of the prohibitionists on the subject of drink. In other words, they reject a vital part of Our Lord's teaching. I am aware that efforts have been made by this body of persons to prove that when Christ referred to wine He meant the unfermented juice of the grape, and so-called unfermented wine is accordingly used by some congregations of Protestants in the United States. Such an argument is of course quite untenable and capable of being stated by

persons who wilfully shut their eyes to everything that is opposed to their preconceived views. These are really exponents of a New Religion—a religion which is opposed to the Scriptures of the New Testament and to the whole tradition and practice of the Christian Church in all ages. It has no higher sanction than that of Mahomet. None of the great leaders of Protestantism, Luther, Knox or Calvin, were abstainers. Whence has come this new light? Do these modern professors of a false Christianity, whose personal asceticism is the same as that enjoined by a school of pagan philosophers, realize that their gospel implicitly attacks the Divinity of Christ by convicting Him of sin?

I pass from this point of view, which I feel sure is not current in Scandinavia, to consider the one serious argument in favour of Prohibition—the argument from expediency. It is said and with truth that much of the poverty, the insanity and the crime of humanity has its origin in intemperance. If then it is said this vice can be eliminated by prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks, why should not the whole community be compelled to submit to Prohibition in the interests of those who are the victims of excessive indulgence and incidentally (although they do not at present agree) in the interests of moderate consumers themselves. An appeal is made to the duty of self-sacrifice, but it does not come with a good grace from personal abstainers because they sacrifice nothing by recording their votes for Prohibition. The argument which seems specious is easily answered. In the first place I maintain that it is morally wrong to punish a man who has never offended because of the offences of others. It would be as reasonable to diet a whole household because one of its members was ill and had been ordered to abstain from specific foods. Once such a principle is accepted it

is capable of unlimited extension—indeed to every form of human enjoyment. It is equally applicable to dancing, theatre-going and the smoking of tobacco, and I strongly suspect that some of the leaders of the Prohibition movement would not be sorry to see it so extended. It has in fact been so applied in different stages of the world's history. All these enjoyments, innocent in themselves, are admittedly capable of serious abuse. Therefore it was argued the Church must set its face against them and forbid its members to take part in them. The Wesleyan Church, for generations at all events in the United States, forbade its members to take part in dancing—a ban which has only quite recently been removed. During the period of the Commonwealth in England plays were forbidden. In one state at least in America tobacco-smoking is a penal offence. Why not extend the area of operation to tea and coffee, the excessive use of which is responsible for much indigestion and consequent ill temper? It is vain to say that the evils resulting from the abuse of alcohol are much greater than those which flow from abuse of other enjoyments, although the most strait-laced sect that I know of the Puritans of England did not think so, for they drank wine freely and did not disdain the comfort of a pipe. The point is that no law which is based on injustice can ever have a beneficent effect.

My second answer is that experience has already abundantly proved that Prohibition in whatever Christian country it has been tried has conspicuously failed to achieve the promised results—even in Norway, where it is now only applied to spirits. I have examined the statistics of America, Norway and Finland to ascertain the comparative state of matters before Prohibition and in the best recorded year. In all of these countries there has been a marked increase under all three heads—arrests for

drunkenness, insanity and crime. The similar statistics of Scotland and England should be contrasted by all believers in Prohibition. I give only one illustration. The number of deliberate murders in the United States in 1923 totalled 12,000 against 99 in England. Allowing for the difference in population there were forty times as many murders in the States as in England. I do not say that Prohibition is responsible for the difference, but I do affirm that if drunkenness is really such an element in the commission of crime as Prohibition advocates maintain, then it follows that the United States in the fourth year of Prohibition was more intemperate than ever before. Then what a host of evils almost unknown before have concurrently arisen. This policy whenever applied has been the fruitful parent of hypocrisy, corruption, perjury and a general contempt of all law. And what wonder when a premium of a sum that in America must run into thousands of millions of dollars is annually offered to the illicit dealers who succeed in evading the law!

I am aware that what I have said must be unpalatable to many earnest persons who sincerely believe that Prohibition can be made effective if not in the near future, at all events within a generation or two. It is, however, desirable to look facts in the face and not to cherish illusions based on the one-sided statements of those who cling to an impossible and, as I think, undesirable ideal. We need not go to America for examples of the moral deterioration that has been the direct result of the attempt to enforce Prohibition during five consecutive years in Norway and Finland. The arrests for drunkenness have now reached the appalling total of one in every fifteen of its population, or about thirty times the number in the comparable city of Edinburgh. Contrast the figures with the conditions that obtain in Sweden—the pioneer of rational temperance reforms—

which now enjoys the reputation of being the most temperate of all Nordic countries. Indeed, by results the measures adopted in Sweden to promote sobriety are a guide to other countries in progressive temperance reforms. Surely it is better to proceed along proved lines rather than gamble with the morals of the existing generation in the hope that the offspring of a corrupted stock may perchance achieve a higher standard of morality.

What then is the duty of the Church in reference to this great social problem of intemperance? For nineteen centuries it has directed its energies to the individual. It has taught that temperance (in which I include voluntary abstinence) is a virtue; that drunkenness is a sin which will surely be punished both in this world and the next. It has patiently sought to reclaim the drunkard and relieve the innocent victim of his vice. This in my judgment remains its proper sphere. To substitute for these beneficent activities the physical force of state compulsion is to invite disaster. You may as well expect to make people good by compelling them to attend religious services as to make them sober by Act of Parliament. The followers of Christ should not lay down a morose code of asceticism as an essential part of the religion He taught. In my opinion, they should share in every innocent enjoyment of the people and seek to purify what is impure and restrain any tendency to excess. In so doing they will help to discharge one of the greatest functions of the Church—the building up of Christian character within the community in which they labour.

THE DRINK PROBLEM IN ENGLAND AND WALES: AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCHES IN RELATION THERETO.

THE REV. HENRY CARTER

(Joint Hon. Sec. Temperance Council of the Christian Churches of England and Wales).

I. *Dimensions of the Problem*

To estimate aright the British drink problem, as it confronts the Christian churches in 1925, comparison with the pre-war position is necessary. Notwithstanding certain grave facts to which reference will be made, substantial ground has been won and held for national sobriety in Britain, largely as a result of war-time experiments and experiences. These war-time changes were partly administrative, partly fiscal. On the administrative side, there was instituted during the régime of the Government Liquor Control Board (1915-1921) a stringent restrictive code, governing the sale and supply of intoxicating liquors. Its most drastic feature was the lessening by two-thirds of the hours for the sale and supply of intoxicants; this principle of shortened hours proved most beneficial, and was incorporated in the new licensing legislation of 1921. Side by side with this restrictive code there existed during the later stages of the war an enforced diminution of liquor output. On the fiscal side, a policy of high liquor taxation was established at the close of the war, and this, for the most part, is still maintained.

Three Charts[1] will be presented at the Conference to illustrate British experience in respect of the drink problem, from 1913 onward. The comparisons are based on the years 1913 and 1922.

Chart I marks the fluctuations in consumption of absolute alcohol, in the United Kingdom: and the number of

[1] See at end of volume.

convictions of women for drunkenness in England and Wales. This Chart shows graphically that less drink means less drunkenness, more drink more drunkenness.

Chart II marks the fluctuations in certain alcoholic phenomena. The solid black curve indicates recorded deaths from alcoholism; the dotted black curve recorded deaths from cirrhosis of the liver, a disease often attributable to alcoholic excess; the green curve cases of attempted suicide; the red curve deaths of infants from suffocation. The figures refer to England and Wales, and concern both sexes. Chart II compared with Chart I, shows graphically that (as regards the assigned causes of death) less drink means a lower rate of mortality, more drink a higher rate of mortality.

Chart III marks the estimated national expenditure on intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom; and also the proportion of this sum which reached the National Exchequer in liquor taxes. Chart III, compared with Chart I, shows that, side by side with a notable decrease in the actual consumption of absolute alcohol, there has been an enormous increase in the national expenditure on drink, due to the new policy of high liquor taxation.

Three remarkable facts emerge from a study of these Charts and other relevant data:

(1) The consumption of intoxicating liquors, in the United Kingdom, measured in terms of absolute alcohol, decreased no less than 41 per cent. in the decade 1913-1922.

1913: 92 million gallons absolute alcohol.
1922: 53·5 ,, ,, ,, ,,

(2) The convictions for drunkenness, in England and Wales (both sexes), decreased no less than 59 per cent. in the decade 1913-1922.

1913: 188,877 convictions of men and women for drunkenness.
1922: 76,347 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

(3) On the other hand, as a result of the policy of high liquor taxation pursued since the war, expenditure on the

purchase of intoxicants increased, in the United Kingdom, no less than 112 per cent. in the decade 1913-1922.

1913 : £166,681,000.
1922 : £354,000,000.

(The figure for 1924, *excluding Ireland*, was £316,000,000.)

II. *Post-war Developments*

At the close of the war the liquor interests in Britain clamoured for a wholesale abandonment of war-time restrictions on liquor, and in the prevailing public mood there was grave danger lest this demand should be conceded. Fortunately, during the war a new federation of Christian Temperance forces had arisen. Under pressure of manifest national necessities, the Temperance Executives of all the Christian churches in England and Wales united, in 1915, to achieve certain definite and agreed educational and legislative Temperance reforms. This new body, the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches of England and Wales, is formed by the direct election of eight representatives from each denominational Temperance Executive, plus a small number of co-opted persons. It has, therefore, a recognized and official relationship to the churches, and the right to speak and act, within the limits of its agreed programme, on behalf of the Christian Temperance Movement.

Faced in 1919 with the demand of the organized liquor trade and the drinking clubs for the restoration of pre-war hours of sale, etc., the new Council took up the challenge. The struggle between the drink interests and the churches continued for nearly three years. Finally, in the autumn of 1921, Parliament enacted a compromise Licensing Act, which, on the whole, was a victory for the Temperance Movement. Under this Act the hours for the legal sale

and supply of drink are no more than one-half of the pre-war figure; the Act also abolished 'the bona fide traveller,' prohibited 'credit' sales of liquor for consumption on licensed premises, and permanently added the border county of Monmouth to the Welsh Sunday Closing area.

In addition to the Act of 1921, the Council, in conjunction with other Temperance and Welfare organizations, by persistent effort has won further ground. The Intoxicating Liquor (Sale to Persons under Eighteen) Act, 1923, forbids the sale of intoxicants (for their own consumption on licensed premises) to boys and girls under that age limit. A new Temperance Syllabus for use in elementary schools, entitled *The Hygiene of Food and Drink*, was issued by the Board of Education in 1921; and a Syllabus for use in secondary schools, entitled *The Practice of Health*, was officially approved last year. The use of these syllabuses is optional, but the number of schools in which they are employed rapidly increases.

III. *Main Features of the Problem in* 1925

What are the main features of the existing drink problem in Britain?

1. *The inefficiency caused by alcoholism.* The Government Liquor Control Board was created in 1915, as a war-emergency measure, to restrict the drink trade in the interests of national efficiency. I can testify, as one who was a member of the Board until its dissolution in 1921, that, whereas in its early days the Board dealt with numerous and grave complaints regarding delays in the shipbuilding, transit, and munition industries, resulting from alcoholic indulgence, as the Board's restrictive code became well-nigh national in its application complaints of this nature practically ceased. During that critical period the decrease of drinking led to an all-round increase in

efficiency. After the war the restrictions on hours and conditions of liquor-sale were modified, and all restrictions on liquor-output were abandoned ; and the extent to which the consumption of drink has increased since the war marks the growth of the inefficiency due to alcoholism.[1]

2. *The vast uneconomic expenditure on drink.* In this era of intense international competition, a manufacturing country is gravely handicapped when its drink trade advances in prosperity ; for the fortunate position of this dangerous trade is won at the cost of the whole body of productive industries. At the present time Great Britain is expending no less than six millions sterling per week on the purchase of intoxicants. It is true that 43 per cent. of this vast expenditure reaches the National Exchequer in the form of liquor taxation ; but let it be remembered that this is ' optional taxation,' self-imposed by the consumer of intoxicants. To transfer this enormous expenditure—exceeding 300 millions sterling per annum—to the purchase of more food, better clothing, the provision of better housing, etc., would stimulate industries which employ far more labour, in addition to the social betterment which would inevitably accrue.

3. *Drinking by women.* There is reason to fear that the post-war years have seen an increase in the number of women who consume intoxicants in public bars and in private life. The ' cocktail ' habit has become widespread among the well-to-do and leisured classes. Visitors to Britain from the United States and the British Dominions note with surprise the groups of women who frequent public-houses, both in industrial and recreative centres of

[1] In 1918 (when war-time restrictions on the sale and output of liquor were most stringent) 37 million gallons of absolute alcohol were consumed in the United Kingdom. In 1922 the total consumption was 53½ million gallons. For pre-war consumption see Chart I.

population. The number of women convicted for drunkenness in England and Wales increased from 11,183 in 1919 to 13,244 in 1923.

4. *The defensive and aggressive activities of the liquor trade defence organizations.* Liquor trade organizations in Britain intervene in elections with the aim of securing the return to Parliament of members pledged to defend their interests. These avowed liquor trade defence organizations are supplemented by bodies financed from liquor sources. These bodies present themselves to the public with attractive titles, as the Fellowship of Freedom and Reform, the True Temperance Association, the Freedom Association, and the like. They succeeded for a time in duping numbers of well-disposed persons, who accepted them at their face value; but persistent investigation has laid bare their relations to the liquor trade and its revenues, and considerably weakened their appeal to the public.

5. *Alcoholism and religion.* Alcoholic indulgence impairs the finer qualities of the mind, blunts the conscience, and renders inactive the will to achieve personal or public reform. It is the foe of childhood, for alcoholism in the parent or guardian deprives the children of economic advantages and moral training. The alcoholism of Britain is therefore a barrier to the spiritual work of the churches. It may truthfully be affirmed that a nation without a drink problem would present a noble field for the highest type of Christian endeavour for mankind. Britain is still far from the attainment of that ideal.

IV. *The 'Improved Public-house' Proposal*

Before turning to the reform proposals which are comprised in the contemporary programme of the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches, it is necessary to refer

to a specious but dangerous project, widely canvassed in Britain—the proposal to ' improve ' the public-house under its present ownership. Large numbers of licensed premises in British cities and villages are altogether unhygienic. In so far as the proposal to reconstruct houses of this type is purely a public health measure, it is not open to criticism. But to do the liquor trade justice, its leaders frankly affirm that their main object is so to ' improve ' the public-house as to make it attractive to a larger body of customers ; in particular they desire, by the associations of amusement, music, dancing and dining halls, to transform the public-house into a social centre, frequented not simply by its present adult customers, but by whole families—father, mother, children.

In so far as the experiment has progressed in England, especially in London, there is no pretence that less whisky or less beer is being sold ; nor would such a claim enhance the popularity of the policy among the directors or shareholders of brewing companies. Observation and experience indicate that the ' improved public-house ' policy is simply a far-sighted attempt by brewers to adapt their licensed premises to changes in social opinion and habit. No one seriously imagines that the brewers who pursue this policy intend to sell less whisky or beer.

For real Temperance reformers clear thinking is necessary. The drink evil is created by indulgence in drink. An increased liquor consumption is opposed to national welfare. A decrease in liquor consumption, and in the national expenditure on liquor, is urgently required in the interests of the home, industrial efficiency, and public health and welfare. The ' improved public-house ' theory does not aim at lessening liquor sales. It proposes to maintain and, if possible, to increase them, by making the public-house more attractive. The policy, therefore, is hostile

to the national interest, and has no title to the support of Christian Temperance organizations.

V. *The Work of the Churches*

Fundamental to the following facts, and the very spring of all endeavour by the churches, are their spiritual ministries. Without these, few would feel the lure of the ideal, few maintain a will to pursue it. Moreover, in addition to the educational and legislative work of the churches which now comes under review, is the constant effort to rescue from intemperance those who have become its victims.

The policy of educational and legislative Temperance reform, elaborated by the united churches of England and Wales, may be summarized thus :

Educational. Science has recorded its verdict respecting the effects of alcoholic beverages. A Committee composed of eight leading British scientists was set up in 1916 to advise the Government Liquor Control Board. Their findings have been published by the Government under the title, *Alcohol : Its Action on the Human Organism.* It is a considerable part of the work of the churches to make widely known the scientific position thus stated authoritatively and impartially. Reference has already been made to the teaching of hygiene and temperance in the state schools, elementary and secondary ; the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches aims to win the goodwill and co-operation of the teaching profession, so that these manuals of instruction may be generally and effectively used. This work has been markedly successful.

The Council also aims to secure more efficient Temperance teaching among the boys and girls in the numerous juvenile organizations within the churches—in the Sunday Schools, the Bands of Hope, and in the more recent Scout and Guide

movements. Increasing use is also made of publicity in the Press for social, statistical and moral arguments on behalf of the Temperance cause, and for countering the wide and subtle propaganda of the liquor interests.

Legislative. The Council now presses upon the electorate a Three Points Programme of legislative Temperance reform : (1) the institution of a satisfactory system for the control of the supply of intoxicants in all clubs, now unsupervised ; (2) the extension of Sunday Closing, already existent in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, to England ; and (3) the grant of a satisfactory measure of Local Option to the peoples of England and Wales.

Local Option is the most comprehensive of these three claims. It is based on the right of the residents in a locality to determine the future of the traffic in drink in and for their own neighbourhood. Local Option, by placing responsibility for the local drink problem on the people of each city or county area, evokes civic pride and patriotism in the service of the community. By local experiments, initiated by the vote of the residents, and tested through a period of years, the way will be most surely indicated for the national solution of this ancient and intricate problem.

The Council convened in the spring of 1925 a National Local Option Conference, to seek agreement regarding the main elements of Local Option Bill for England. This hopeful enterprise is still in progress. The experience of Scotland, which has a form of Local Option in operation, will be of great value to England, although it is widely believed that the form of Local Option most practicable to meet the governing political and social conditions of English life will differ in various respects from the Scottish type.

Finally, it should be explicitly stated that it is the aim of the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches to lift Temperance Reform out of the realm of contested party

politics, and to regard it as a subject which, like Education, can command the support of men and women of goodwill in all parties. To this end the churches' endeavour should be increasingly directed. The appeal must be to the nation as a whole. By the statement of the grave facts of the problem; by appeal to a moral standard of self-discipline for the individual; by the affirmation of the right of self-government for the community; by the setting forth of an ideal of social life unimpaired and unmenaced by alcoholism; by a summons to good citizenship to rally to the defence of the weak and the tempted against interests which exploit their weakness for the sake of gain; by all these means the churches should lead the nation to freedom from a carnal indulgence which is the foe of the soul and of the social order.

Professor Dr. Gonser (Berlin), Pastor Daulte (Lausanne), Senior Schumacher (Jugoslavia), also spoke.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

III. THE CHURCH AND MORAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*)

IIIG. LEISURE AND RECREATION

Franz Behrens (Berlin)
(Trade Union Secretary, Member of the Reichstag)

Leisure is as necessary for human life as work. While he is at work, a man must know that at a definite time he will have leisure. Anyone who is economically independent can decide for himself the duration of his work and his time of leisure. For such the only question of interest is the use to be made of the leisure. It is a different matter with the far greater number who work for wages and for salaries,

e.g. workmen, salaried people and officials. These have for some time fought bitterly for the lengthening and for the security of the time of leisure, that is, for the shortening of the hours of work and for the security of the Sunday. They feel obliged to fight daily for these. On the other hand, the majority of the employers have all along been opposed to the limitation of the working day, and many of them are opposed to the full recognition of festivals. They base their opposition on the ground of economic necessity. But in this they overlook the fact that a man without sufficient leisure and without sufficient rest, not only on physical grounds, but also on psychological grounds, does less effective work than a man who has had rest and is satisfied in mind. A man only does good work when he knows something of the joy of creation. He experiences this when he earns good wages and enjoys ample periods of rest.

Leisure takes the following practical forms :

1. Sundays and festivals.
2. Daily intervals for rest and the eve of festivals.
3. Holidays.
4. Times of unemployment.

While in most countries the Sunday's rest is legally protected, there are even in these countries occupations which either do not share at all or only share in a limited degree in the period of rest, as, for example, transport workers and officials, and servants in hotels, etc. On principle, the Sunday's rest must be claimed for all men. The eight hours day is hotly contested in spite of the Washington agreement of the International Labour Conference. Though it is five years since the resolution was passed, only comparatively few states have ratified it. Even in countries which have a legal eight-hours day, it

is opposed by most employers and by others who are not engaged in business. In Germany, as in most other countries, there are numerous infringements of the eight-hours day, which are partly justified and partly unjustified. In agriculture, considering the possibilities of work conditioned by the seasons, there is available a working time up to 2900 hours in the year. While there is a longer working day during sowing and harvest, in the months when nature rests the working day is shorter than eight hours. In other branches of industry a much shorter working day is prescribed on the grounds of health.

Closely connected with the regulations for the working day are those that relate to shop closing. In Germany all shops—unfortunately with the exception of places where alcohol is retailed—must be closed at 7 o'clock in the evening. This law has been an advantage not only to employees, but also a blessing to tradesmen. Only a few unreasonable people objected to it. It has been a great blessing to family life.

The close of the working week by midday on Saturday, which allows to the worker a free Saturday afternoon and evening, is of great value. He can then do his shopping and his household work. This is a preparation for the Sunday. If the Church, on religious grounds, advocates complete rest on Sundays and festivals, it can take no part in the struggle in particular cases for a shorter working day. In general, however, the Church must agree with a reasonable shortening of the working day. The grounds of this, which will be discussed later, are partly of moral and religious significance, so that the Church cannot pass it by without consideration.

For some years, happily, the good custom has gained ground of granting to employees and particularly to young people and women shorter or longer holidays according

to the length of time they have served in the particular business. In many callings holiday regulations form part of the contract for employment. Holidays are excellent arrangements for advancing family life and, particularly, make it possible for young men to rest, enjoy and recreate themselves in God's free and beautiful nature. Industrial crises and wages disputes provide more leisure than is desired or is supportable by the workers concerned, during unemployment, strikes and lock-outs. The longer this enforced leisure endures, the more anxious, care-worn and embittered become the heads and the hearts of those who are involved and their families. This leisure is all the more disastrous as with its duration the suffering increases. This enforced leisure of suffering and anxiety robs Sunday of its joy and festivity. At such times and with such families and with individual men the Church and its pastoral work are in a difficult position. But precisely on this account ought the Church to use its utmost endeavours to make this time of enforced leisure bearable to those who are without occupation.

Work is in the Christian sense a moral duty ; it is service to one's neighbour and one's people. It is a source of satisfaction, adds joy to life and provides daily bread. With its support a noble family life can flourish. Work without rest, without regular daily hours, without cessation on Sundays, is a curse to the worker, to his family and to his neighbour. Mental and spiritual decay, a disturbed family life, undisciplined children, strife with God and with men are the consequences of work that is without rest and without regularity. Thus it is not only work that has moral and spiritual value for men, but its well-adjusted alternation with sufficient leisure. The Sunday ought not to be degraded into a day absorbed by domestic work, a day for personal and political strife, for the worker

as a man needs to rest in order to acquire new strength. He needs rest as the father of a family in order that he may devote himself to his family and to help in the bringing up of his children. He needs rest as a citizen in order that he may fulfil his duties in political life. He needs it in connection with his business or calling in order that he may devote himself to the affairs of his calling, to his trade union, to the interests of his class, and to his own mental development.

It is a terrible thing when, in addition to the industrial activity of the father, the mother is also separated from her children during long working hours. The young man needs leisure in order to widen his religious, civic, professional and general knowledge, and he needs to cultivate his physical powers, his skill and his health by means of gymnastics, games and sport. The Church is extraordinarily interested in all these things. Therefore it must take part in cultivating, encouraging, organizing them perhaps less with a view to joining in the struggle for the preservation of leisure as with the idea of giving to the leisure spiritual quality and character. The law can protect leisure from abuse, but it cannot determine its real form. It is an abuse of leisure when the Sunday is used as a polling day with all its noisy, offensive and often venomous accompaniments. It is also an abuse of leisure on Sundays when, during the time of Divine service, political meetings, processions, demonstrations, sport and games contests take place. Organizations of a better type and with a better spirit will not do this kind of thing, but will keep in mind the religious feelings of their fellow-men. It is an abuse of Sunday when it is made a day for indulgence in coarse pleasures. It ought to be not only a day of rest and recreation, but a day of self-communion and spiritual exaltation. All organizations and undertakings must therefore take this into consideration.

No law can regulate the right use of leisure. No general rules can be set up. Those who have family responsibilities will have one kind of leisure, those who have not, another kind. The dweller in the town will have a different kind of leisure from the dweller in the country. The leisure of Sundays and festivals will be different from the leisure of the eve of festivals and holidays. Those who are responsible for a family will take into consideration the other members of the family. Leisure ought to serve the ends of physical recreation and renewal. Accordingly, excursions into the country, games, sports and gymnastics should be cultivated. Leisure ought to serve the ends of religious edification and recollection. Accordingly churches and church societies or clubs have a work to do, and likewise the head of the family in the circle of his family. Leisure ought to make men joyous. Therefore there is an occasion for good books, good society, for concerts and theatres, visits to art galleries and institutions of a similar kind. Naturally, all these must be kept from the contamination of what is sordid and corrupt. Leisure ought to provide men with the possibility of fulfilling their political duties, and not only so, but it ought to give them time for preparation and for the study of political problems. Leisure ought also to give adults the opportunity of learning and of continuing their education. The state, the municipality and the Church should provide facilities for these ends.

The possibilities that lie before us are very varied. To learn the right use of leisure we must begin with the family. It must be continued by the school and must be cultivated by the Church and the state. A great task falls on societies of all kinds. Religious societies and societies connected with churches, in so far as they are not instituted for some special purpose, must act, so as to cultivate and to influence

the entire field. Other societies and corporations, which have been instituted for secular ends, ought not to leave out of account, in all their arrangements, that these exert a high degree of influence on the spiritual and intellectual life of men and that they must serve in the last resort to raise the level of their civilization. The churches and their organizations ought to get into touch with all societies that have given themselves the task, either directly or indirectly, of cultivating leisure and of encouraging a proper use of it.

It is naturally impossible in the course of a short speech to go into details. Not only does the use of leisure vary according to the position of the family, according to the social circle and the place of dwelling, but also according to the country and the continent; but under all circumstances it ought to be dominated by a great common idea, namely, to lead men to a higher standard of civilization, to a richer and fuller life and to bring them nearer to the image of God.

The following speakers took part in the discussion: Miss Spence (England), Mrs. Waid (U.S.A.), Rev. T. Nightingale (England), Pastor Werbeck (Germany), Lic. Steinweg (Germany), Rev. E. B. Perkins (England), Mr. F. M. Snyder (U.S.A.), The Archbishop of Upsala, Pastor Köchlin (Switzerland), The Rev. Dr. Garvie (England), Pastor Gounelle (France).

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1925

EVENING SESSION (5–7 P.M.)

III. THE CHURCH AND MORAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS (*continued*).

IIIF. THE PROBLEM OF ALCOHOL (*concluded*)

THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA

THE report from the Commission on Drink has a rare quality. Instead of fighting each other, prohibitionists and controllers recommend a joint and energetic activity on the part of the Church against the brutal evils of alcohol.

One who has not seen how alcohol is destroying character, individuals, homes and communities in the most terrific way, lacks the elementary qualification for judging what is at stake in this problem of drink.

I

Methods are different. The two great ways for combating alcoholism through the laws of society are: (1) Prohibition, (2) Control.

The countries in which the testing of these two methods has furnished us with classical examples, are the United States of America and Sweden.

(1)

Prohibition in the U.S.A. constitutes, as far as I can see, a heroic national act of self-defence against a terrible enemy, and is also the result of an organized fight of many years. But for the understanding of Prohibition in the U.S.A. it is necessary to consider a marked difference of tradition and custom, which often is overlooked when Prohibition is discussed in old Europe. I was present at a great University banquet in New England thirty-five

years ago. No alcohol was served, although it was not a question of Prohibition, and I had the same experiences everywhere in New England. Alcohol has never entered into the customs of social life in the intellectual and religious groups of society in New England and other parts of the United States of America. This is due not only to the early Pilgrim Fathers, but also to the strong and severe religious mood of many of the later Pilgrim Fathers, especially from the northern countries. Such a fundamental difference gives to Prohibition different possibilities in the United States and in Europe ; not to speak of the fact that a very great area is necessary, or at least favourable for making Prohibition effective. I imagine that Prohibition has rather different results in different parts of the United States of America. But no one ought to undervalue the momentous fact that there are in the United States areas where young people grow up without knowledge of the custom of using alcohol and without the temptation of alcoholic drinks.

(2)

The systems of communal and individual control applied here in Sweden are often misinterpreted, for the following reasons : saloons, that is, places where (1) free competition in producing and selling alcohol constitutes a private economic interest in the highest degree, and (2) where alcoholic drinks can be freely bought and consumed, have been fought in the United States in more or less intimate connection with the propaganda for Prohibition. The situation is the same in several other countries. But in Sweden the serious question of saloons has been treated separately. Sweden did away with saloons a generation ago. Private production and selling of alcohol and freedom to buy and consume alcohol has, after a most energetic

voluntary propaganda by men and women of goodwill, given place to a law commanding strict control which definitely abolished saloons in our country long ago. A friend of mine heard two sailors talking in a tramcar in Stockholm. One, a foreigner, scoffed at 'this damned country of Sweden where it is so hard to get a drink.' The other, a Swede, seemed to have been a patriot. He tried to say something in favour of his country, which had made itself so disliked by his new friend. He tentatively said something about countries that are still worse, because they have Prohibition. The other, with a superior laugh, crushed the unhappy Swede by answering: 'Prohibition? There you can get as much as you want, if you know the place.' Of course, neither control nor Prohibition can be held responsible for illicit traffic. It seems to have been a general experience in those countries that when, through the diminution of the quantum of alcohol, actual Prohibition has been approached for a longer period of time, the illicit production of alcohol has instantly increased. Such production was, one can say, practically abolished in Sweden a generation ago, when the demoralizing effects of the Great War fostered the violation of law. It has now been brought, if not to an end, certainly to a minimum again. But we hear people living near Prohibition countries complaining of the illicit products coming from such countries. If one tries to judge the results of the older communal control and the more recent individual control in this country, it is of course very hard to draw general conclusions. In any case, one must count with the immense value of the voluntary propaganda against alcohol which after earlier efforts in this country began most seriously in the early 'eighties. It was carried out not by the so-called cultivated people, but by the labour classes in the country districts and in the towns, and through its

admirable moral energy it has changed general opinion as to drunkenness and drink and also radically changed the appearance of our streets and villages. One result of the law is obvious : the very remarkable diminution of crimes committed under the influence of drink and of crime in general in our country, whether that diminution amounts to 50, 60 or 70 per cent., is an obvious fact. It has already been mentioned that prisons have become empty in our country. A complete study of this question of drink ought also to include accurate and explicit comparisons between our controlled country and the Prohibition countries as far as criminal statistics are concerned. During the past year (1924) the number of arrests for drunkenness per 1000 inhabitants was 19 in Stockholm, 73 in Oslo and 94 in Hälsingfors.

We have passed from generalities in this question to detailed action. Here in this country every citizen has heard and reflected much about the advantages and disadvantages of different methods for fighting the evils of alcohol. It is commonplace to repeat them, but in summing up this important discussion, I may be allowed to mention in a few words how the two methods have each their advantages and disadvantages :

I

The great advantage of Prohibition is of course that the custom and use of alcohol is in itself judged as an evil, because of the disastrous effect of its immoderate use on individuals and society. Prohibition tries to save feeble characters entirely from the temptation of alcohol.

In the propaganda, Prohibition has an enormous advantage, being a simple and grand formula of an absolute character. During the general strike in Sweden in 1909, when alcohol was prohibited by the Government, the wife

of a workman wrote to me: 'Food has been scarce, but there has been no possibility for my husband to get alcohol. Therefore our family has lived as in paradise.'

The disadvantage of Prohibition consists in transgression of law. It is a general experience that if a law is not recognized even by the enlightened general opinion, the transgression of it becomes a sport. It is a dangerous thing to diminish the authority of law. Trustful and serious persons from countries where Prohibition prevails, have told me how moderate and cultivated men, who formerly used wine in a very limited way, have been driven by the reaction to the daily use of brandy, whisky, and other such drinks, which they scarcely touched before. Of course laws cannot abolish every evil and every crime. There are transgressions also of laws against murder and robbery. But St. Paul's word about law as eliciting transgression is still true to-day. When two years ago, I again had the privilege of visiting the U.S.A. and enjoying the great American hospitality, my object was not the study of Prohibition. Nor had I any time left for studies, being occupied with lectures, addresses, sermons and meetings to the utmost of human force. Philadelphia was the only city where I happened to see saloons open, where people went in freely and drank what they wanted. A few times it happened that some kind gentleman out of sheer politeness came to me before a great dinner and invited me into a neighbouring room, where, to my amazement, I found an abundance of alcoholic liquors and plenty of people. As I do not use alcohol myself, I never entered such a sacred place, and in any case I should not have liked to enjoy a thing against the law of the country. Let me add at once that I do not consider my rule not to use alcohol as obligatory on anybody else. I do not see in the abstinence from alcohol in itself any proof that the abstinence is ethically

superior to the non-abstinence of the moderate drinker. But for myself I consider it a social duty in my position.

For that reason and for other obvious reasons, also because I have made only a very few and short visits to our neighbours who have Prohibition, I have had but little opportunity to investigate the numberless tales about the facilities for getting alcohol in large quantities in those countries.

A few years ago, when coming from Esthonia in a motor yacht, we dined in two places in Finland, and there happened something astonishing, namely, that we were asked, without any initiative on our part, whether we wanted aquavitae with our meal, and we saw how easy it was to get as much alcohol as one wanted. The fact that alcohol is not served as such in a manner visible to everybody, but in bottles intended for water and in such underhanded ways, cannot be favourable to temperance. A friend coming from Finland the other day told me about liquors being served not in small special glasses, but in water-glasses.

A few years ago I passed more than a week in Jämtland with some friends who use alcohol in a very moderate way. It is difficult to get, especially in a Swedish country-place. But when we went over to visit the wonderful cathedral in Trondhjem, where Prohibition prevailed, I was told that alcohol could be had freely.

Such violations of the law must be considered as diseases of childhood, and it is to be hoped that Prohibition can be carried through in countries where it has become a law, and not be reacted against in such a contemptible way.

II

The advantage of control is obvious from a moral point of view. I recall a member of the London County Council

who, at an anti-alcohol conference many years ago, said: 'Temperance people do their utmost to convince a man who takes wine on rare occasions that he ought not to take any. But the drunkard is left free to continue his custom, ruinous for himself, for his family, and for society.' It must not be forgotten that temperance can never be brought about by law only. The question is a moral one, and moral evils will never completely disappear. Sin can never be abolished through wholesale methods. In all moral questions the difficulty is that we must consider general and sweeping acts as illusory, and we must go to the individual. Such was the method of Christ. Such is the narrow path that every moral improvement must take. Here I see the kernel of Dr. Bratt's system. It is a bold undertaking. How can society afford to reach and control every individual? Only a long and exalted tradition of lawful order can make such a thought conceivable. Every individual is asked: 'Are you able to take care of yourself? If you are, you can get a certain amount of alcohol, if you want it. That amount should be as small as possible. But if you are not a free man, if you cannot withstand temptation, the controlling board in your parish takes away your book, and you are not entitled to a single drop of alcohol.'

Such is the rule. But of course illicit practices are still to be observed.

(2)

The disadvantage of the control system is that it seems to authorize a certain use of alcohol as—if not commandable—at any rate as a full right of the citizen. And I am told that there are cases where a man uses the amount of alcohol allotted to him although he might not use it if there were no control system. It may seem to some people that control makes the use of alcohol into something like a civic institution.

III

In spite of the different methods all Christians ought to join and can join in the strife against the evils of drunkenness.

(*a*) First we ought to recognize how brutal and real the evil is. Perhaps there are many here who have lived their entire life under such conditions that they never have encountered the curse of alcohol. For them the question is whether or not it is permitted for a Christian clergyman to enjoy his wine. That is a minor problem. The great problem is how to save individuals, homes, and society, from the curse of drunkenness and alcoholism.

(*b*) Further, instead of fighting each other, prohibitionists and controllers should join in two necessary activities. The Church must consider it her duty to enforce the law, whether it consists in control or in Prohibition. It must be made earnest and effective. And every loyal citizen must see his duty. The Attorney-General John G. Sargent of the U.S.A. said recently : ' The country is safe when the law is obeyed because it is the law.' Further, the Church ought to study the problem and try to develop legislation in the best possible way, which is not necessarily the same in all countries, since conditions are so different. And any reform is more or less well-meant illusion if it does not take reality into account.

(*c*) Further, the Church should encourage and take part in the free propaganda against drunkenness through the education of young people and adults and through firm and loving measures, in order to save drunkards and homes from the hell of alcoholism.

The temperance societies in this country have in my lifetime brought about a revolution in public opinion and in the habits of people. The good old times were not

always good. And it is an honour to the labouring classes that public opinion was turned against alcoholism in their society before the general so-called 'better-off' groups began to consider drunkenness as a disgrace. Such a propaganda and education must never feel itself unnecessary, though communal and individual control has accomplished a great improvement. The enemy is alive, and the Church should take a most active part in this moral crusade. The introducer of the report has said that members of the Commission do not propose any resolution to the Conference. But it is necessary that this Conference should strongly recommend to the Church everywhere to consider the importance of the problem and to act accordingly.

The Rev. J. Mansie (Scotland), Pastor W. Monod (France), The Rev. S. Sirenius (Finland), Bishop Brent (U.S.A.), and Pastor Hallén (Sweden) also spoke.

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

IVa. THE UNIVERSAL CHARACTER OF THE CHURCH

The Bishop of Lichfield (England)
(The Rt. Rev. J. A. Kempthorne, D.D.)

In an impressive gathering like this, with its representatives of many parts of the Christian Church, from many nations, it is well to begin with the frank recognition that many who do not call themselves Christians, and many others who are wholly dissatisfied with the organized Christianity of to-day, are giving valuable service in the promotion of a better social and international order. We welcome such service from any men and women of goodwill, but we feel that a special responsibility rests on the Christian

Church, and, while we frankly recognize our past failures, we are confident that the very existence of this Conference proves that at least a large part of organized Christendom is determined to strive, as never before, for the resolute application of our Christian faith to every department of life and work. 'COPEC' proved that, in Great Britain, Christians of all denominations are ready to act together: the present Conference takes us a step further, for it shows Christians of all nations setting their faces with one heart and mind in one direction—the fulfilment of God's purpose for His world.

We passionately desire a real re-union, in one visible fellowship, of all Christian people throughout the world. We are not blind to the facts: we know that there are important questions of Faith and Order concerning which members of this Conference are not wholly agreed. But surely we could make the words of the Lambeth Conference our own. 'We believe that God wills fellowship. By God's own act this Fellowship was made incarnate through Jesus Christ, and its life is in His Spirit.' Very many of us would add: 'We believe that it is God's purpose to manifest this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned, in an outward and visible and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognized officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring all its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God.'

So far as we are all setting our faces towards that great ideal, we may speak even now, of the Church as possessing an universal character. We do not regard the Christian Church as a mere voluntary association of individuals, combined to promote their own selfish spiritual interests. We protest against the conception of the Church as a beleaguered city, whose inhabitants cower behind the bulwarks, hugging their own safety, while the world outside

is left to the Devil. Even the picture of ' the ark of Christ's Church,' true and scriptural as it is, should lead us to think not so much of the security of those whom it shelters as of the King's business on which it is sailing. The ship of the Church carries no passengers : all who are aboard her are indeed safe under the direction of the great Pilot, but their real joy is that they are allowed to co-operate with Him in His purpose.

This, indeed, is what St. Paul means when he calls the Church ' the Body of Christ.' It is the instrument which He who ever lives and reigns uses for the accomplishment of His purposes. The Church is the family or fellowship of those whom He trusts as His fellow-workers. His purpose is clear. It may be seen in two aspects. He came that men might have *life*. He came to establish the *Kingdom of God*, which is the Kingdom of Love. His purposes are universal, and the Church which is His Body must have an universal character. That we have failed miserably to rise to the greatness of His ideal, we confess with shame. But the Church, the Body of Christ, has not failed ; the Spirit, which is its life, has not failed : it is we, the members of the Church—in all its parts, and among all nations—have failed. We ask Him for His great gift of repentance.

When we set ourselves anew to fulfil God's purpose, we recognize that the first work of the Church is the conversion of individual persons to God. We shall return later to this primary duty. But if conversion means anything, it means the acceptance of God in Christ as King. But there can be no limitation of His Kingdom. If He is to be King anywhere there can be no limitation of His Kingdom. If He is to be King anywhere He is to be King everywhere, and every member of the Church is converted in order that he may take his part in making the Church

what it ought to be—the light which illumines the dark places of the world—the leaven which transforms the world—the salt which saves it from corruption. Indeed, the Church should be the soul of the world. That is its universal character.

I do not forget that we are considering the universal character of the Church, especially in relation to international questions. Quite plainly it is the duty of the Church to promote righteousness and unity and peace among the nations and races of the world. The Church is nothing if not a breaker down of barriers. In the great words of St. Paul, 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus.' National character is not to be abolished, but transcended. Each nation is to bring its honour and glory into the City of God. And it is the Church, which is supra-national, which is to prepare the nations for that great destiny.

But, is it the business of the Church to deal with such questions? Here we meet with an objection which must be fairly faced and answered. There are those who cry 'hands off.' Politics, they tell us, are a matter for political science, to be worked out by the trained statesman: if the Church attempts to solve political problems, the results will be certainly futile, and possibly disastrous. 'Fas est et ab hoste doceri.' If our critics mean that the sphere of God's sovereignty is to be strictly limited, and that political problems are to be settled on a basis of self-interest, or will to power, rather than on Christian principles of righteousness and goodwill, with reliance on the redemptive force of Christ, then we will not listen to them for a moment. As Cardinal Newman said, 'The Church was formed for the express purpose of interfering or (as irreligious men will say) meddling with the world.'

But if the scientific politician is warning us that ideals do not realize themselves in a disordered world, that wise action must be based on solid knowledge of hard facts, that there is a crying need for constructive scientific statesmanship, then we must take heed to his counsel. Enthusiasm is no substitute for knowledge, we need a combination of spiritual insight with a power of political analysis.

The League of Nations illustrates my point. The League is the product of the best scientific statesmanship of our time. It is not a creation of cloud-cuckoo-land. It rests on the solid earth: it is guided by men who know the actual facts, and who do not frame their policy as though we were already living in an ideal society. Some of its achievements are masterpieces of political and economic science. Yet those achievements will not be lasting, the League itself will not bring about real unity among the races and nations of the world, unless there is a clear moral purpose, a spiritual ideal which can give unity to our political thinking, and a divine inspiration and motive which can bring our ideals and thoughts into action. That is where the function of the Church comes in. It is for the Church to proclaim the character of God and His purpose for the world, to set forth the Kingdom of God, supreme over all nations, as the one satisfying aim of human endeavour, and to open up the treasures of life which, as we believe, belong to the Spirit of Christ.

Never were the inspiration and power of Christianity more sorely needed. The core of our present difficulty is to be found in the outward unification of the world. World commerce and world communication have brought all peoples into the closest contact. Recent inventions of science—flying, wireless telegraphy, developments in motor transport—have annihilated distance. We are crushed into one. And we cannot doubt that God's will is to be

discerned in these instruments of outward unity. But our age will close in appalling tragedy if the inward spiritual unity is lacking. For, while 'economic relationships are unifying the world, it is the conflicting interests arising out of them which perpetually threaten its peace.' Here is the challenge to the Christian Church. There was a time when the Church—then truly universal—effectively proclaimed the Kingdom of God as the master key to the whole of life. Can the Church, under the vastly more intricate conditions of to-day, make the proclamation of the Kingdom effective, so that men and nations come to regard their commerce as a means, not of greedy acquisition, but of mutual service, and gauge national greatness by the measure, not of dominance, but of contribution to the common good?

This is the question with which other speakers will deal. I only venture to make two suggestions by way of introduction.

1. The Church must hold up before the nations the positive ideals of Truth, Righteousness and Love, and point the way to infinite resources to be found in Him in whom Love, Righteousness and Truth are incarnate. Then a mere resolve to prevent war is not enough. What we want, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has said, is to establish that healthy condition in the body politic which will render the war bacillus innocuous. It is true enough that we have to declare war (we cannot avoid military metaphors!) upon those evil passions which cause conflict among men—on covetousness, on perverted nationalism, on ignoble fear and suspicion. But darkness can only be expelled by light, and these dark passions can only be driven out when the Spirit of Christ comes in. Where that Spirit is, there we shall possess truth, and a passion for justice, and a right-minded patriotism, and the love which casts out fear. The final

issue is peace. For peace is no negative condition: it is not a mere refusal to fight: it is that condition of harmony which ensues when truth, justice and love hold sway in the hearts of men.

Love means co-operation, and those who promote among the nations mutual understanding and common service are the best friends of peace. I believe that speakers on the League of Nations will point out to us that while we ought enthusiastically to support all that the League is doing to promote arbitration and to bring about a sense of security where fears and suspicions still abound, the League is perhaps making its best contribution to the cause of peace by promoting among the nations the fellowship of common work. Its war on the White Slave Traffic, its campaign against disease, above all, its efforts through the International Labour Office, to raise the standard of industrial conditions, are notable landmarks in the progress of peace. And the reference to its labour organization suggests the obvious consideration that there is a close parallel between industrial peace and international peace. There must be fellowship within each nation before there can be fellowship among the nations. And so long as our industry is regarded as a system where we strive one against another for private or class advantage, instead of as an order of co-operation for the common good, it is hopeless to look for international friendship and world-peace.

2. Plainly it is the function of the Church to witness to and work for a world order which reflects in ordered justice and in established peace the very Being of God who created and redeemed it. The universal Church must inspire each nation and all the nations with that great spirit of truth, justice and love which will drive out the greed and selfishness, and bring in the blessings of peace. But, in uttering the challenge of a social Christianity *the Church*

must uphold the primary claims of the individual person. The sacredness of human personality is the bed-rock of Christian ethics, and the regeneration of the individual must always be the primary business of the Church. There are no short cuts to a just social and international order.

When Beethoven was composing his ' Mass in D Major,' Napoleon was already marching on Vienna. The composer had reached the chorus ' Dona nobis pacem,' and it was found afterwards that he had written over the score ' Peace inward and outward.' He felt that, before there can be right relationship among men, there must be the inward peace of right relationship with God. The peace must begin with the individual. ' Nothing will establish peace on the earth but a new creation from God in answer to repentance and prayer.' Yet this peace is no mild pietism, hugging a selfish security, and singing hymns about ' Glory for me.' It is centred not in self but in God. The chorus of Beethoven's, ' Grant us Thy peace,' contains some reminiscences of a chorus of Handel, whom Beethoven greatly admired. The chorus is ' He shall reign for ever and ever.' Peace, inward and outward, comes to men just so far as they make the Kingdom of God their supreme aim, giving their whole-hearted allegiance to the King, while from the Spirit they draw an all-sufficient inspiration.

Here, then, is the function of the Church in international life. It will seek to strengthen the League of Nations, and will never be satisfied till all the peoples of the world are in covenant together. It will keep all outward movements for unity true to the positive ideals of truth, justice and love ; knowing that the ' Cross is the only throne that can claim the allegiance of all humanity,' it will call on its members to set an example of that self-sacrificing service which is the secret both of inward and of outward peace.

Above all, it will endeavour to supply that life and power, the gift of the Risen and Living Christ, without which our zeal will flag, and our best efforts be in vain.

Even now, in a divided Christendom, we can accomplish much. We cherish the vision of a Church 'within whose visible unity all the treasures of faith and order, bequeathed as a heritage by the past to the present, shall be possessed in common, and made serviceable to the whole Body of Christ.' But meanwhile we can, in our endeavour to reach a truer internationalism, act as if we were one. We know the immensity of the task, but we also know the infinite resources of the God whom we trust. The victory has already been won by Him who said, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.'

THE INFLUENCE OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION ON THE RELIGIOUS MIND [1]

Dr. Luther (Germany)
(Chancellor of the Reich)

The enormous advance in the technique of production has greatly influenced the outward life of civilized man, and has re-acted on almost all mankind. The changes are greatest in the countries where the form of industry is most developed. There, the workers, both unskilled and skilled, are in a different position from their former one. In two ways they are isolated. In the first place, a great many of them are separated from the final product of their work. The individual is only a link in the invisible chain of the processes of production; so that many workers lose their interest in or their love for their work. The position of skilled mechanics, who assemble the parts and build up the engine or machine, is somewhat better. Things are also better for the workers, when they no longer do the

[1] Read in Dr. Luther's absence by Pastor Le Seur (Germany).

work themselves but only watch and direct a machine that does it. In this case love for the machine takes the place of love for the product of their labour. In the second place, the industrial worker, at least in big concerns, is as a rule not in personal contact with his employer, simply because the number of the workmen is too great for this to be possible. Apart from this, the employer is often a public company, and in this case the relationship is still more impersonal. It is true that employees and employers in big industries share a common lot, and this develops the feeling of responsibility of the former for the latter. As a result of this, the relations between them have improved. But, as a matter of fact, the isolation of the worker has not been overcome. This modern form of industry has necessarily involved reactions in social and political life. The loss of closer human relations between employer and employee, together with the uncertainty of employment has led to the formation of Trade Unions on the part of the latter, and to much social service on the part of the former. It has called forth a mass of social legislation, since the famous message of the Emperor William I in 1881, *e.g.* Health Insurance, Old Age and Accident Insurance. All these measures have acquired a more definite shape as they fulfil the purpose of helping those who cannot help themselves. If this development is not so far advanced in other lands, we can always find the reason in the different social and natural conditions that are found in them. Either industry is not on such a large scale and is, therefore, not so developed, or, as in countries like the United States there is no over-population, so that notwithstanding temporary unemployment, the security of the individual is much greater than in the over-populated countries. Hence follows in certain circumstances, a readjustment of political and social rights. Wherever Democracy already

existed, before Industrialism exerted its decisive influence over life, the recognition of political rights served as a counterpoise to the social dangers of Industrialism, while on the other hand, where these rights found less recognition, the new industrial conditions gave the impetus to the solution of social and political problems.

If this way of considering the matter is right, one is forced to the conclusion that new political and social forms have, to a large extent, been substituted for the earlier relation of a worker to his employer and to the product of his work. This change relates only to the wider aspects of relations which in earlier times were much more intimate. It offers no compensation for that bond of love which was a very real one in the industrial relations of those times. But now love, in its usual meaning, is limited to the narrower circle of family life. To be sure, noble ideals, such as the love of one's country, reach beyond this narrow circle. The love of humanity, which in spite of powerful set-backs, like an undercurrent, ever gathers new force in human affairs, is certainly an important spiritual ally in the development of the new social order. But the wider the circle becomes, which needs spiritual quickening, the more clear does it become that the source of this can only be found in religion. All social conduct and performance that is based on religion has a firm foundation, because every human being appears then as possessing eternal value. When this is clearly recognized then love of humanity cannot be regarded as something one may have or may not have. But from the standpoint of religion, service undertaken for the good of humanity is also a service rendered to God.

In another direction the present organization of industry makes religious life necessary. For us, the worker who is only a link in an invisible chain of industrial processes, is

like an epitome of our whole spiritual situation. The progress of the natural and economic sciences has infinitely widened the range of our knowledge. But the wider our horizon becomes so much the less do we see of the beginning and the end, and so much the less are we satisfied with the formulae by means of which we interpret events. Thus all of us, even those for whom the treasures of knowledge and research lie open, become more solitary through the advance of intellectual and spiritual work. Likewise the breach with the culture of the past yawns ever wider. The energetic quest after new methods of expression in all branches of modern art is a convincing proof of this. The whole world of reality about us which is accessible to the senses has lost its permanence. But man cannot take root in the contingent ; he needs the absolute. Here, again, our religion can give us help, for it is just this sense of absolute dependence that makes us free, in spite of the fluctuations of life.

Thus the task of religion, and particularly of the Christian religion, in which we believe, seems to me to be greater than ever. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the slackness we find in the churches, which is now so common in the world and in the lives of individual men. The forms, whereby the religious life is expressed, belong to the stream of world history. This does not mean that fixed forms are not necessary. On the contrary, all inner experience testifies to the fact that the individual finds his way to God most easily by means of the forms, which are familiar to him from his youth. Nevertheless, the different forms of the religious life and the different churches are subject to the general law of development, which is seeking to-day to bring about a new and greater cohesion of mankind. Therefore, I see in this Universal Conference of Life and Work not only an evidence of the desire and the will

for practical Christianity, of which our political and social life stands so much in need. Much rather do I regard the Stockholm meetings, and indeed, the Evangelical Christianity in which I was brought up and by which I live, as an effort, in accordance with the tendencies and laws coming to expression in the present day, to bring about a closer union of Christendom out of the divisions that have arisen during the course of history.

But whatever may be the result of the Conference, it always will be a revelation of the fact that Christianity is a living force in history.

In our loneliness we seek help in the spirit of the noble words to those unknown victims of the sea, which adorn the cemetery on the North Sea Island of Sylt.

> 'We are a people whom time's swift stream
> To earth's lone isle has driven.
> Hard do our lives of sorrow seem,
> Till Christ release has given.
> The Father's house is always near,
> However fate may vary.
> On Golgotha with Him so dear
> The homeless ones may tarry.'

IVb. THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TO PREACH BROTHERLY LOVE

PROTOPRESBYTER STEFAN ZANKOW, D.D. (Bulgaria)
(Professor of Theology, Sofia)

WE are living in the midst of an epoch of cataclysmic proportions and of the most enigmatic transformation in the history of the human race. There is a seething beneath us and a tremor within us of a huge 'something' as if a life from beneath were in the throes of birth. Above us float great black and impenetrable clouds of passion and emotion, as if ready to burst over our heads any minute

and destroy us without mercy. One tremendous eruption of human existence follows close upon the other, a deafening thunderclap of human destiny follows another.

The soul is shattered, the heart is crushed. The bond of unity among men is sundered—a unity no longer self-existent, no longer embracing humanity, unity with the All is gone. Where are we? Where is He? Whence and wherefore are we being driven in this sense-disturbing whirl, or whence and wherefore do we drive ourselves? These are questions pertaining to destiny which ofttimes obscure themselves in the fog of our being.

How often we tear ourselves loose from Him who is our eternal foundation! And how many there are who not only tear themselves loose from Him but who foolishly think they can fight against Him. But are we even during such moments as these without any God? Oh no, as foolish children we deceive ourselves in relying upon the idols we enthrone, our possessions, money, pride, self. We even seek in our folly to become gods, and this after God dwelt among us in the person of His Son, Jesus Christ. The tragical hour dawns for some of us spoken of in John xv. 5-6. We are even now being destroyed in the fire of pride and passion in our readiness to crucify the Christ in us, and hence the cry of despair. Are we not living in the time of Antichrist? Yes and no. Yes, for we are burning in the fire of our sins. No, because we are not being consumed thereby. The greater our sinfulness is, the greater is God's mercy. The measure of God is not the measure of man, and there are experiences which lead us from the fire of sin to the fire of grace. Under these circumstances the glorious fire of love is kindled in our hearts.

As a matter of fact is not the epoch in which we live also an epoch of regeneration, of a Christian awakening, of a

growing sense of solidarity of a Christian type, which is finding expression in brotherliness and love? He who has eyes to see can observe the new day which is dawning in the Christian world. Are not some of the things we have more recently witnessed in Russia, in North America and now in Stockholm, testimonies to this awakening? The persecutions in Russia are giving birth to a new Christian consciousness, holy in its humility, pure and deep in its love, exalted in its spirit of sacrifice. The splendid initiative of America is not to be ignored. And this land of Sweden, to which God has given so much of beauty, with its sane and earnest Christian people, is contributing materially to further the spirit of brotherly love. There is no doubt about it that two opposite currents are contending in our time as they have hardly ever contended before.

And now we ask ourselves, what is the duty of the Christian Church at such a time as this? The answer which is obvious needs to be stated in terms of our present contingency. The Church must mediate the teaching of Christ so that man may grasp it. Its duty is to save men. The task of our day seems more especially to be to save men by pointing out to them the deadliness of jealousy, hatred, enmity. The deadly sentence: 'Die, that I may live' has engendered a fight to the finish between man and man, race and race, nation and nation. We must be *for* each other, rather than under or over or even beside each other. Love alone is the thing which will make this changed relationship possible. This divine, holy, brotherly love is not within us. It comes from above, and hence the duty of the Church to proclaim it. The duty of the Church, however, does not stop there. It is the duty of the churches to practise the love they proclaim. We must take to heart Eph. iv. 15. The cataclysm of our age was needed to force us back upon a reinterpretation of 1 Cor. xiii. The

thing that separates us too often from true love is a selfish love, the love for our own crowd, our own country. Of what significance is it in the light of eternity whether for fifty or seventy years I have been a Bulgarian or an Englishman or a Japanese, whether I speak Serbian or French or Chinese, or have belonged to the American, Greek or Persian State? This does not mean that we are to deny our nationality or hold it lightly. It simply means that the Church of Christ considers all races and nations as brothers and must treat them with an equal measure of love as freedmen of the Kingdom of God.

It is only in this eternal perspective in which the churches and we as members can free ourselves from bondage, in this eternal perspective of brotherly love. It is only in this perspective that we can merit the grace of God. Thus shall we go forth upon our crusade to win brethren for the Kingdom of God. It is characteristic of practically all churches that they have ever stressed faith and have ever subordinated the most holy and imperative duty of love. We cannot ignore the picture of the last judgment presented in Matthew xxv.

We must not seek to be wiser than Jesus. We dare not separate truth and love. Light and warmth belong together. The life of love and the practice of love are one and the same thing. Love embraces all things because it does not distinguish between worthy and unworthy and less worthy objects. Everything is equally worthy which love touches. Love is the unending, creative, divine circuit in all things. It permeates everything because it is itself the deepest fountain of life. We can only comprehend this all-inclusive love through the supernatural means of humility and repentance, self-sacrifice, prayer and grace. And only through the mysterious power of love will the churches and those of us who are the

members of these churches, fulfil our highest duty in the present-day struggle between sin and redemption, death and life, Antichrist and Christ.

M. le Pasteur Ferrier

(Vice-President of the Federation of the Protestant Churches of Switzerland)

When one seeks for a definition which expresses the duty of any Church, I do not think one can find one more universally applicable than this: '*The Church is the spiritual conscience of the Nation.*'

If a Church were not that, if she did not educate the nation and inspire its government, if she were not constantly solicitous of proclaiming the principles of the Kingdom of God, and especially that of brotherhood, to the people and to those who govern them, she would deserve to disappear.

The implications of this principle: 'The Church ought to be the spiritual conscience of the Nation' are immeasurable, both in national and international affairs. It is the latter with which we are occupied particularly to-day.

In national affairs, just as in *individual* life, the Christian conscience holds sway in everything, provides a purpose and dominates it, so in *collective* life the Church is on a more elevated plane than the nation and its government. This, of course, by no means signifies that she is called to dominate in the worldly sense of the term: 'Our arms are not carnal.' 'I am your servant,' she would say to those who constitute the nation, 'but you are not my masters,' I have only one Master, Christ.

If the Church thus rises above the nation in the height of her ideals, she will be constrained at times to make her voice heard in opposition to national aspirations, which are

often so worldly. The Church will work with all her might for the material and moral welfare of the nation, but she will not espouse its prejudices, its hatreds, or its passions, and at certain moments, at the risk of getting into bad odour or being persecuted, she will cry, Halt !

It is at this point that we find ourselves on *international ground.*

A nation, obviously, is, above all, concerned for its own aggrandizement and economic power, and, when left to its own devices, there is a tendency to resort to force alone to remove whatever stands in the way.

A nation nourishes race prejudice and sees in another nation, whatever may be the system of alliances, a people which are to be regarded with mistrust.

A nation is sometimes beset with certain collective follies which may plunge the country into adventures of the worst kind.

It is here that the Church ought to intervene, and endeavour, with all the power of her ideal and in the name of the Christian conscience which she represents, to bar the way which leads to disasters, and to proclaim to the whole world the great duty of brotherhood.

Can she do this if she remains isolated ? Scarcely.

Let us imagine a Church which alone in her country takes part in a pacifist movement. She will very soon become a target for the worst imputations, she will be accused of entering into a compact with the enemy, or at any rate of lack of patriotism. And in the face of this obloquy the Church in question perhaps will not dare to be what she ought to be : the uncompromising conscience of the nation ; and her teaching will have no effect.

But, if this movement against the abuse of force is universal, if everywhere the churches, feeling their responsibility and acting in concert, struggle for the ideal

of peace and brotherhood, which is that of Christ, then the nations and the governments, who know that at the present moment they must reckon with public opinion, will show less severity in their judgments, and will be much more disposed to take decisions which will be a first step towards the Christian ideal.

On the other hand, a Church which alone in her country, let us imagine, fights for *social justice*, will soon be misjudged by the governing classes of her nation, and will soon be accused of entering into a league with subversive elements, and of compassing the ruin of the bourgeois classes, which are often, quite wrongly, regarded as the sole pillars of the Church.

You will say that this Church ought to be heroic, that she ought to proclaim truth and brotherhood, even in the desert, that it is in the nature of the Christian conscience to act thus, and to stem the current against wind and tide. Quite true, in principle, but the churches and their governing bodies are composed of poor human beings who are not always heroes, and in the presence of certain opponents who would have the Church confined to certain acts of ritual, the Church, weary of the struggle, after some mediocre and tentative efforts, will hang down her head with a deep sigh of exhaustion.

But if the churches in all countries, obeying the same inspiration, have concerted together in advance, and have agreed, not on an economic system, but on a spirit which is to animate them henceforth, the spirit of justice, the spirit of fraternal solidarity, the spirit of the Kingdom of God ; then these churches will create a universal opinion—and this they can do—then in all nations the powers that be, who are on the watch to see from which quarter the wind is blowing, will understand that this is not a mere whim, or sporadic impulse, but one of those great currents from a

collective conscience with which it is necessary to reckon, because they are irresistible.

For this purpose the churches must stretch out their hands to one another across the frontiers; this is the teaching that they can give, and is the only effective teaching.

Finally, when it comes to the propagation of the Kingdom of God, of the mission to heathen countries, it is evident that the churches ought to come to an understanding with one another, to act together, in order to avoid overlapping, with a view to the better distribution of work, and in order to obtain a maximum output with a minimum of effort. If missionary work, despite the enormous sums expended and the thousands of persons who devote themselves to it body and soul, does not yield what one might have expected, is it not because the international entente of the churches has not been able to proclaim by word and by deed that 'none among them lives for himself'?

In view of the complexity of the problems which are raised by the mission to heathen countries, where the missionary societies are constantly in touch, and sometimes in conflict with one another, it is indispensable that in the mother-country the Church shall proclaim that it is better that a mission should disappear rather than to reveal to the heathens the scandal of our ecclesiastical dissensions.

There remains still much to say in order to show to what degree the international and brotherly relations of the churches are necessary, and to what degree they ought to constitute the very foundation of their ecclesiastical teaching, if the churches wish to be faithful to the spirit of their Master. But we must confine ourselves here to indicating by what means the churches can give at the present time the best lessons in brotherhood; this, to be sure, will be by deeds.

It is to be feared that all the noble aspirations which have assumed concrete form at Stockholm may remain mere dreams, unless this Conference proceeds boldly to certain practical realizations, which will show to the world, in a tangible manner, the issue of the present great effort, and will be the most effective of lessons. At the present moment what are needed are proofs rather than mere demonstrations.

I shall now rapidly outline the most pressing of the decisions to which I have just referred.

1. *Periodical Recurrence of the Universal Conference*

It goes without saying that an assembly like this is of the greatest value, it is just here that the international and brotherly religious spirit has from the outset shown itself, and if this Conference led to no other result, this in itself would be something worth while, but would not be enough. These Conferences must be repeated. Have no fear; they will be more easy to convene than the first; they will be able to profit from the experiences gained by our friends at Stockholm, and the task will thus be greatly lightened.

The periodical recurrence of these Conferences will proclaim our brotherly spirit, it will say more eloquently than any pamphlets: 'We wish to be a people of brethren.'

2. *Continuation Committee*

A Conference such as this can scarcely be convened but at very long intervals. Hence we must set up a responsible body which, in the interval between two Conferences, would have the task of continuing the work in the same brotherly spirit, and of sustaining contemporary public opinion, which so soon forgets.

The Conference, in determining the composition of this committee, will take into account, as far as possible, the

different churches, nationalities and languages, but it must not allow itself to be unduly influenced by these secondary considerations. Two elements will be required in this committee: firstly, churchmen who have respect for tradition, authority and realities, but also prophets—and such exist among us, men of enthusiasm and passion, with a vision of the future, and serving to inspire the lovers of tradition, whilst the latter serve as a counterpoise to the prophets.

3. *Permanent International Bureau*

The Continuation Committee could meet only once a year, so that the necessity, imposed by circumstances and by the logic of facts, arises of creating a permanent organization with the following functions:

This bureau would be the link between the churches and would facilitate the exchange of men and ideas, and would be for each church like a window opening on to something other than herself.

It would be furthermore a centre of enquiry, rendering it possible to obtain rapidly authentic and impartial information about the churches, their activities and their experiences.

It would represent the churches, whether before governments or before the League of Nations, with which it would be called upon to enter into increasingly closer relations.

It would concentrate and study impartially the demands of religious minorities, and would intervene in their favour.

It would prepare the next Conferences.

It would be the permanent embodiment of Christian brotherhood.

Whatever may become of the ideas which I have just put before you in my own name, but which are, so to speak, in the air, I consider that this Conference ought to take some

practical decision. People expect from it something more than talk, and if this decision is not forthcoming, if all our energy evaporates in words, there will be an immense disillusionment in the religious world, and on our part a confession of impotence. People expect from us deeds.

We must all become conscious, I will not say only of our responsibilities, but also of our power ; it is considerable ; animated by the Spirit of God, we are capable of rousing the public opinion of the world, and of creating the true spirit of brotherhood.

This power ought not to be merely a latent force, but, placed in the service of Christ, it ought to manifest itself in a practical and visible manner for the greatest good of our churches, of our nations, of humanity, and, above all, for the coming on earth of the Kingdom of Justice and of Brotherhood.

May God grant that we give the world this teaching !

OTHER ENGAGEMENTS

A Banquet was given at the Stadshuset (Town Hall) at 8 p.m. by the City of Stockholm to all the Delegates. Speeches were made by General Åkerman, Mr. Knut Tengdahl, The Patriarch of Alexandria, The Bishop of Winchester, Dr. S. P. Cadman, M. Paul Fuzier and Dr. Simons.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9.30 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—DR. ARTHUR J. BROWN (U.S.A.)

Prayers were said by PROFESSOR W. J. AALDERS (Holland)

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (*continued*)

PROF. W. HADORN, D.D. (Berne, Switzerland)

I HAVE the honour, as spokesman of the Swiss Delegation, to present for discussion the theses drawn up by the Swiss Evangelical Church Union on the subject: 'The Church and International Relations.' Allow me first to make a personal observation. The International Committee of this Conference in their friendly invitation added that they wished to assign the treatment of this subject to a church of a neutral country, and moreover to have it introduced by the representative of a neutral state. This they doubtless did, on the assumption that it would perhaps be easier for us neutrals, after the severe tension and conflict through which we have passed, to indicate ways for the restoration of international relations between the churches with a view to a united witness in the world.

Now I desire, in all humility, to express the wish that in considering what we are putting before you, the thought of the neutrality of our country may be set aside, as it plays

no part in this question or in any other. As for Switzerland, the fact that she remained neutral in the Great War is no particular merit. It was simply due to the traditional attitude of Swiss policy as well as to the peculiar position and size of our country. Indeed we make no secret of the fact that we owe it to the Grace of God and not to the wisdom of our policy or to the defence of our frontiers, that our country was spared the sufferings of the war. Therefore, it is far from our thoughts to attempt to pose as teachers or critics of other nations. This, however, does not mean that our churches are not ready to render, at any time, any service within their power.

If I understand aright the subject before us, it is concerned in reality with one question, not how the various Christian Churches, so different in origin, in historical traditions, in doctrine, constitution and ritual, and which are moreover independent of one another, may be united into one organism as a counterpoise to the Roman Church, but how they may express their inner unity so as to give rise to concerted and well-planned action in expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of God, so that their witness may be a power in the life and in the historical development of the nations and of mankind into one flock under one shepherd.

There is no one among us whose heart will not be deeply stirred by this question, no one who is not certain that the key to the final goal of history is to be found in the words :

> ' For of him and through him and unto him are all things. To him be the glory for ever ' (Rom. xi. 36),[1]

no one who will not be impelled to cry : ' Even so come, Lord Jesus.' When Our Lord had gathered together His first band of followers out of Israel, having in mind the

[1] ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

widely scattered nations of the earth and His own sufferings, death and resurrection, He said that He must be lifted up from the earth to draw all men unto Him.

But there is not one of us here who does not perceive the difficulties involved when we inquire what practical action must be taken in order to reach this final goal. One might indeed be tempted to think it sufficient to acknowledge our hope, to give it joyous and powerful expression and to leave its realization to God.

We members of the small Swiss churches are keenly conscious of these difficulties. Zwingli realized the necessity of a union of fellow-believers beyond the frontiers of states and nations. Calvin very forcibly and clearly expressed the idea of a true, international fellowship of faith reaching beyond the individual or single nation, and this conviction is cherished even now, as a sacred inheritance, by the Church of Geneva. Nevertheless, Protestantism in Switzerland, following the dictates of necessity rather than its own impulses, has acquiesced in the formation of national church organization. It must be said, however, to the honour of our churches, that the Reformed Churches of Switzerland have from time to time extended a helping hand to their persecuted brethren the Waldenses, the Hungarian Protestants, the Huguenots, and that the missionary enterprise of modern times and the present movement towards unity, have found a loud and joyful echo in our country. It is, however, in the nature of things that greater nations whose populations are larger than ours can represent much more impressively the idea of a world-wide international union of Christendom. On the other hand, it should be remembered that, in this reserved attitude to the idea of universality, we must not only recognize the 'Guilt and the Fate' of European Protestantism, but also something of the original nature of

Protestantism, or rather of the Gospel as a message to the individual man.

For Protestantism, unlike the Catholicism of the Roman Church, does not proceed from the community to the individual, but from the individual to the community. In other words, the Protestant Church stands or falls according as the question, which so profoundly engrossed the mind of Luther, 'How shall I obtain a gracious God?' becomes the foundation of a healthy life of Christian fellowship and of vigorous witness and propaganda in the world. And this, it must be remembered, is the sole condition of a healthy national life. The salvation of the individual man through the Gospel of Jesus Christ by means of the grace of God grasped by faith (*sola fide*) is and remains the primary thing, and it is on this foundation that the whole Church, in the individual nations, and the fellowship between the churches, in different lands, must be built up.

Thus we are able to answer the pressing question as to the possibility of the Union of Churches into one fellowship in Christ and into a common witness and joint action, if we keep before us the picture of the circle with its radii leading to the centre. For we urge individual Christians and individual churches, from the position assigned to them, and on the radius corresponding to it, not only to look steadfastly on Christ, but also to approach more closely to Him on the path of faith and sanctification. Then the nearer they come to the centre, the nearer will they approach to one another.

'For in Him all things are summed up.' But this saying needs to be supplemented. There is a serious danger to Protestantism lest the individual man, assured of his own blessedness, independent of everybody and unconcerned with anything, may exaggerate his own importance and thus become impious towards God and

indifferent to his fellow-men. This exaggerated individualism, with its accompanying manifestations in arrogance and censoriousness, has led to disastrous divisions and sectarianism within Protestantism, and has been the cause of our impotence in the world and has made us blind to the ends of God for mankind. We must recover these ends from the New Testament. When we realize this here in Stockholm and humbly and penitently acknowledge it as our particular guilt (*nostra maxima culpa*), then God can and will help us by strengthening our will to unity. It is only by repentance and not by the enthusiasm of a few fleeting hours of fellowship, that this will to unity and to obedience to the words delivered to us by Our Lord, *ut omnes unum sint*, can come into being.

Therefore we acknowledge the goal which is set up in the first thesis of the report ; not, however, with that assurance which is so often displayed at Christian and non-Christian Conferences, but only with great trepidation, fear and anxiety. We do so with the fervent desire that God may acknowledge us and yet with the humbling consciousness that we have no right to this, because we have not acknowledged Him. We acknowledge the purpose of God for humanity, the fellowship of the nations and of mankind in Christ, but knowing full well that we, as guilty individuals and as guilty nations, have no right to this fellowship, which can be built up and realized not by nature, that is, not from below, but only by God. From below, that is, from ourselves, there is no such possibility. If we have been blind to this, the war ought to have opened our eyes, and if not the war, then the aftermath of the war. So that there must be an end to all false optimism about the brotherhood of the nations and all faith in ' natural good instincts.' It is only as believers, *i.e.* as men who live by the grace of Jesus Christ, who do not renounce this faith

or ignore its possibilities and its risks, but who affirm the increasing power that lies in it and hold fast to it, that we venture to propose anything, and to contemplate ways and means whereby we may stretch out our hands to one another.

After the events of the last ten years it seems to be particularly enjoined upon us, that Christendom should no longer regard with indifference the relations of churches or of nations to one another as though they were outside and beyond the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness, but should intervene impressively and decisively in the interest of righteousness and peace, and should encourage and support all international efforts in this direction, whether they are official and diplomatic or made privately between man and man and between nation and nation; whether they are made by alliances or by the League of Nations. This aim must ever lie behind all we do. On these grounds the Swiss Church Union has ventured, in the special report presented to the Conference, to raise its voice for peace and to submit this to you. But we can speak a word for peace only if we keep in mind the fact that the natural state of man is enmity and war against God, and God can give us peace only if we, justified by His Grace, have made peace with Him. Peace can never be preserved or guaranteed by lamentation over the evils of war or by sentimental horror at the cruelties of war and still less by any kind of rational consideration, but only when 'gloria in excelsis Deo' precedes 'pax in terra.' In the presence of this all our glorying is out of place.

It is in this sense and with these presuppositions that I beg you to interpret these proposals which our secretary has embodied in the report and which the Committee of our Church Union has approved. If God gives us grace that we may acknowledge ourselves as His children and as

brethren, as belonging to each other, since we all were and are lost, and can only be saved by His grace, then it is a matter of small concern how many of these proposals you may adopt or reject and what modifications you may think fit to make.

It is not my task to enter into the various proposals and to give reasons for them. The principal thing is to reach mutual understanding on the basis of the Gospel, to emerge from the state of isolation, and to enter into fellowship on the basis of fellowship with Christ. Only do not let us aim at creating some kind of counterpoise to the Roman Catholic International or at ushering in a worldly temporal power that might compete with the powers of the world. In our particular situation nothing is more dangerous before God than the illusion that we are on the way to universal Protestantism; nothing more dangerous than any attempt to unite our Christian faith with the forces of the world, as though this were the hope of a Christian world. The international spirit and work of the Christian churches signifies only a common witness for that Kingdom which is not of this world, before the non-Christian world among the heathen and the Christian nations.

Our report has indicated some of the methods by which this may be achieved, *e.g.* united meetings, joint declarations, general conferences, perhaps a committee to organize and carry them through, mutual understanding in the mission field, the removal of barriers which stand in the way of fellowship in Christ. But in all this let us not lose sight of the goal nor disregard the duty imposed upon us, to proclaim the Word of God, the Word of His grace to a lost world. All else, our particular doctrines, our constitutions, our customs and traditions, are, I repeat, of minor importance. Honour to whom honour is due.

Only let there be no levelling-down, no diluting, no compromise. 'Let everyone remain in that state of life, in which God has been pleased to call him.' But while remaining thus, let us aim at serving one another, to whatever churches we may belong. In this service I would beg you to include theological work which is the highest task of any Christian Church, for, without any reserve, it is devoted to the service of truth. The Old Reformed Churches endeavoured, out of respect for the memory of the Reformers, to make known their work for Christianity.

Allow me, in conclusion, to add one more personal observation. Before I came here I retired into the stillness and the solitude of our mountains in order to rest after a busy term and in order to collect my thoughts for this address. What I am saying to you to-day was written in sight of our snow-capped heights, and glaciers, and jagged, precipitous mountain walls never yet trodden by the foot of man. Take it as a greeting from the mountains, as an expression of the overwhelming sense of the greatness and inaccessibility of God. I heard the avalanches roll, thundering and sweeping all before them on their downward course to the valleys. I saw the mists and the dark clouds sweeping over the mountains and their weird ghostly hands stretching out, on cold stormy days, as though they would fain envelop and stifle all life with their darkness. I would have you regard this as a picture of the mighty power of nature, before the grandeur of which all human opposition and all human desires and plans must be brought to nought; a picture, too, of the chaos into which mankind has fallen during these last years and to which humanity has helplessly succumbed. But when the bright sun burst through the clouds and a radiant sky glorified the earth, then this seemed to me to be a symbol of God's purpose for the

world and for humanity ; namely, to create a new heaven and a new earth in which righteousness dwells.

Our people, it was once said by one of its leaders, being confined within mountains and valleys, cannot expand horizontally, but only vertically, *i.e.* they can only grow upwards, towards heaven. Let this also be true of Christendom. Let it be true of the Stockholm Conference that its proceedings signified the power of Christianity to grow upwards towards heaven.

The Rt. Rev. C. H. Brent, D.D.

(Bishop of Western New York)

I HESITATE to speak again and do so only at the request of others. I have already expressed my mind fully in the report of the Sub-committee on International Affairs of which I had the honour of being chairman, and in my address at the beginning of the Conference. All I can say now must be reaffirmation and amplification of what I have already said.

1. In aiming at the unification of the churches and at the brotherhood of the human race, we are not making a doubtful experiment but simply identifying ourselves with God's purpose. This is our next great venture of faith. If we approach it without misgivings we shall attain so much the sooner. God cannot do without man's co-operation. During the preparations for the Versailles Conference, I did what I know others did. I urged two things—first that the Conference should be opened with prayer, secondly that some frank statement should be incorporated in the Covenant of the League that mankind belonged to God and that we were set on working out His purpose. Both proposals failed to carry. 'I need not

tell you,' wrote President Wilson relative to the latter, ' that the suggestion it (your letter) contains appeals to my heart, but I am afraid with the peculiar make up of our Commission on the League of Nations it would be useless to propose such a sentence for the Covenant of the League.' A mere sentence, of course, either then or now is valueless unless expressing a conviction under the jurisdiction of which we live. I believe God wills peace.

2. As the Bishop of Lichfield truly says, we must deal with the economic causes of war. Another great irritant making for war is race dislike and prejudice. How completely it has been conquered and how completely it may be conquered is witnessed to by the fact that our Lord Jesus Christ who is the very Strength and Centre and Joy of our lives was a Jew. Whatever the defects in the race from which He sprang we ought never to think of the Jews without thankfully remembering that they are the people to whom we Christians owe the greatest debt owed to any race or nation that ever existed. All race dislike is rooted in pride and selfishness.

3. Nothing much has been said about disarmament. Taken by itself disarmament can be little more than a gesture. It is not armaments that produce war, but the spirit of war and belief in its efficacy which produces armaments. Mere disarmament is pale, spineless pacifism. Moreover, attempts to tame war and make it decent by inhibitions are foolishness. In the past such efforts were made only to collapse. As long ago as Homeric times, poison in war whether liquid or solid was banned. We have compromised on poison in gaseous form probably as being more chivalrous ! The cruel crossbow and the wicked gun were each in its day ruled out of the game, and those who broke the rule could be refused quarter ! It is clear that any attempt to govern war by chivalry or

by limitation of weapons is to play with the whole problem.[1]

4. What is now needed more than anything else is courage to try God's way in reaching after God's purpose in all the great as well as all the small affairs of life; there is only one road to God's purpose and that is God's way, or shall I say God's highway. Fear, suspicion and doubt hold the nations in thrall. There are many international injustices to be rectified. War will never do the job. It may begin as an instrument in the hand of nations. It inevitably ends in the chastisement of all involved, innocent and guilty, victors and vanquished. Every war has in it the seeds of another war. 'War is not like a litigation which ends in the settlement of a particular dispute. Any war, in its settlement, goes far beyond the dispute which brought it about; every war opens up every possible ambition and desire of the victor. Did the World War end merely in deciding the question about the rights of Austria and Serbia in connection with the murder of the Archduke? Where was the fate of the German colonies decided—in East Africa and in the Pacific, or on the Western Front?'[2]

5. It is because I believe in the sanctity of the nation and the magnificence of patriotism; it is because I believe youth can best serve the nation and mankind by living for duty rather than dying for it, that I reaffirm my belief that the Christian Church if it be so minded can, in the name of Christ, rule out war and rule in peace within a generation. I may be a fool, but if so I am God's fool.

[1] Disarmament, to be effective, must be bound to arbitration and security.

[2] David Hunter Miller on the Geneva Protocol.

Missiondirector J. Nyrén (Sweden)

The tradition and history of the nations bear constant witness to conflict and strife among the peoples of the earth, and history, to a great extent, consists of accounts of these feuds.

The causes of this unrest and tension in international relations are of three principal kinds: religion, economic interests and race-difference. Wars of religion have sometimes been inspired by genuine religious Christian conviction, sometimes by wild fanaticism united to a hope of increased power, economic and political. Greed, striving to widen its borders, to add to its territory and its glory, has laid the smaller and weaker nations at the foot of the stronger. The people of the lowest races were treated as merchandise, more as animals than as human beings.

The condition of mutual suspicion and uncertainty among the peoples of the world is at the present moment more general and more deeply rooted than it has ever been. The fuller knowledge which the nations now possess of other nations and their resources, intellectual and material, have brought this about. The rapid development of means of communication, the result of scientific research, brings us all nearer to each other. The enormous development of industry, and the demand for natural products from all parts of the earth, as well as the necessity for a market for our own products, combined with the world-encircling interests of commerce, form a source of perpetual friction.

The activity of Christian missions at the present time and the resistance offered by the Mohammedan and heathen religions cause the waves to go high in the great sea of humanity. And perhaps the most violent storm of all, which, like a hurricane, will stir up this great sea to wild tumult, is the threatening race question, which already darkens the horizon. The deep-seated nationalist movements in the coloured races everywhere supply evidence of this.

Nationalism and materialism in their purest form calmly declare in the face of these conditions : ' It must be so, sin exists, mankind is wicked, selfish, greedy and violent. If man wishes to exist, to retain and add to his possessions, it must be by means of struggle and strife, fire and blood. It is vain to think that a different spirit, a spirit of fraternity and love, should prevail. We have only to go on till the self-destructive forces have reduced everything to chaos. Meantime, let each man do the best he can for himself.

But the Church of Christ must not and cannot take such a view of international conditions. It is called to instil into the spirit of man the Spirit of God and of Christ, the spirit of love and righteousness and reconciliation. It is called to raise mankind, with the help of God, out of the mire of selfishness, suspicion and enmity into which it has sunk, to place it on the firm and sunlit heights of solidarity and brotherly love.

The Church of Christ must seek to build a bridge over the abyss which separates the nations—not least the white and coloured peoples—a bridge with firm foundations on both sides, foundations of mutual respect and confidence, which stand fast and immovable. The value of the human soul, its sanctity and the sanctity of righteousness, must be upheld in the spirit of God and of Christ.

The feeling of brotherhood, the spirit of service, must form a part in international intercourse in general, and when the white race comes into contact with the coloured races.

The Church of Christ on earth must show itself possessed of a divine and scriptural large-mindedness in international relations. In the midst of all the one-sidedness, selfishness and limitations to which history bears witness, we experience a feeling of relief when we see how revelation represents God in His plan of salvation, and Christ in His work of salvation, as embracing all mankind with the same love and care.

God spoke thus to Abraham : ' In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.' And again we find in the prophet Isaiah : ' It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel : I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, and that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.'

And with His deep feeling for all, the Saviour Himself says : ' Other sheep I have which are not of this fold ; them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice ; and there shall be one flock and one shepherd.'

In his speech on the Acropolis in Athens the Apostle Paul formulates the Christian standpoint in this matter in the words : ' God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.' And St. Peter testifies that ' God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him.'

We are thus fundamentally one single brotherhood; we have one God and Father and one Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Suspicion and enmity are unworthy of us, and work evil—love and confidence are our true element.

The Ecumenical Conference is imbued with a strong feeling of responsibility and deeply conscious that it is God's will that His Church should carry the spirit of Christ into all international relations ; it has, therefore, taken up for consideration this important question. Only the Church of Christ can diffuse the spirit of Christ in the world. And God will that it should be done now, in our time and by us.

Jesus Christ, our Saviour, shows the way to the place of peace, where the people will live safely and in undisturbed retirement. He does it not only in speech but also in actions. *By the blood on His cross He has pulled down the partition wall among the nations and thereby prepared the*

way for peace. It is on the *sacrificial way of peace* the Church of Christ will reach its goal. *Are we prepared and willing to go this way?*

May His grace be mighty in us to carry out His will! So shall the cause of the people be furthered and the rule of God upon the earth be strengthened. In this hope we pray: 'Thy kingdom come!'

Dr. Kapler (Germany)

I beg to place before you the unanimous opinion of the German delegates on the Report of the Commission on 'The Church and International Relations.'

The German delegates thoroughly endorse the Saviour's words that extol as blessed and name as children of God those who, as far as in them lies, not only keep peace but also make peace. They acknowledge warmly and gratefully the efforts of the Commission which has endeavoured, in such a peaceful mind, to find a means of solving the problem of war and of establishing an international organization that would ensure peace. But they are unconvinced that their efforts would achieve these ends.

Although the suggested proposals contain much that is admirable, they do not take fully into account the extraordinary difficulties of the problem involved, and their unconditional adoption might, contrary to the intentions of the Commission, lead to fatal misconceptions.

We join in this pronouncement in the expectation that the Conference will not proceed to a vote on the Report of the Third Commission, a course which it has adopted with regard to the other reports.

Dr. Klingemann (Germany)
(Superintendent of the Rhine Province)

We feel ourselves united to the whole Conference in the great aim of an understanding among the nations securing peace. In the interest of this great aim for the sake o

truth I am bound to state some apparent deviations from the results forwarded by the committee.

The central aim we work for is the Kingdom of God. But we cannot identify any state of temporal welfare with the Kingdom of God, nor can we believe that a state of things within our power may hasten the coming of this Kingdom. Far less can we acknowledge the conservation of the present state in the relation of nations as a step forward in promoting the reign of God. Luther taught us 400 years ago to separate the idea of God's Kingdom from all earthly endeavours on the ground of temporal welfare.

If we recognize in a work tending to peace and understanding, in which we are most willing to collaborate, an endeavour pleasing to God, we are not able to believe in the near coming of peace as long as the blessings of peace are denied to our nation.

As far as regards church influence I may be allowed to remind you that Christians will always form a minority in the life of nations and that the questions of peace and war follow their own laws which we cannot change. A great statesman has explained the whole art of statesmanship as the ability of seizing the last end of God's mantle rushing through the events of history. We do not know if it will please God to bless us with an age of peace or if His hand will be stretched out in judgment over the nations. In no way are we allowed to interfere with God's purposes, and His Kingdom does not depend on a state of things we are able to bring about. Enough if we try to do His will. You will pardon me if I state a view of the great questions involved which may not be yours. We suffer under heavy burdens and cannot judge with that equanimity which may come natural to nations satisfied with the present state of things.

My countrymen in the Rhineland, Catholics as well as Protestants, would not be able to understand it if our

craving for deliverance from a state of inner and outward oppression should be passed over in silence. We live under heavy burdens, our land and nation is torn to pieces, our wealth is destroyed, our industrial life is fettered.

If some of the conditions imposed upon us seem to put our nation, so to say, under punishment we cannot cease to state that our nation in a hard struggle was convinced of its good, right and holy cause. It has been stated, that there may be complications in the life of nations that only war can solve. Now remember that disarmed we live in an armed world. We wait for the promised general disarmament to be able to believe in peace.

Far be it from me to undervalue the idea of a League of Nations. We may question its possibility, we may even consider this idea as a danger to the liberty and independence of nations. But in the present state of the League we cannot find religious power or any communion with the Kingdom of God. If we are ready to acknowledge good and wholesome principles in the constitution of the League of Nations, we must express the complaint that the right of minorities to a large extent is not valid as far as minorities of our language are concerned. We are glad to state, that in Resolution 6 of the Committee's Report this right is expressly recognized.

For truth's sake you will kindly value a frank word. Thankful for help and love received we do not ask for your help in our distress. We only want our position to be understood. We claim no more than free and open space for our own endeavours to heal our wounds. We suffer, we wait, we work, we pray, we hope.

LADY PARMOOR (England), THE REV. OLIVER DRYER (England), THE REV. PETER AINSLIE, D.D. (U.S.A.), CANON DOUGLAS (England), PASTOR D. N. FURNAJIEFF (Bulgaria), ARCHIMANDRITE J. SCRIBAN (Roumania) also spoke.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (*continued*)

SENIOR PETER WACK (Jugoslavia), PROFESSOR LUDWIG KÖHLER (Switzerland), THE RT. REV. J. STIJSKAL, BISHOP OF OLOMOUC (Czecho-Slovakia), and THE METROPOLITAN OF SOFIA (Bulgaria) continued the discussion, which concluded with the following speech.

M. LE PASTEUR ELIE GOUNELLE (France)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, Allow me to intervene in the great debate on the actual relations between the nations considered from the point of view of the Gospel and the spirit of Jesus Christ. This Conference is deeply divided on the question of the meaning to be given to the scriptural idea, which inspires us all, of the Kingdom of God. Some are only willing to see in it a synonym for salvation by grace, or for forgiveness, others see in it a new material social order ruled by God. But whatever our explanation of the Kingdom of God may be, whether spiritual or material, individualist or social, is of little account after all! The relations between nations, as a practical matter, for all of us who are here, ought to be governed by the laws of this Kingdom, and we ought all in every way to wish that the will of God, the will of righteousness and peace, may be done on earth, assuming that we accept the programme of the Lord's Prayer. We must therefore believe and act in accordance therewith. Certainly we cannot penetrate the designs of God, or foresee the difficulties which man's liberty involves; and no one can therefore affirm as an absolutely certain truth that the rule of God will be

established on earth. But we are surely ' fellow-workers with God,' and called to labour with Him for the establishment on earth of this rule.

This morning, a speaker (Dr. Klingemann) belonging to the German Delegation, with which I have had the personal happiness during this session to enjoy very friendly relations, proclaimed the special sufferings of his people and perhaps exaggerated those sufferings a little. And he has deemed it to be his duty to contrast them with the alleged satisfaction enjoyed in the present peace by peoples whom he called victors. He has refused to see in the efforts organized for peace, notably in those of the League of Nations, any contribution to the work of righteousness or brotherhood, although these efforts, however partial and imperfect they may be, appear to us French Christians as steps on the road of the Kingdom of God.

Will you allow me, brethren from across the Rhine, since we are in a Christian Conference, to address you with sympathy and yet with firmness, for I am bound to declare in the most explicit way that I take exception to what the speaker has said ?

We do not identify the condition of actual peace with the righteousness of God and of His Kingdom any more than yourselves. We are, alas, still very far indeed from such a situation ! and we are no more satisfied with the situation than yourselves. No one is satisfied. Who could be satisfied with a peace poisoned by so much misunderstanding, mistrust and evil passion ? You are not alone in suffering. We also suffer ourselves, and who can or will dare to compare the sufferings of peoples ? We utterly protest against the doctrine of discouragement and the fatalistic and pessimistic view expounded to us this morning, both as it affects the Kingdom of God, where I take exception on religious grounds, and as it affects the

League of Nations, where I take exception on social and international grounds.

Why should we deny or misunderstand the action of the Spirit, even in the present chaos? For our part we behold the Star, and we march towards it. We even claim that the ideal of a world made perfect by right is coming nearer to us, thanks to the League of Nations, and that there are many magnificent human endeavours which the Spirit inspires, endeavours which in the international sphere coincide with the grace of God.

The League of Nations is not perfect—it is only a beginning. This noble thought, I might almost say this prayer, of President Wilson (a misunderstood genius whom the historian of to-morrow will greet as one of the greatest pioneers, one of the brightest ornaments of humanity) will not remain without fruit. The future will see its fulfilment.

The League of Nations is only a frail child in a cradle, but it has been born with life pulsing in it, and it must be saved. And we shall not allow it to be destroyed, or to be used for ends inconsistent with its original purpose. We must cherish it in love, and help it grow.

The speaker to whom I have referred in his review made one particular admission that I accept, the admission that the League of Nations acted as the useful protector of minorities. But how many other admissions he might and should have made besides! There is the International Labour Bureau. There are wars which have been avoided, and a thousand other services in most varied fields. There is the amazing fact, without precedent in the life of the world, of fifty-four nations co-operating to promote a state of international peace on earth. Is this nothing?

And all the nations, so fully represented in this assembly, beg and implore you to enter. O my brothers of Germany, do not stand aside from the League of Nations. We await

you, we stretch out our hands to you. Enter the League to co-operate with it: 'not to destroy but to fulfil,' to enlarge and improve it, even, if you will, to join us in reforming the great institution to which the Covenant gave birth, so that international right may triumph, and the family of free, peaceable and fraternal peoples may at last be complete.

And I am glad, in addressing the German Delegation as a French Christian, to conclude with this saying of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which I will repeat in the language of Goethe: 'Nicht mitzuhassen, mitzulieben bin ich da!'

IVc. THE RACE PROBLEM

The Bishop of Bombay (India)

(The Rt. Rev. E. J. Palmer, D.D.)

'We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge.' So we say in the solemn words of the Te Deum, addressing our Lord Jesus Christ. For the Father 'gave Him authority to execute judgment because He is the Son of Man' (St. John v. 26).

When we approach what are called race-problems, we are apt to start from the other end. We speak of their alarming importance: or we entangle ourselves in a mass of details about their history: or we represent them as a regrettable result of our wonderful modern civilization. Let me ask you to begin this session by trying to see these problems in the light in which they are viewed by Him who is to be our Judge.

What we know of His earthly life is all very concrete: and I present you with three pictures.

Pictures of Jesus

He sat down by a well in a country inhabited by a mixed population, and He had a conversation with a woman whom

we should call a half-caste. He spoke to her of the water of life, as on another occasion He spoke to His own countrymen. She spoke to Him of the difference between Samaritan and Jewish ideas of worship. He did not say they were equally good. 'Ye worship what ye know not: we worship what we know: for salvation is of the Jews.' Lastly He spoke to her of her personal sins, for the moral law applied to her just as much as to anyone else.

Here is another picture. A Roman centurion, an officer of the hated foreign garrison, but one who had attached himself to the God of Israel, came to ask Our Lord for help because his slave had been struck down with paralysis. Our Lord offered to go and heal him. The officer said he was unworthy of a visit from Jesus, and asked Him only to say the word and then he knew his slave would be healed. Our Lord turned round to His own countrymen who accompanied Him, and said: 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.' And He added: 'Many shall come from the east and the west and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom shall be cast into outer darkness.' You observe how He emphasizes the privileges of His own race. But you remember also that it is *that* race and not others, which He was accustomed to denounce with terrible severity: for, as He often said, 'To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required.'

Again, His journeys had brought Him to the borders of a foreign country. A foreigner, a Syrophoenician woman, came and asked Him to cast forth an unclean spirit out of her daughter. He began by referring to the self-imposed limits of His mission. 'Let the children first be fed: for it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs.' Immediately the mother answered, 'Yea, Lord: even the dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs.'

The answer was witty ; it was true ; and it was humble. I can see Our Lord's face light up, and I fancy that He broke into that simple joyous laughter which is one of the healing powers in this world. ' A good answer,' He said, ' and you shall have your will : the devil is gone out of your daughter ' (St. Mark vii. 24 ff.). Human need had spoken to a compassion both human and divine : the healing power of the Saviour knew no distinction of race.

These pictures are enough to assure us that the Apostles were speaking with the authority of their Master when they stated the doctrine in the abstract. ' God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to Him ' (Acts x. 34). ' There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female : for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus ' (Gal. iii. 28 ; cp. Col. iii. 11).

The Equality and Inequality of Men

Let us apply all this to our problem. This whole question is darkened for us by the concept of the equality of men, and the fact of their inequality. What is the Christian view of that antithesis ?

Equality in regard to Salvation

1. First, there is a real equality of men before God. All men have sinned. Jesus died for all. God wills that all men should be saved. All may become saints.

Equality in regard to the Moral Law

2. Second, there is a real equality before the moral law. Justice, mercy, and faithfulness are virtues which all may by God's grace acquire. They are not virtues of black people or brown people or yellow people or white people, but of men. And they are the same virtues whether they

are practised towards black or white or yellow or brown people. So too with the vices. Murder is wicked in a black man or in a white man: and it is just as wrong to murder a black man as to murder a white man. Fornication is wrong whoever does it, and with whomsoever he does it. It is just as wrong to rob a black man of his property as a white man, and it is equally wicked whatever the colour of the robber. Hatred is wicked whoever is the hater and whether he hates foreigners or his own countrymen. It is hypocrisy in a Christian to condone any of these things because of an alleged race-problem.

The equality of men before the moral law and their equality before the Saviour, as objects of His salvation, these two great equalities have no relation whatever to distinctions of race. Further, they are so closely connected with all that is most real, that when they are vividly remembered, then differences of race are most easily forgotten.

Equality of Opportunity

3. There is a third equality of which men sometimes speak, equality of opportunity. This is put forward as a right. Men are said to have an equal right to self-realization and so forth. In the Christian view no man has any right to anything—because of his sin he has lost any rights he might have had. The grace of God offers him freely the chance of recovery; and since it is abounding grace, it offers the most wonderful exaltation to the most downtrodden and afflicted, 'the gospel to the poor.' But though this is true, yet no man and no race has a right so to seek his or its own interest as to cause affliction and disaster and make self-realization well-nigh impossible for other men or races. 'Woe unto him through whom the offence cometh!'

Inequality of Men and Races

Beyond these great equalities we must admit inequalities on all hands as Our Lord Himself plainly did. There are inequalities between one man and another which arise from heredity, environment, training, public opinion, and his own reactions to these and to the Spirit of God. There are similar inequalities of races, though the factors which make for inequality are differently proportioned in the race and in the individual. Again, the inequalities of races show themselves differently from those of individuals. When it is said that two men are unequal, it is meant that their achievements and capacities are unequal. This may be true of two races. But this is not what is usually meant in regard to the races. What is really meant is that the great majority of men in a race have some common characteristics, and that the races compared are unequal because of those race-characteristics. This judgment immediately introduces a standard of value. We call races lower or higher according to the value which we set on their race-characteristics. One of the deepest causes of misunderstanding among nations is that they do not understand or appreciate each other's *virtues*.

We have been told not to judge, and promised that, if we do not judge, we shall not be judged. But anyhow if we must judge, let it be according to Christian standards. Do we not tend to call races ' higher ' or ' lower ' according to the degree to which they have assimilated our vaunted modern civilization? But the characteristic fruits of ' modern civilization ' are comfort, amusement, hurry, wealth, luxury. But ' a man's life consisteth not in the multitude of the things that he possesseth,' nor even in the multitude of the things that he can do in one day. And there is a still darker side to modern civilization. It claims

to have abolished slavery. But the impersonal ruthlessness of the industrial organization is a heavier instrument of oppression than the caprice of the slave-owner. Let us then cease to classify races according to the aptitude they show for 'modern civilization.' If we must classify them, let us do so according to moral achievements and capacities. If we must judge, let us judge righteous judgment.

The records of the Gospels show that our Lord recognized two kinds of inequalities between races, inequalities of capacity and inequalities of privilege.

Inequalities of Capacity

The outstanding instance of His recognition of inequality of capacity is His attitude to the Roman power. He refused to have anything to do with the Jewish nationalist movement. He affirmed in the clearest language that it was by the will of God that the Romans ruled Palestine. He knew that the Romans could secure peace and order and the Jews could not. He recognized frankly an inequality of national capacity, even when it involved admitting the inferiority of His own countrymen. This judgment of our Lord needs to be studied in relation to those political problems which are aggravated by race-differences.

Inequalities of Privilege

Our Lord also recognized inequality of privilege between races, but drew from it the lesson that the races which have been privileged to receive more enlightenment have heavier responsibilities. They ought to give more service to the world. If they fail, they incur greater condemnation. If the so-called 'higher races' take this view of their superiority there will be fewer race-problems.

Imitators of God

Let us now compare these equalities and inequalities of races and men. The great equalities which we observed, the equality before God the Saviour, and the equality before the moral law, are not properly equalities of men. They are equalities which originate in God's nature. They are the result of His equal love and His equal justice. In men and races most things which attract our attention are unequal, their achievements, their capacities, their privileges, their circumstances, their characters. Yet God goes out to meet all those inequalities with His equal justice and with His equal love.

The solution of the race-problems of the world is that we should be 'imitators of God.'

'Haec si cognoveritis, beati eritis si feceritis.' It is well indeed to recognize this duty, but no one will bless us till we have done it. And out of the daily doing of acts of justice and love regardless of race is born—or reborn—the conviction that God made men for something better than equality. God made men for unity. For He gave them a single nature. 'He made of *one* blood all nations of men.' That was God's intention. But man would not have it. Yet God planned a restoration. 'Ye are all one man in Christ Jesus.'

It is one function of this Conference to try to work with God towards this restoration of the unity of mankind. But it can only be 'in Christ Jesus.'

Professor Julius Richter (Germany), The Rev. W. Y. Bell (U.S.A.), Miss Fan (China), The Bishop of Mombasa (East Africa), Dr. Reichelt (China), The Rev. J. A. B. Cook (Singapore), and Mr. Fred. B. Smith (U.S.A.), also spoke.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1925

EVENING SESSION (5–7 P.M.)

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (*continued*)

IVd. THE CHURCH'S ACTION FOR PEACE AND AGAINST WAR

THE RT. HON. LORD PARMOOR (England)

I UNDERSTAND that we are met together as missionaries of Peace, Christian Peace. Christian Peace is not to be regarded as an interlude in warfare, but a peace, permanent in character, constituting a normal and settled condition in international intercourse, and founded on Christian understanding. There is no more important question to the future of Christianity, whether we regard it as the guiding factor in the future of civilization, or in its power of appeal, as a beacon light, to the leading spirits of the younger generation.

Religion has struck deeper than any other influence in the evolution of human thought and action. We as Christians have desired, and desire, to make our religion a helpful agency for all, irrespective of historical tradition, or race, or frontier. Christianity should be an ideal conception to be used as the basis of all spiritual inspiration and human action. The teaching of the Gospel is of world-wide application, a divine message to all mankind.

Religion has not escaped, and it could not be expected to escape, the risks which attach to a deep-seated zeal and sincerity. Christianity, the religion founded by the Prince of Peace, who blessed the peacemakers, and promised that they should be called the Children of God, is, itself, liable to the reproach both of having encouraged religious wars and justified religious persecution. There is, however,

an overwhelming balance on the credit side of the account. Christianity has appealed through centuries to the idealisms, and visions, which keep alive the nobler inspirations of humanity. Above all, the Christian message has pointed the way to a conception of a common human peace-loving fellowship. In this fellowship the members are linked together in a brotherhood, owing to one another the mutual duty of unselfish service. There have been acute divisions of opinion on subjects of importance ; but it remains true that all Christians in their allegiance to Christ constitute one flock under one shepherd. Christians turn instinctively to Christ at all times for guidance and assistance, more especially in times of doubt or difficulty. It is in courage, just conduct, the determination to put right in the place of force, and the sense of duty towards one another, that they find a power of communion with the common Master, irrespective of the branch of the Universal Church, which, by its appeal to their spiritual consciousness, claims their loyalty and allegiance. These qualities have supported them under the cruelty of martyrdom, and now come to their aid when conscience, bringing Divine guidance and accepted by many as the supreme test of a Divine element in all human beings, obliges them to assert the supremacy of Christian duty.

It is necessary to state clearly the fundamental character of the error which suggests that the love of peace and the desire to maintain it as the normal relationship in international intercourse, gives any ground for the allegation, that Christians are, in any sense, opposed to the high duties of a true national loyalty and patriotism. Christianity teaches not that the duties of loyalty and patriotism should be neglected, but that they should be modified in character and placed on a higher ethical level, appealing not to the supremacy of brute force, but to the acceptance of justice,

as the basis of action, and deepened by an understanding of the value of the injunction 'to bear one another's burdens.' There must be a full acceptance of the teaching that the Christian rule of duty, the golden rule, towards our neighbours includes the relations of nations as well as of individuals. For this purpose all members of the human family should be regarded as brethren in Christ.

No one has illustrated more forcibly than the late Prime Minister of Sweden, in his life and work that internationalism, rightly understood, should be the main determining factor in moulding the action of a great patriot. Those who had the honour and privilege of working with him can never forget the constancy of his support to the principles of justice and equality among nations, and his firm understanding of the basic conditions on which the success of a society of nations necessarily depends.

That difficulties will certainly arise, in defining the frontier line between the spheres of divine law and of state obligation, is no ground for undue alarm. I do not regard the statutes of Great Britain, or any similar exposition of law in other countries, as having, in any direct sense, the sanction of Divine authority. It must be remembered that there is often a wide differentiation between what constitutes a state as distinct from that which constitutes a nation. Such difficulties have existed from the commencement of the Christian era, and modern persecution is not more than a faint reflex of the conditions which attached to the punishment of early martyrs, or to the horror of the great religious wars. It was, however, the courage of the early martyrs which turned the world to a belief in Christian truths. Bishop Westcott expresses the true view when he says, 'The fact of intercourse with God, of affinity to God, must, if they are received, find expression in life. The life of believers is, in Christ's own words, the

revelation of God to the world.' No one who accepts the opinion thus expressed by Bishop Westcott and appreciates the responsibilities which it implies, can justify any uncertain action in matters of conscience.

It is not, however, my purpose to emphasize at any length the implications of Christian duty. The limitations of space and time compel me at once to pass to the problem of its application in international relations. The great teaching of Christianity that should dominate the whole international outlook consists in awakening the consciousness of the unity of human brotherhood, and in insisting on the claim of men or nations within this brotherhood to equal rights in the settlement of all disputes of whatever character. There is no reason to weaken this principle by a dialectical discussion of possible difficulties. The present need, if the mission of the Gospel is to be fulfilled, is to establish a course of consistent conduct. Within wide limits there is an ample basis for general Christian agreement. This teaching is the more remarkable having regard to the intense spirit of nationalism inherent in the whole teaching of the Jewish religion. The only practicable way of giving reality to this spiritual inspiration is by the constitution, in some form, of an international community in which the member states recognize the duty of mutual responsibility and of mutual restraint in the common interest. They must be prepared to make some sacrifices, and to take some risks to promote the great principle of human peace. Neither individuals nor nations that refuse to make some sacrifice, or to take some risks, can ever claim to march as pioneers in the vanguard of progress. There may be great difference of opinion as to the power and influence which the member states should consent to confer on a society of nations, but the constitution of a society, in some form, is essential to give a practical form to Christian idealism.

and to constitute in any true sense what is called a League, or Society, of Nations.

In the absence of a central body to represent the influence of international co-operation and common understanding, nationalism has grown in two directions which require careful pruning, if it is to be kept in accord with Christian ethics. Nationalism, and especially modern nationalism, has given rise to an exaggerated cultivation of competitive and selfish instincts, resulting in a strenuous race to obtain the first place both in military dominance and in trade expansion. This race, based on the assertion of claims rather than on the recognition of duty, has no doubt been stimulated by the motive of efficiency. At the same time it has been mainly influenced by the motive of selfish supremacy, so repugnant to the life and teaching of Christ. Christ's words will be present to the minds of Christians: 'But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'

The moral standard of the world, as expressed in the obligations undertaken by the signatories of the Covenant of the League, recognises the limitation within which military equipment should be restrained, so as to be applicable only for defensive purposes. If armaments are maintained at an expensive aggressive level, they will certainly be used, sooner or later, for aggressive purposes. Moreover, the Allied powers, in answer to the objections raised by Germany to the Treaty of Versailles, stated their intention to open negotiations immediately with a view to the adoption of a scheme for the general reduction of armaments. This is a very solemn obligation, but not, so far, fulfilled. Unilateral disarmament is an impossible

condition if peace is to be settled and permanent. This factor is recognized both in the Covenant of the League and in the Treaties, of which the Covenant is an integral part.

The premisses, on which competitive trade production has been built up, presuppose that, for purposes of financial gain, the human race are entitled to pursue an unchristian, self-seeking policy, unrestrained by a due observance of social or international duty. It was the wide support of the competitive system, pressed, unduly, both in military equipment and in trade development, that, in the main, brought about the cataclysm of the Great War, and the same consequences will recur again, unless the message of Christianity and the duty of accepting the burden of unselfish action for the common good, so essentially international, can be established as a guiding principle. When once established, it would become a recognized rite of international conduct, and the question of sanctions would be of minor importance.

I understand that it is a main object of the Conference to show that it is not enough to accept Christian peace as the ideal solution to counteract the racial animosities which have brought modern civilization to the verge of ruin, but that there must be also a positive peace policy, to enable this idealism to take root and flourish as a vigorous plant, capable of growth and extension. It is largely on this ground that the importance of initiating and maintaining, at Geneva, a generous tolerant understanding of what is involved in the friendly settlement of international difficulties, arises. This is not an occasion for going at length into the principles on which the resolutions of the Fifth Assembly were founded. In truth, the principles are not complex or difficult. These principles, however, clearly denote two ideas of outstanding importance

to Christian ethics. The first is that there is no guarantee of peace except through the acceptance of the conception of a commonwealth infused with a Christian spirit. In this commonwealth the members must stand to one another in a relationship of equality. As between the members of this commonwealth, all disputes should be settled by friendly methods, so that the obligation not to resort to war, undertaken in solemn terms by the signatories of the Covenant, may be effective. This is necessary to ensure such a measure of security as will allow a real reduction of armaments to a defensive level, and enable aggressive war to be denounced as an international crime. The second is that all members of a Christian fellowship should, by declaring their trust in one another, and the desire to co-operate with one another, put an end to unworthy suspicions and doubts, and be prepared to work together as brothers in the true spirit of human solidarity.

Help must come from the churches, and from men of assured Christian courage and faith, but with their help all is possible. Such a man was the late Bishop of Oxford, whose loss we all deplore. To me his friendship was invaluable, but Christians must ever make good the loss, by closing up their ranks and showing themselves ready to share in the burdens which come to them as members of the Christian family. I will commend the words attributed to the great British religious thinker, Dean Colet, 'Why shall we try to narrow what Christ intended to be broad, or seek to superimpose fetters which it was Christ's mission to unloose.' No man of real sincerity and intellectual courage can, if he is honest and sincere, command the conclusions at which he arrives in ethical research. Sir Thomas More admirably expresses this position in his famous *Defence of Religious Freedom*, in which he states that 'A man cannot think what he listeth.' In other

words, a man of sincerity cannot accept opinions other than those which result from the courageous acceptance of his own conclusions. More, who was the friend of Colet and Erasmus, wrote in *Utopia* a pointed censure of Henry VIII's passion for war : ' The Utopians hate war as plainly brutal although practised more eagerly by man than by any other animal.' It may be well also to remember More's statement that he desired his country to be a community of one people well-to-do, and educated throughout. I wish that *Utopia* could be more fully studied, as it contains the germs of much that has subsequently been advocated in the formation of a true Christian society.

It is by meetings of this character that a better understanding can be reached ; but above all by frank discussion and interchange of opinion in open conference. May I be allowed in conclusion to quote a short passage from a speech made by me to the Fifth Assembly at Geneva. ' I do not approach this question in any pessimistic spirit. I believe in the triumph of right and in the triumph of morality. Although we may have to wait in patience, we can look forward to the certain success of those great principles of Christian ethics and Christian charity, which alone can bring peace and comfort to the various nations of the world.'

M. le Pasteur Jézéquel (France)

(General Secretary of the National Union of Reformed Churches in France)

When we say Church we evidently mean Christian Church. But setting the Church to face the formidable problem of war and peace, have we any right to pretend that we are speaking of the Church at large or even of the Christian Church ? The latter is divided into many denominations which have neither the same dogmas nor

the same ritual, nor the same organization. Can we speak of them as being a bloc? We must, alas! answer affirmatively that facing the problem we are dealing with, Christian denominations are all alike. It is not possible to make any difference between them, there is only one Church, alike in her attitude through the centuries and in every land, which can at least on this ground call herself universal.

For all Christian churches, whatever may be their colour or their particular conception of religion, have considered war with the same eyes. All have welcomed war with the same serene face: all have blessed her: all have sung the Te Deum for all the victories.

What can these churches do against war and for peace when they have always been united for war and against peace? What can they do? The contrary of what they have done until now. If, tearing themselves from the deadly attraction that force and violence have always exercised on them, they want to become the messengers of concord and goodwill, they must first accomplish a deed. They must fall on their knees and each of them and all together must proclaim, 'I am guilty'! Repentance they owe to the past, to this horrible past, heavy with shame and red with blood. They owe it to the future, for a solemn repentance alone is able to bring back to them the confidence of men and to provide them with the blessing of our Heavenly Father.

So that, if she wishes to bring peace on earth the Church must first break with war and refuse to have henceforth any toleration of it. She must hurl at it the excommunication which she so often has brandished against the devoted leaders in movements for progress and goodwill. The Church must declare war on war, and assert that war is cursed by God as it is execrated by mothers. She must condemn it as unjust and evil to the bottom. There will

be a deep murmur among men on the day when they will hear the Church proclaiming with all her soul anathema on war.

While proposing to the Church to adopt such an attitude I do not mean to ask her to take part in the delicate and troubling discussion of the relation between right and force. Must not right be supported by spiritual forces alone? Must not right confine itself to the moral power? Must right remain unarmed among the men relying on its prestige and its splendour or must it take service in force and regale itself in a halo of flashing bayonets? Has it the right when claiming the obedience of nations, to speak through the thunder of cannon? This is an immense debate which for centuries philosophers and theologians have faced and which is for the human conscience one of the most disturbing and painful of all problems.

But really the problem we have to deal with does not include this debate. This is not the hour to wonder whether the upright man has a right to prevent an aggression when he sees it coming: or whether he has a right to defend himself against the aggression, of which he is a victim.

The question we are discussing is really much less complicated. I can ask the Church to condemn war radically without waiting for the problem of the relations between right and force to be settled, for war is no more necessary to right. This is not a paradox, but, it seems to me an evident reality. Do not misunderstand me: earnestly as I long for peace, holy as she seems to me, I do not place peace above all, I do not say: 'Peace at any price.' Above peace itself I place the divine face toward which all human generations one after the other rise with stately step: righteousness, without which men declare that life is not worth living, justice first, justice before all, justice always.

But nevertheless, justice cannot separate herself from peace. Where there is no justice peace is not possible, and it is because I want peace that I seek for justice. We discover here the entirely new aspect that the problem we are facing has taken during the last years. For centuries, theoretically at least, war, that is to say force, could be considered as the necessary servant of peace. People could believe it was the only means to which, willing or not, they had to apply. I do not deny, though the case seems to me to be very rare, that it is possible to find in history examples of a war made for the triumph of justice. But to-day the situation is entirely different. Following upon the Rights of Man, the rights of nations have at last come to be established, for the settlement of international disputes, by other means than the methods of constraint and violence. Such is the new fact, hardly perceived at the moment, but which in the eyes of growing generations will appear as glowing as the rising sun. In the human soil a grain has just been sown which has as yet produced only a slender and frail stalk, but which will grow and become the powerful tree under which nations will shelter themselves. Formerly a nation when threatened or attacked, could pretend that war was the only possible recourse for the saving of her existence. It is not true to-day, at least it is not entirely true, for we have just seen rising the conception of a new law.

As in personal conflicts the administration of justice has been placed in impartial hands, so in international conflicts in which until the present time war alone has been the deciding power, a superior force is tending to bring about a demand that the settlement of disagreements between nations be confided to an impartial tribunal.

Now from the moment when our civilization has risen to this conception of a tribunal for the differences between

nations, the Church will no longer have need to ask whether force is legitimate, whether war in certain cases can be justified : it will be for her only to condemn war absolutely. War is a crime since it can be avoided, since there is now a tribunal to which any menaced nation may appeal.

The tribunal to which I allude you have already named to yourself ; it is the League of Nations, it is humanity organized into order and harmony.

And here again I see very clearly all the objections which are raised. I no more undertake to examine them than to answer them. One single fact ought for us to dominate every other consideration. For centuries groaning humanity has been seeking a way which would permit it to escape from the hell in which war has imprisoned it, only to run up against the insurmountable walls of its prison. Now a breach has just been made, a ray of light has filtered through. Do not say the breach is too narrow for humanity to pass through, that the ray is quite too pale to guide it. No, no, a single duty imposes itself: to work to enlarge the breach, to march resolutely in this dim ray toward a light more radiant.

Without pausing over the imperfections of this newly born organism, without taking into consideration the inadequacy of the present League of Nations, the Church, with as much firmness as perseverance, ought to invite the nations to group themselves around her to guard her from all those who dream of destroying her. She ought, facing the leaders of men, tirelessly to repeat to them : if you are not bad shepherds, it is yours to finish the work begun, to correct and improve it until right is completely established and justice reigns. The Church ought to become the careful attendant of the League of Nations, not in her own interest, but because the League of Nations is order, it is concord, because the League of Nations is peace.

Also it ought not to hesitate to give to the idea which

has materialized in the Geneva organism its place in the cycle of the ecclesiastical year. One Sunday in each year she will invoke the benedictions of the Heavenly Father upon the holy enterprise and instruct her faithful how they may work for its success.

But the Church has not only the charge of the adults, she has also the sacred duty of preparing the children for the Christian life. She should consider it a grave failure in her task not to instruct them in the evangelical virtues. Her catechism would appear singularly insufficient if it did not contain in this regard the necessary precepts. By what strange misconception of the most elementary truth has the Church failed to accord to the duties of nations toward nations the same place which she accords to the duties of men toward men? 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour' applies to nations as well as to individuals. And it is this that the Church has now to learn on her own account in order to teach it to the faithful and especially to the children who are confided to her. I would wish that this pressing obligation be put upon the consciences of all those who have the redoubtable privilege of instructing in the name of the Church. How necessary it is that they should understand its immense importance. They know well and are fully assured that a man has not the right to lie, to deceive, to steal, to kill. They know well also that there are not two codes of morals, one for the lowly and one for the great. Let them teach that boldly and proclaim from the height of their pulpits and more especially in the schools and the catechisms, that nations should have the same moral standards as individuals, that to them also it is forbidden by the divine law to lie, to steal, and to kill. Then, when the Church will have thus formed in the school of truth the human generations, the evangelical promise will be realized: peace on earth.

Certainly, and thanks be rendered to God for it, all this is not absolutely new. If the Church is still very timid in the accomplishment of the task which has just been revealed to her, at least she begins to feel the gravity of it, and she has tried to put herself to the work. I need no longer undertake to demonstrate it to you, for numerous among you are those who were present at the impressive Sixth Conference of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, held here only a few days ago. The world Alliance is nothing else, in fact, than the concerted endeavour of the churches to obey the new commandment which they have received. Each individual church which has entered into the World Alliance has understood that it had the double task of working on its own account, while uniting its efforts to those of the other churches. And already they have established a solid organization of which the association, supple and firm at the same time, lends itself to the peculiar circumstances of each church, while keeping them all bound together as in a sheaf. Young as it still is, the Alliance has already a past : it has made useful experiments, it has proved its methods, and it offers itself to Christianity as an admirable instrument for work. It would be wasting gratuitously precious energy to risk complications and useless collisions, to abandon the Alliance in order to try to put on foot a new organization. The Alliance is there wholly established, endowed with all the necessary machinery : the Church would know how the better to work for peace only by maintaining and intensifying the confidence which it has already shown. May it come entirely in such a way that the Alliance be the Church and the Church be the Alliance and God's work will be accomplished.

I feel here how incomplete this paper is and how inadequate it is to the subject of which it treats. I should not

have dared to present it to you if I had not recollected that I was not obliged to try to tell everything. I was charged, after all, only with weaving some threads of the vast canvas which is here. Happily for you, others have worked with me, and better than I. Therefore it will suffice to address to you one last word. All together, we have sought in humiliation and in hope, that which the Church can do for peace. For my part I have shown you some of the tasks which have appeared to me among the most immediate. But there is one of them which dominates all the others. To neglect this duty would be to ruin the work undertaken even though all the others should be admirably fulfilled. It is not in fact through the excellence of its organization, through the ingenuity of its works, that the Church will give peace to the world. What she can do better, more strongly, more efficiently against war, is contained in one word: convert herself. Convert herself to the God whom she wishes to serve. All her checks, all her defeats are explained by her infidelity. Although she display an indefatigable ardour, although she mount to the greatest heights on the wings of thought, if she is not faithful she remains without influence over men. She has influence only in measure as she is converted. Though she should know how to discern all the causes of war, if she is not converted, she is only as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Though she should have the gift of announcing to men the evils which are born of their follies, the science of diplomatic combinations and the knowledge of the ambitions which move nations, though she believed in peace even to removing mountains of prejudices which weigh upon her, if she is not converted, the Church can do nothing. Though she despoil herself for the innumerable victims which battles leave behind them, though she sacrifice herself in order that nations may not clash with

each other, if the Church is not converted it avails her nothing.

Now then if the Church wishes that mothers no longer weep at the foot of the wooden cross, that blood no longer redden the earth, that the flames from burning cathedrals no longer set the skies ablaze, that the rattle of the dying no longer mount toward heaven as a blasphemy, if the Church wishes that there be peace on earth, a single duty comprises all other duties, one single thing remains which consists for her in turning herself away from her errors, in breaking her pride, in conquering her ambition, which consists for her in converting herself, in order to return with all her heart, with all her force and with all her soul to that One who has said : ' You are brothers : Love one another.'

ADOLF DEISSMANN, D.D. (Germany)
(Professor, University of Berlin)

WHAT can the churches do ? What can they do in this world where there is no peace ? What can they do to bring peace into the world ? When the Conference on Life and Work placed this subject on its programme, it knew that it would not meet in a world of peace.

The huge convulsions from the spiritual effect of which our Conference originated, are not yet at an end. Most of us have brought with us deep sorrows from our homes to this wonderful Swedish country, where we all alike experience nothing but kindness and love. Europe is without peace. It is shaking to its foundations. Political and economic problems of an unheard-of complexity hang over us like thunderclouds. Industrial life is in confusion. Labour is in a state of ferment. The great industries have no capital and are reducing their output. Unemployment

is increasing. The educated middle classes in many lands are impoverished and their social position is being lowered. The great words freedom, self-determination, justice have become empty phrases which arouse no faith. Bitterness, distrust, anxiety, uncertainty, rule our hearts. The East of Europe is a threatening Sphinx, the Near East a scene of ruin, the Far East knocks threateningly at the door of its exploiters. And everywhere with the exception of a few unarmed countries, metal and men are in the service of the God of War.

What can the churches do in such a time as this ?

When in June of this year (1925), under the cedar trees of Farnham, I was asked to speak at the Universal Conference together with Lord Parmoor, Pastor Jézéquel and Dr. Gulick, I realized, at once, how very difficult the task would be. At the same time I was deeply impressed with the fact that it was a noble task and truly worthy of such a Conference. For Christian men and women from various lands were meeting together to estimate and to interpret the spiritual significance of these last terrible years and to ask the question, what the churches could do to save mankind from similar catastrophes in the future.

The four speakers, who are to discuss this subject, will speak, not as internationalists, but as citizens of their own countries, a patriotic Briton, a patriotic Frenchman, a patriotic German and a patriotic American. The great ecumenical movement, in which we are all participating, does not aim at making a uniformly drab and inert mass of millions of standardized men out of the peoples and churches distinguished from one another by speech, by civilization and by historical experience. On the contrary, its aim is to conserve and ennoble everything in the way of specific endowment which God has entrusted both to nations and churches, in order that we may co-operate

together on the basis of the Gospel of Christ. Its aim is so to mobilize the churches that they may devote themselves to the service of the great ideal that all who confess the name of the Redeemer may form a united front against the powers of darkness.

One needs be no prophet to predict that each of the speakers in what he says will move along parallel or similar lines of thought. This would seem discouraging to those who have arranged the programme and who would naturally prefer that each speech should contain something original. But from the standpoint of the purpose of our Conference, I should regard it rather as a triumph, if it could be shown that Christian men both of the Old World and the New, belonging to many different churches and influenced by widely different social and political conditions, when brought face to face with the great problem of practical Christianity, find themselves at once upon a broad foundation of common fellowship. I would therefore urge you this evening to think less of what new thing each of us might say, but rather of that united appeal which we shall make under the influences of the same Gospel.

We doubtless all agree with the fundamental principle that the Church, as such, has a great international task and that this task is to work as a reconciling and restoring influence in a world torn by race hatred and by national and economic rivalries. The churches, as such, ought to feel their responsibility for this. There is a danger, however, that they may regard themselves merely as links between the difficult problem of mutual understanding and the League of Nations and so be ready to hand over to the League the tasks which properly belong to them. The League of Nations ought not to be the great waste-paper basket for the unsolved problems of humanity. I think there is a danger that we may overlook the gravity of our

task as churches. The idea of the League of Nations is a good one and we have great sympathy with it.

Our thinkers, poets and artists, *e.g.* Kant, Schiller, Beethoven, are the greatest prophets of the idea of the League of Nations, and I should like to suggest to our American friends to perform the Ninth Symphony on the day on which the United States enter the League of Nations. But even if the existing League of Nations should be essentially amended, the Church of Christ must not hand over her own world-wide task to a political organization.

It is one of the most extraordinary facts in the spiritual history of mankind that the movement which started in a small subject country, far from the great centres of power, of property, and of intellectual life, this movement of the age of the first Christian evangelists and apostles, in its very beginnings, should have set before itself a world goal, an ecumenical end. He, from whom this whole movement started, was able to say of Himself, 'I am the light of the world.' Yet at the same time, He laid upon the little company of His disciples the sacred charge, the divine duty, 'Ye are the light of the world.' Therefore the Church, if it would be the Church of the disciples of Jesus, must feel itself to be like a lighthouse, which sends forth the light of the Gospel to every people and to all the world, so that the individual and the community, the nations and all mankind, may know the way along which they should go if they would fulfil God's Will.

There is a Japanese proverb, which has exercised me greatly during these last months and which may come home to our Conference as a powerful appeal: 'There is darkness at the foot of the lighthouse.' This saying brings before us vividly the danger to which we are exposed, when we assign to the Church the great world-wide task of bringing about an understanding between the peoples. It is quite

possible for us to make all possible attempts to improve international relations by means of congresses, mutual visitations, correspondence, an organized Press service, and at the same time to forget the essential thing. And this is the essential thing, that we should begin the work of international understanding at home, that we should illuminate the territory which surrounds the lighthouse itself which is otherwise so often dark. We may apply to our Conference the serious and earnest words of the Bishop of Saxony with reference to the churches' sins of omission in the sphere of economic and industrial life. These words are equally applicable to our work in improving international relations. The churches have done far too little in their own lands for the Gospel to enrich and ennoble international life.

Let me repeat once again what is quite obvious. The churches must begin their international work by cultivating within their own lands that love of home and country as a good gift from God which runs like a warm stream through our veins. How could it be otherwise with such a church as the Greek Church, that veritable martyr church? She has always been to the Greek people a Magna Mater. It was the Greek Church which saved the Greek people during centuries of bondage, and still is to-day, as she stands like a Mater Dolorosa beneath the Cross, now as ever the spiritual refuge of the Greek Christians banished from the cities of the Apocalypse of the New Testament. It is so with every church. In my own home land, the church in the time of our national trial became the mother of our afflicted people. So it should be and must be, as to-day the Protestant Bishop of Rhineland, General Superintendent Dr. Klingemann, has courageously shown us.

But the deeper and the purer her patriotism, the more

will the Church cultivate that New Testament disposition which the Copec Report on International Relations describes as 'neighbourliness.' This is not the meaningless phrase of a feeble cosmopolitanism. When we announce to our churches, our children, our students, the essential unity of the human race, we bring them a message from the first Christian age. We supplement and make more spiritual the words St. Paul spoke on the Areopagus, with that other message that this physical unity becomes a spiritual unity in Christ, 'Ye are one body in Christ.' One body in Christ. And this body has miraculous power. I say miraculous because it is stronger than the greatest concentration of cosmic power. It is the power of those who have fellowship with our risen Lord and Saviour and which enables them to be a reconciling influence among hostile nations. Theologians differ as to the authenticity of the Epistle to the Ephesians. But whoever has grasped the sublime meaning of ch. ii. vv. 13-22 in all their divine elevation, has a proof of a 'testimonium spiritus sancti internum' and feels their force as a revelation, as 'gratia irresistibilis': 'He is our peace.'

αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν!

To this must be added the great idea of the solidarity of the disciples of Christ, revealed throughout the New Testament. Even outside in the ordinary economic life of the world we have had in these later years a demonstration of solidarity. We have been taught a rather painful lesson, viz. how the whole family of nations is interdependent. If one nation suffers, other nations suffer too. Yet Christianity has revealed to us the deeper spiritual solidarity of all those who feel themselves to be members of the body of Christ. If one member suffers, all members suffer. If one member suffers, the whole body suffers.

That is true in the spiritual as well as the material life. If a Christian nation is groaning under a heavy spiritual burden, this gives the churches of other lands the opportunity of manifesting unreserved, sincere and understanding love. If the relations of nations to one another are poisoned by centuries of hatred or by modern catchwords, the Christian churches must act as 'clearing houses' bringing order out of confusion. They must rid the atmosphere of its poisonous elements, so that respect may take the place of hate and confidence replace suspicion.

Wherever minorities, national, religious or racial, are suffering under hard restrictions, the churches should appeal, on behalf of their brethren in need, to the public opinion of the world; and they should become the advocates and protectors of such afflicted minorities, when they are found in their own countries. And when political or natural catastrophes happen to a nation and it cries to heaven in its dire need, the churches should hear in this the call of God, who will answer its prayers of anguish by their deeds of love and kindness. The great relief work of the churches of the Old and the New World for the nations of Central Europe, whose very existence was endangered by the World War and its consequences, is a shining example for future ecumenical action in time of overwhelming distress. The wonderful thing about this is that the co-operation in brotherly love draws both the churches and the nations nearer to one another. We shall never forget that before our Stockholm Conference there was Bethesda, and that Stockholm would never have been what it is without Bethesda. Stockholm is like a great trumpet; but before you could hear it, there sounded across Europe, bleeding from a thousand wounds, and still staggering under its terrible experience, the sweet music of harps from the House of Mercy at Copenhagen. With

these melodies in our souls, we went to Hälsingborg, and this first 'formal' conference of official delegates from the churches of North, South, East and West, which forms to-day our World Conference, soon got beyond the formal and official to the Christian atmosphere. These are the beginnings of those relations of mutual trust between brothers who, as one of the leaders then said, were united in service. There is abundant opportunity for international service, for example, in diplomacy, commerce, transport, journalism. It is the task of the churches to organize an ecumenical service, not only through common works of charity, but by organizing a net-work of personal relations, of mutual give and take. A news agency between the churches in various lands might communicate information regarding the main lines of their development; the exchange of students and teachers might give a wider mutual influence to the spiritual and intellectual work of the theological faculties; the synods and congresses of the churches might be enriched by the friendly visits of delegates from churches of neighbouring lands; and in all churches a selection might be made of the younger ministers and laymen, who combine linguistic attainment with a thorough knowledge of the characteristics of the churches and peoples of neighbouring lands and who might therefore interpret them to each other.

It is not inevitable that the Christian World Conference should always meet under the shadow of the Tower of Babel. The future must witness Pentecostal gatherings, at which Parthians and Medes and Elamites will understand each other without difficulty, when speaking together of the great deeds and the great demands of God. What an illustrious example the smaller churches, *e.g.* the Swiss, the Belgian, the Dutch and the Scandinavian Lutheran, are giving to the great churches and the great nations of the

world. Where would this ecumenical movement be but for the splendid support which it has received from the Christian peoples of these lands who have linguistic gifts and who possess a wide knowledge both of the world and of the churches! And how rich in new spiritual values the greater churches would be if they gave up what seems like a monopoly of language and gradually produced a group of young experts equipped with a wide knowledge and an intelligent understanding of the world. Our recent contacts with the venerable churches of the East, in which we heartily rejoice, should move us to study their organization and languages, *e.g.* the Slavonic languages and the language of the Patriarch of Alexandria, which may be easily acquired from the Greek of the New Testament. There can be no doubt but that a careful and sympathetic study of the history and the present conditions of the neighbour churches will be an edifying one. If we commence this study by asking ourselves the question, what can we learn from these churches and from their history, we shall never look down upon our neighbours with pharasaic superiority. The great thinkers, sufferers and leaders whom God has sent to other churches join hand in hand with our prophets and martyrs and form a great reserve which will encourage mutual understanding. For example, how significant for us Germans are such names as John Hus, Amos Comenius, the Huguenots, Pascal, Adolf Monod or John Wesley, Elizabeth Fry and the great Scottish reformers!

Brethren and Sisters! Let us preach Christ, proclaim His will as Master and Brother, transform men according to His image, revive by His Spirit the cold and dead self-centredness of our surroundings, blot out our lies with His truth, our unrighteousness with His righteousness, change our hatred into trust with His love; all these things

the churches may accomplish and so further the cause of peace and remove the causes of war. But perhaps someone will say, is there nothing more? There is blasphemy in the words, if they imply a doubt as to the power of God and His Gospel. The churches who will preserve themselves from such a doubt must perceive in these words an urgent call to penitent self-examination. If the churches had only put into practice long ago a tenth of the constructive forces entrusted to them by their Lord and Master, by exerting an influence on the relations between states and nations, the taunt of those words 'nothing more' would have been silenced.

Then would have been fulfilled the task which the Lord in the hour of His departure bequeathed to the Christian centuries, that the world should know that He has been sent by the Father. Has the world known since then that Christ is the incarnate Will of God? Does it know by the action of the churches, of Christian men and women, by our conduct? I fear we cannot answer these questions in the affirmative. The task is still before us to convince the world, the sinful world, the world of hatred, of wickedness, of lying, of darkness, that the living God Himself has sent Jesus Christ, and that the cause of Christ which we presume to represent, is divine. It is not the world's fault that the practical demonstration of the divine origin of our cause has not yet been successful. The divine power revealed in Christ does not work magically, but only through the sanctified wills of His disciples. It is our fault if the world has not submitted to the Will of God. The world is waiting for an aggressive movement from the Church. It desires this. In its tremendous need it longs for Christ. Those unknown men and women who wrote to our Conference from the factories of Berlin and other great European cities, and are even now praying for its success, those

unknown warriors of ecumenical activity are standing before us as the envoys of mankind. They say to us, 'Come over and help us.' The Church would find a deep echo among millions of weary and heavy-laden ones throughout the whole world if she would dispense, what she has to give, not only to individual souls but to the community, to the nations of mankind; if she would raise the Cross of Christ which guarantees to everyone of us reconciliation with God as the sure sign of reconciliation between the nations.

Perhaps it is the clearest sign of the present insecurity that the political leaders of states so often speak to-day only of security. They are searching for a reconciling formula, or 'Security Pact.' But there exists no other security pact than the pact with the living God, and the rebirth of man through this pact. Some time ago in Egypt there were recovered, on some torn leaves, some verses of a Nubian psalm on the Cross. Two Germans and a Welshman have deciphered them. This old Nubian confession—we have a Nubian Bishop with us—we ought to make ecumenical and effective:

> The Cross is . . .
> The hope of those who despair,
> the light of those who sit in darkness,
> the security of the world.

Allow me, dear comrades in the faith, to add one more word. When I was reflecting on my address a few days ago here in Stockholm and those ancient Nubian words came to me, I did not know that the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Luther, would also conclude his address to the Conference with a hymn to the Cross. There is no collusion between us. There is no collusion between me and the Bishop of Lichfield, and my honoured friends Bishop Brent and Lady Parmoor, who all, like myself, have taken refuge

in the Cross here at our Conference, from the fearful problems and riddles of our age. Similarly, centuries ago the ancient Nubian Psalmist inspired by a hymn of the Greek Church and the leaders of the apostolic church have shown that they are following the way to the Cross. Yes, all of us, the German statesman, the scholar, the English lady, the Bishops of the old and the new world, find ourselves journeying along different paths of sorrow, on the way to Golgotha, which the innumerable footmarks of known and unknown pilgrims trace for us from all times and all people back to St. Paul.

There is something profoundly moving in this flight to the Cross. It shows that we all, apart from our attempts at forming new creeds, have commenced to call to mind what is greatest and holiest, even the Crucified, who is the immovable foundation of our unity and the only effective power of God for reconciliation in international affairs for ever and ever. Let us remain even in the darkness of our time on the way to Him. 'Via crucis via lucis.'

THE REV. SIDNEY H. GULICK (U.S.A.)

(Secretary, Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, Federal Council of Churches of Christ)

WHEN I was a student in Berlin thirty years ago a deep impression was made upon me by the remark of Professor Harnack in one of his lectures that religion in its essence is that experience in the human soul whereby it finds God and God finds him. It called vividly to mind that well-known sentence of Augustine—'Thou hast made us for Thyself and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee.'

The Unique Function of the Church

The Church is the divinely established institution which brings to the restless, wandering, sinning soul of man this

personal experience of God; it brings that repentance and forgiveness of sin through Christ, that reconciliation to God, that work of the Holy Spirit and that consciousness of the reality of divine sonship which constitute the essential experience of the Christian religion. This mediation to the individual soul of these creative experiences is the unique purpose for which the Church exists, this fact we assume as the starting-point of our efforts to consider what the Church can do in removing the causes of war and thus in promoting permanent peace among the nations.

The answer which some give to this question is negative. The Church, they say, has no duty or responsibility in matters of war and peace. The Church deals with religion and religion alone. Questions of war and peace belong to the state; they are questions of national relations and of national policy. These are affairs of this world and are wholly outside the realm of religion.

Those, however, who set the topic for us evidently take another view. They evidently hold that the Church can do something in the removal of the causes of war and that it therefore has a duty in furthering world peace. I associate myself with those who take this second view.

The Fundamental Christian Ethic

The Christian religion enjoins on all believers the duty and the practice of brotherliness. It sets before the will of every believer the practice of the Golden Rule, the spirit of helpfulness exhibited in the parable of the Good Samaritan. Jesus emphasized the second commandment to love one's neighbour as of equal importance with the first commandment to love God. In expounding this teaching St. Paul in his letters to the early Christians declares that in Christ we are all one; that there is neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, male nor female. The practice of

the Golden Rule is not limited to members of one tribe or nation or race ; it is universal and absolute. This is God's will for men, the fundamental ethical foundation for His Kingdom.

Christianity and War

Christ's Kingdom is one of truth and righteousness, justice, brotherliness and love. These principles and ideals, Christ has convinced us, are rooted in the eternal and unchangeable character of God. His character is the ultimate fountain of all justice and law as well as the infinite source of all reason and love. It is because God is good that war must cease in a world where His will is to be done even as it is in Heaven.

In that wonderful Sermon on the Mount Jesus not only taught His disciples to pray for the coming of God's Kingdom in its fullness on earth as in Heaven, but He declared with utmost emphasis that not they who say 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter into His Kingdom, but they who *do* the will of His Father.

A moment's thought, however, shows that the spirit of men and nations engaged in war is in complete contradiction to the teachings and the spirit of Jesus. Hatred, fear, suspicion, lying, injustice, deception, lust, unbrotherliness and murder—these are the spirit that control men in war, and they are manifestly and absolutely unchristian. They have no place in the Kingdom which Christ came to establish. They are the spirit and the conduct which Christ came to abolish.

Manifestly, therefore, the Church, if it is to be loyal to its Lord, cannot declare that it has no concern with matters of war and peace ; that they are the sole concern of the state. Without further discussion of this point we therefore assume that the Church has a duty to perform in the

abolition of war ; the only question for Christians is what that duty is and how it may best be done.

What then shall we, who seek to-day to obey our Lord and Master, do to establish His Kingdom in this world so that the frightful wrongs and our unchristian spirit that take place in times of war may be abolished ?

I. *The Church and the State*

We remark, first of all, that whatever may be the duty and work of the Church for the ending of war, the Church is not to seek to be a substitute for the state. The pastor and preacher, the bishop and archbishop should not attempt to usurp the place or to do the work of responsible statesmen, the executive administrators and officials of the state.

We also remark that the work of the Church is more important and more fundamental than that of the state ; pastors and preachers have a more strategic place in world affairs than have the statesmen and executive officers of government.

The Church is the great teacher of mankind. The Church through its pastors and preachers guides the thought and belief of the millions on matters of truth and righteousness and judgment to come. The Church in each nation forms their minds and hearts and wills. It determines fundamentally their ideals and policies. What the millions in a nation think, wish and will, that the statesmen put into law and into international policies and programmes.

II. *Christian Individualism and Pagan Internationalism*

In the second place, we remark, that hitherto the churches and Christian leaders in each land, in the matter of ethical questions and moral conduct, have concerned themselves almost exclusively with questions of individual moral life

with the duty of men to one another within a given nation and race. Individualistic ethics and individualistic salvation, have been the matters of church emphasis. Christian leaders and preachers have, on the other hand, given little thought to the moral relations and duties of entire nations and races. In consequence of this failure, although within each nation there has been a large degree of personal ethical development, as between nations and races pagan principles and practices still reign almost supreme. Ideas of right and justice within each nation have taken shape in laws, courts of justice, in impartial judges and in punishment of wrongdoers commensurate with their crimes. But when it comes to right and justice between nations the churches and church leaders in each land have given the matter practically no attention. The millions of each nation have been left subject to pagan ideas and practices which have come down from pre-christian centuries.

III. *The Pagan Doctrine of the State*

This pagan attitude has gone so far that certain writers have declared that as between states there are no moral laws. A state, they have declared, is a being of power. It is the power of the state that creates and maintains its rights. A state, they insist, exists to maintain order within its boundaries, to secure liberty and right for its own citizens, to expand its territory, and to promote the prosperity of its people to the extent of its ability; and in so doing any procedure is right and wise which its power makes practical. It is the right and duty of powerful states to overcome and absorb small and weak states if deemed wise, just as it is the right of big fish to eat and live on the little fish. It is entirely a matter of might. Although this pagan view is not now so frankly advocated

as before the Great War, that it is still widely held is shown by the general practice of the nations.

This view is manifestly utilitarian materialism. It involves brutal militarism. It demands the building of great military organizations in each country—primarily it is claimed for self-defence. But this system inevitably leads to war, with all its tragedies, wrongs, hatreds, economic disasters, and suffering and sorrow beyond imagination on the part of the millions.

IV. *The Pressing Importance of Universalizing the Ethical Ideal*

We remark, in the fourth place, that the time has come for the determination in every land to enlarge the area of ethical thinking and teaching. Our Christian morality must include all mankind—as did that of Jesus. Christian individuals should no longer tolerate pagan internationalism. We need to discover that God's Kingdom includes all men; that all are His children and all are brethren; that the ethical ideals and principles of His Kingdom include the relations and conduct of nations and races no less than those of individuals; that righteousness and justice and goodwill must be practised between nations; that God's eternal, immutable and inescapable moral laws apply to nations; that the wages of sin for nations is disaster, suffering and death—even as it is for individuals; that the Golden Rule and the spirit and conduct of the Good Samaritan must be practised by entire nations and peoples; and that only as these ideas, principles and spirit take hold of many nations can the Kingdom of God begin to come here on earth, as it is realized in its fullness in heaven.

V. *Responsibility of Church Leaders*

Now, until the leaders of the churches in the various nations of Christendom see this larger scope of the Kingdom of God, and until millions of their church members accept these fundamental principles, paganism in international relations will prevail as hitherto, and super-pagan wars will continue to come down upon us. And they will bring disasters great and terrible, exactly in proportion to our modern scientific development with our marvellous mastery of the mysteries of nature and our amazing control of nature's titanic forces. Many a deep thinker is declaring that unless man destroys war, war will destroy man. But the only power on earth that can destroy war is the power that can create in the hearts and wills of hundreds of millions of men in the principal nations of Christendom the purpose to do God's will in every relation of human life, individual, national and international.

This is the work which, under the grace of God and the inspiration of His Holy Spirit, the churches of Christendom can do. And it is the churches alone that can do it. No other agency can take its place. The Church of the Living God spans and links the nations in a common religious life. They worship the same Heavenly Father. They acknowledge the same divine Christ as their Saviour and Redeemer. They proclaim their dependence on the guidance of the same Holy Spirit.

Surely the abolition of war and the establishment of peace is a work for which the nations may justly look to the Church.

VI

In this necessarily brief discussion of the work of the churches in removing the causes of war, I confine my concrete suggestions to two points.

The Incompetence of a Nation to be the Sole Judge of its Rights

Among the lessons which the human race has required many millenniums to learn, and even yet has only partially learned it, is the profound principle that when a man's interests are involved, and his passions stirred, his mental processes are also disturbed; they are disturbed to such a degree that he is not competent to see the facts, or at least all the facts as they actually are. His perspective is distorted. His picture is askew. It is due to this discovery that in every land impartial systems of law have been established with courts and judges, sheriffs and executioners who have no personal interests involved, in order that when individuals come into conflict, those who can look at all the facts in an impartial manner may determine where justice lies as between the contestants so that each may receive fair and honourable treatment.

We know that no man is competent to be his own plaintiff, sheriff, witness, jury, judge or executioner. The experience of thousands of years has satisfied every civilized nation that justice between individuals cannot be secured or maintained when the parties in the dispute attempt to settle it by themselves through resort to brute force.

The time has at last come to recognize the truth of this principle in the relations of nations. The economic interests or the disturbed passions of a people may make them for the time being practically insane; incompetent to see clearly and to judge fairly or impartially in any dispute in which they may be involved. A nation in a passion of fear or indignation or wrath is not mentally fit to be its own plaintiff, witness, jury, judge and executioner. If it attempts to do so it is inevitably unjust to the other nation. All history proves this contention.

It is therefore evident that if the spirit and ideals of justice, truth and goodwill proclaimed by Jesus are to be applied to nations, impartial tribunals must be established to deal with international disputes. But of even greater importance than these impartial tribunals is the spirit freely and voluntarily to use them. Millions and millions of men and women in all the civilized nations must be taught the lessons of international life, must realize that no nation is competent to judge its own case justly; and above all they must have the will-to-justice, so that when disputes arise, the nations as a whole will desire to submit their causes to the established tribunals, and to accept loyally the judgment of those tribunals.

This is the educational work which the churches of Christendom can now do for the nations. It is an educational process in international ethics; the creation in the mind and heart of the peoples of the ideals and principles of the Kingdom of God in their widest applications. It is a matter, moreover, not merely of informing the minds but of inspiring and directing their wills. It is a matter also of authority, of the categorical imperative:

'Thus saith the Lord'—is the word which the churches and the preachers can use in carrying out their duty.

Just how the churches in each nation can best do this special work for peace will depend on the varying conditions in the varying lands. Preaching will no doubt play an important part. But the lessons to be taught must in some way be carried to the youth and even to the children. The best methods in each land must be sought and devised by church leaders both lay and official. And this work must be done simultaneously and promptly in many lands; otherwise pagan internationalism may again plunge the nations into fratricidal strife and our entire so-called Christian civilization may be completely ruined—destroyed

beyond recovery. What I plead for is the universalizing of the Christian ideal of Brotherhood.

Let the church leaders in every land grapple at once with this stupendous task.

The Problem of the White and Coloured Races

My second concrete suggestion deals with the most ominous cause of war now arising among the nations. I refer to the rising tide of indignation and resentment among all the coloured races against the white race. It is due to the spirit of arrogance, the assertion of superiority that widely prevails among white peoples, and their extraordinary power in the exploitations of undeveloped areas and of backward peoples. This situation has been slowly developing for upwards of 300 years. The nations of Europe have expanded all over the world. America North and South, Africa, Australia, India, Siberia, the East and West Indies and practically all the Islands of all the Seas have come under their dominion. Well-governed Japan and chaotic China alone stand outside the white men's rule. This is an extraordinary situation. Their success has turned the heads of most white men. It has made them arrogant and surly. As a whole, we have treated the coloured races outrageously, cruelly. The Golden Rule and the Good Samaritan have not been in the minds and hearts of white explorers, invaders and merchants. The coloured races are now awaking to the general fact. This is producing a spirit of resentment, indignation and ill-will. They are coming together and conferring on the matter. They are, moreover, disillusioned regarding the myth of the white men's alleged intrinsic superiority. The great war disclosed serious defects in the white men's vaunted civilization.

An adequate discussion of this matter would require a whole course of lectures. I must confine my illustrations to two quotations. Mr. T. L. Li, in a striking article in *Foreign Affairs* on the situation in China makes the following declaration: 'The time has come when the white races must choose whether they will accept the black and yellow peoples as equal nations, and coloured individuals on equality at least before the law, in civil rights and public social usages; or whether they will continue to regard them as inferior races whose will is of less account than that of a white people, and thus sow the seeds of future antagonism, which in view of the numerical inferiority of the whites is certain to be ultimately disastrous to them. . . . The East is learning from the West; it lies with the West what she will teach. To advise a "change of heart" may sound to Western ears like the counsel of a visionary, but since only by a change of heart can men alter consistently their policies, the advice is very practical.' And Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas in the same issue of *Foreign Affairs* (July 1925) declares 'India is now an unplumbed ocean of discontent. Mr. Gandhi is indomitable in his hope of a pastoral civilization; but he represents all thinking people of India in hoping for a change of heart among Englishmen.'

All thoughtful Orientals, it is safe to say, want to see a change of heart in the white peoples in their spirit, their attitude, their treatment of non-white races. What I plead for is Christianized Patriotism and Nationalism.

What is coming in the days ahead in the relations of the white and the coloured races no man can now tell. The die is not yet definitely cast. A day of grace is still with us. If the white nations will repent and turn to the Lord; if they will bring forth fruit meet for repentance; if they will now begin to deal with the African and Arab, the Japanese, Chinese and Indians on the basis of the

Golden Rule and Good Samaritan, God will still have merc on us and turn aside the penalty that should come for th crimes already committed.

Now the reason for bringing this point to the fore at thi time and place is because the creation of the new spirit i the relations of the races is peculiarly the task of th churches. They alone can see the issue for what it is ; the alone can render to their respective nations the servic which must be rendered, lest destruction overwhelm th whole world—for a life-and-death struggle of the coloure and white races a century or two hence staggers the imag nation. But if it is to be averted the churches must begi right soon to study the facts, to appreciate the factor and to begin the essential educational work in all whit lands.

We can but pray that God may grant to the leaders o our churches in every land the wisdom to see and the wi to act on these great tasks that confront all our nation tasks which only the churches and Christians in these man lands can hopefully undertake.

OTHER ENGAGEMENTS

The International Near East Relief Association ente tained delegates at a Golden Rule Dinner at 7 p.m.

A Bach Musical Service was held at 9 p.m. at th Engelbrekt Church, when a Sermon was preached b The Bishop of Bombay.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9.30 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Prayers were said by PROFESSOR VERNON BARTLET (England).

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (*continued*).

IVe. INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES

THE RT. HON. SIR WILLOUGHBY DICKINSON, K.B.E. (England)

(Hon. Sec. World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches)

I HAVE been asked to speak upon the work of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, and I have fifteen minutes in which to do it. I could easily fill an hour of your time ; but I will not offend against the rules. And, indeed, it is not necessary for me to speak at length, inasmuch as the previous speakers have exhausted all that can be said on the general principles for which the Alliance stands. If talking about peace alone could bring peace, we might leave this Conference certain that the vision of the Prophet Isaiah is on the point of being

realized, and that the swords are already ploughshares and the spears pruning-hooks.

But this is not so, and we know it. I do not believe that any one of our orators, even after his most flowing rhapsody on Christian fellowship, really believes that his words will stop the next war. Peace is not a plant that lives on air. It must be firmly rooted in the ground; and, for this, one must labour on the land, must clear the soil, plough it and water it. What we want now is work as well as words. Christian sentiments are very well; but they are not enough. Does not St. Paul himself tell us that 'Faith without works is dead'?

That the ground requires to be worked is evident. No one can travel in Europe or Asia or America and not be appalled at the rocky state of the ground. Is there a single spot where the seeds of peace are taking root of themselves? I know of none. The world is ripe for war. Human passions are rising in the hearts of millions of men, and in hardly a country can you find more than a handful of persons labouring to calm those passions.

It was in order to do this work that the World Alliance was instituted, and it is as an organ of practical Christianity that I wish to present it to you to-day.

The Alliance is a permanent body, based on a definite constitution, agreed to by twenty-eight federated councils, whose members are drawn from many different lands and from many different communions. Its object is declared to be

(1) To 'bring about good and friendly relations between the nations' and

(2) To 'enlist the churches in a joint endeavour to achieve the promotion of international friendship and the avoidance of war.'

It has no other object than that which is expressed in these simple words, and yet there are persons who represent the Alliance as being an institution which, of sinister purpose, would lead the churches astray from pure religion into the devious paths of politics or diplomacy. The Alliance has nothing to do with either the one or the other ; although it might not be amiss if it were to instil into the minds of our politicians a little Christianity here and there. Its object is one to which every Christian can subscribe, and this is proved by the fact that almost all the Evangelical Communions and a great part of the Orthodox Eastern Church have given in their adhesion to our movement and send delegates to the meetings of the Alliance.

The system under which the Alliance works is permanent and is also acceptable to the churches. Three things only are demanded of the National Councils. Firstly, they must draw into their membership representatives of as many communions as possible ; secondly, they must have a constitution which is consistent with the main objects of the Alliance ; and, thirdly, they must report to the central office, once a year, upon the work they have accomplished. Subject to these conditions every Council is free to make its own rules and to carry on its work in such manner as it thinks best. Democratic principles guided by the Gospel is what we depend upon for our success. Indeed, this plan is the only possible one for such a body as ours. The conditions in every country and in every church differ so widely that we are bound to leave discretion to the people in each locality to regulate their own affairs.

Above these national councils is the International Committee, with its executive and other sub-committees. The International Committee is also democratically constituted. It consists of one hundred and thirty persons appointed by the National Councils and holding office for

three years with a President and fifteen Vice-Presidents and a joint Secretariat of eight persons, each hailing from a different country. Thus the international character of the organization is maintained and its power of conducting permanent operations is assured.

I have given you those details in order that you may see that if the Church of Christ deems it to be its duty to lead mankind into the paths of peace it has at its disposal an organization that is ready for the task, capable of performing it and fired already with that enthusiasm which is indispensable to so great an endeavour.

Let me pass now to the work that the Alliance does or attempts to do. As regards the National Councils their operations vary to so great an extent that I can only refer you to the handbook of the Alliance wherein you will find their reports and be able to judge for yourselves as to their respective activities. The same publication gives particulars of the five meetings held by the International Committee between 1914 and 1925. At these gatherings the committee concerned itself with the question as to what should be the Christian attitude towards certain problems of an international character that raise serious moral issues. For example, there was the question of the re-establishment of the mission fields after the war ; methods of reconciliation between former belligerents, the problem of the religious minorities and the settlement of certain post-war difficulties by the exercise of brotherly aid and mutual sacrifice. In all these matters the Committee approached its task, not from a political, but from a Christian standpoint, believing that it is only by such means that any permanently good result can be attained.

But it is not through its debates or its resolutions that the Alliance does its most useful work. Far more valuable are the indirect results flowing from the gathering together

of its members. Once in three years we bring into close converse some hundred people who would otherwise never meet. These men are the live men in their particular churches. Were they not, they would not take the trouble to travel these great distances. They meet as strangers; they disperse as acquaintances, and the next time they re-assemble as friends. The Alliance has already brought into being an international personal friendship which is opening a way to the wider friendship for which it was established. This, of itself, has its special advantages, since it gives to these men when they return to their own lands and encounter their own difficulties, the knowledge that in other countries they have friends labouring for the same cause and meeting the same difficulties as themselves, and this gives them confidence and courage.

The large Conferences which occur once in three years are not the only occasions offered by the Alliance for consultation between its members. During the past two years we have organized seven Conferences on a smaller scale when delegates from the councils in neighbouring lands have been brought together. These meetings have taken place in Yugo-Slavia, Hungary, France, Latvia, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Italy. At each of these gatherings we had some thirty or forty persons present, representing four or five countries and a still greater number of churches. At all of these meetings questions were discussed which at the moment were creating discord and animosity between the peoples concerned. These discussions were carried on with entire frankness, but in that Christian spirit which always facilitates intercourse, and they have proved that, in this method of procedure, there is to be found a way to solve the most difficult problems.

How far these meetings attained their purpose it is impossible to say. It is possible that they had little effect

upon the general public. It is probable that they had no effect upon the statesmen of Europe, who think that so long as they can keep up the value of currency, or quiet the working-man by doles, peace will be secured. It may be that they appear to the diplomat as a foolish interference with his prerogative of crying 'Peace' where there is no peace. This may all be true; but it is also true that the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto 'leaven which a woman hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened.' No Christian can know what will be the outcome of an act done in the service of his Lord; but he is sure that it will not be fruitless. He will probably never see the fruit. He does not expect to. Herein lies his power. He knows he is labouring for Christ and for humanity, and that in His good time the harvest he has laboured for will be safely garnered in.

But I am certain that these Conferences have an immediate value in the countries where they take place, where, as a rule, there has been up to now little talk about peace. There the mere fact that Christian ministers have come together to speak of peace has struck the public mind forcibly. In Riga five thousand people stood in the cathedral for three hours listening to addresses in seven different languages. In Novisad we held consecutive services in the Orthodox cathedral and in the German, Hungarian and Slovene churches. In the beautiful monastery of Sinaia it was noted that Greeks, Roumanians and Bulgars took council together on the burning interracial questions which divide these nations and make the Balkans still the danger spot of Europe.

All this has its influence upon the people who see it. It tends to make them think about peace and also it makes them think about the Church. They see the Church doing a bit of practical work and they are the more ready to rally

to its side. They also see that the churches, which hitherto they have regarded as torn by inter-confessional differences, are able to unite upon one great human issue. This is of itself a service rendered by the Alliance to Christendom, since Evangelical Christendom, in particular, is wasting its strength through its excessive nationalism. In view of the common difficulties which all religious communions have to cope with and the international character of the materialistic forces against which Christ's followers have to contend, it is foolish—indeed, it is suicidal—for the Church to allow political and racial divisions to weaken its influence with the masses of the people. The Son of God came into the world to save mankind. He recognized no frontiers, neither political, racial nor linguistic. And St. Paul asserted that ' in Jesus Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free.' If the churches would act up to this principle they would do more to stop the next war than by any amount of speechifying either here or elsewhere.

I have no doubt that there is a great opportunity offered to-day to the churches. They have indeed a chance of saving modern civilization, the whole fabric of which was shaken by the war. Our immensely complex social system has been built up under the aegis of Christianity, and it has failed because it has been disloyal to its own standard. Unless we can make our so-called Christian civilization *Christian*, it will go the way of other civilizations long since decadent or dead. This is the task that lies before the churches and in order to perform it they must make an united and organized effort. For one section of this work, namely, the Christianizing of international relations, the World Alliance is ready for action. Up to now its operations have been restricted through the paucity of workers and insufficiency of funds. All that it has been possible to do has been to construct the machinery and to

put it into working order. We have men in every country who are willing to work and international arrangements whereby their work may be properly organized. We have very many of the regular ecclesiastical bodies prepared to co-operate in our movement. If this machine were only set to work over the vast field of Christendom it could evoke the forces of religious fervour and conviction and enlist them on the side of peace in a great crusade for universal brotherhood. But it cannot even start on such a crusade unless it can count upon the moral and material support that is essential to so great an endeavour. May I appeal to those who have come here from all parts of the world in order to find ways by which the Church of Christ may best serve the social needs of mankind to give us their support in this attempt to make straight the way of the Lord and to guide the nations into the paths of peace.

Dr. Julius Richter (Germany)

I BEGIN my speech with what is perhaps the superfluous remark, that I do not speak as the official representative of the World Alliance, and yet, I trust, as one who is in full agreement with its German friends and with my fellow-workers in other lands. The successful Conferences at Nürenberg and Stuttgart, and the gratifying reports which we receive from the different parts of Germany, show us that our movement is gaining ground among the leaders as well as among the rank and file. It is neither pacifism, nor a rosy optimism, nor a partiality for international movements that impels us, but the constraining and inspiring influence of the Holy Scriptures. As St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, teaches us that in Christ the dividing walls between nations and races are broken down, because God in Christ has reconciled not only individuals

but nations to each other, so we regard it as a high and holy task to fight the fearful 'Ἔχθρα' (enmity), the Hydra with more than nine heads, which plays its fateful rôle by working for the estrangement of the nations. In the name of and under the command of the Redeemer, we raise our standard. He is our peace.

In order that this deep-rooted and long-continued estrangement may be mitigated, a delicate two-fold task lies before this Conference. It must aim at restoring numerous personal relations and contacts, which will gradually create an atmosphere of understanding and trust. An exchange of visits, small conferences, great annual congresses provide the occasions for this. The World War broke so many threads. These must be joined together again by patient work. Many churches have almost disappeared from our sight. We must recover contact with them and with their leaders. It was characteristic of the churches which had grown up on the soil of the Reformation to confine themselves to their own fundamental duty of ministering to their own people and to those who were associated with them. The close connection with the Government through the Royal Supremacy (*Summepiscopate*) confirmed this tendency. What had the representatives of a national church to do with churches in foreign, it may be, in enemy countries if these did not concern themselves with foreign missions or other helpful service on behalf of foreigners? We have, happily, grown out of these narrow limitations in the activities of the churches. Our World Alliance has prepared the way for wider activities and for combined efforts, which this Conference has encouraged and consolidated. Constance, the Hague, Geneva, Beatenberg, Copenhagen, Helsingborg mark the stages leading to this. Above all, it was the World Alliance which gave it the helping hand and which

created the atmosphere for it. We hope that, in the future, the Continuation Committee will take over a good part of the work which up till now the World Alliance has struggled to do with insufficient means.

The League of Nations has, of course, continually engaged the closest attention of the World Alliance. The friends of the Alliance are not all at one with regard to the League. We Germans suffer severely from the regrettable fact that most of the decisions of the League of Nations, as far as Germany is concerned, are obviously unjust and have even gone beyond the fearful conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, though we do not venture to say whether, apart from the League, these conditions might not have fallen out worse for Germany. But as our Government has loyally agreed to the inclusion of Germany within the League (and we hope that its honest intentions will be borne in mind), so we also hope that many friends of the World Alliance will see in the League a high ideal. We hope too, that the entrance of the United States and Germany into the League will soon make its influence more effective and that by taking counsel together the nations will be in a position to make it an instrument for international justice.

The problem of minorities is, for us, one of exceptional importance. It is one of the fateful consequences of the Peace Treaty, that it has created political, national, religious and ecclesiastical minorities in Southern and Eastern Europe, that historical, industrial, national and ecclesiastical interests cross and recross each other and make the position more complicated. The obvious efforts of the newly-formed and often quite artificial states after internal consolidation, run counter to that obligation to preserve honoured traditions, an obligation which is itself fully justified and has also been guaranteed by treaties. We recognize that

many countries, as for example, Denmark in North Schleswig (chiefly through the efforts of Bishop Ammundsen), have honestly tried to solve the problem of minorities in a satisfactory manner. But in most cases beyond the Eastern and Western frontiers of Germany, in the Tyrol, in almost all the lands of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in the territories which now form Poland, Roumania, and Turkey, the problems of the minorities are like open wounds, which arouse passions and sow discontent. Neither individual churches, nor individual governments, nor even the League of Nations are in a position to solve these unsolved and thorny problems satisfactorily. Our World Alliance has, by the incessant journeys of its secretaries and by the holding of important Conferences, worked untiringly at their solution.

The Rev. Lynn Harold Hough, D.D. (U.S.A.), President M. Ernwein (Alsace), Professor Francis Zilka (Czecho-Slovakia), Professor J. A. Cramer (Holland), Dr. Heinrich Tielemann (Germany), Rev. J. G. Tasker, D.D. (England), Dr. Wilhelm Stählin (Germany), The Rt. Rev. Bishop Paissij (Bulgaria), Rev. S. H. Chester, D.D. (U.S.A.), Rev. E. O. Davies (Wales), Pastor Feodor Ruppeldt (Czecho-Slovakia) also spoke.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (*continued*).

IVF. THE DUTY OF A CHRISTIAN IN RELATION TO THE NATION AND THE STATE

THE RT. REV. J. GUMMERUS, D.D. (Finland)
(Bishop of Tammerfors).

EACH one of us clings passionately to his own people and country and looks upon himself as bound to his own state. How does this influence his position as a Christian ?

Let us first try the empirical method of history. It teaches that Christianity very often has strongly promoted national sentiment and national life. For many peoples the introduction of Christianity meant the beginning of a higher national life. The Reformation as the deliverance from the universalism of Rome, as the strengthening of the power of the state, and the elevating of the national language, has given a greater emphasis to national consciousness. ' The holy majesty of the Fatherland and of the Church which rests therein,' according to the magnificent words of Gustavus Adolphus, are regarded as mutually connected. That ideal of Christianity goes deepest which is expressed in the words ' My nation a people of God.' How much beauty then is in this harmony between the national and the Christian life ! How often the Church has been the last stronghold for national life, and the saviour of a free future for a subject people ! If we think historically, the thousand-year-old connection between Christianity and national life proves that they belong to one another. God does not want mechanical uniformity. He has

granted each nation its talents and their task is to exalt them. Christianity enables us to develop national life in all its characteristics.

The state is the form of life which a nation and a community takes. For the Christian as a citizen of the state the word of St. Paul applies: 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake' (Rom. xiii.).

But with that everything has not been said. Christianity draws very clear boundary lines.

'For our citizenship is in heaven' (Eph. iii. 20). 'Pass the time of your sojourning here in fear' (1 Peter i. 17). 'One thing is needful' (Luke x. 41). 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God' (Matt. vi. 33). Christianity is above all something supernatural, and the Kingdom of God something inward, the peace of God and salvation, forgiveness of sins, and communion with God. From this proceeds a holy indifference towards everything temporal, nation as well as state. On account of this the early Christians were looked upon as enemies of the state. They were expecting another world. This supernatural atmosphere must not be lost to us. The danger is the greater the more we place the emphasis on the problems of this world. Those Christians who, prompted by this conviction, are keeping aloof from the different activities in the life of the nation and the state are the keepers of our supernatural consciousness. Are they of no use to the life of the community? Yes, certainly. From them emanates a quiet, blessed influence and they are active in spite of themselves. But where there is much talk about activity the danger of superficiality is always present. How frequently it has happened that the vitalizing of the whole national life

started from a movement which aimed at nothing but a spiritual revival.

The citizenship in heaven gives inward freedom and elevation of mind above everything human. It does not sanction things as they are, but shows their distance from the ideal and stimulates to renewed activity. How many examples there are of men who in the midst of feverish activity have kept the sense of the supernatural in Christianity. They are free from the fear of men. They are qualified for the labour of purifying and sanctifying the national characteristics. They are the true patriots even when they, like Jeremiah, are regarded as pessimists and traitors. They feel the conflict between the existing social order and a truly Christian state of things.

Are we able, and should we attempt, to realize in the state the Christian ideal of life which after all is recognized as valid only by a minority? Can the state on the whole be Christianized through the efforts of Christians? Here we stand before fundamental questions, which meet us in numberless instances. I believe that Luther is true to Christian truth when he on the one hand shows a high regard for the state which also in the use of force is the servant of God, but on the other hand insists that real Christian morality can only be effected through the power of the Gospel. A real Christianizing of the community is not possible in this world. But that does not in the least excuse the individual Christian from the obligation of himself living up to this ideal or from attempting to realize it in the life of the community, so far as it is consistent with truth. Here lies the problem.

'We ought to obey God rather than man' (Acts v. 29). That holds good, when the problem becomes a conflict. When something is realized as a clear Christian duty, then it must be obeyed even against the state and notwith-

standing the consequences. In this way the early Christians obtained liberty of belief for themselves and the world. The most critical instances occur, when the state has been influenced up to a certain point by Christian principles, but certain groups of Christians entertain a divergence of opinion about such questions as the oath, etc. We are on the right track when we try to give them an exceptional position in the state.

Here is neither Jew nor Greek. The community of Christians transcends all national boundaries. God must not be degraded into a national divinity. Nor must national egoism be cloaked in Christian phrases. The temptation to do so is very great indeed for every nation. But it is generally a futile thing as the phrase very soon is detected. The Christian as citizen of his own country and nation should be the living conscience of his nation. He who loves his own people in a Christian mind is thereby enabled to appreciate and respect the patriotic mind of others.

General Superintendent Blau (Poland), President D. G. Weyland (Holland), Professor D. Bachmann (Germany), The Most Rev. the Metropolitan of Malabar (India), Mrs. Alex. Wilson (England), Dr. J. Julén (Sweden), The Very Rev. Dr. H. Ussing (Denmark), Professor E. Russel (U.S.A.), and The Rev. Malcolm Spencer (England) also spoke; and The Bishop of Winchester concluded the discussion.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1925

EVENING SESSION (5–7 P.M.)

Chairman—THE VERY REV. J. A. MCCLYMONT, D.D.

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (*continued*).

IVg. THE SUBSTITUTION OF LAW FOR WAR IN SETTLING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

BARON MARKS VON WÜRTEMBERG (Sweden)
(President of the Swedish Court of Appeal)

ALL of us who have passed through the experience of the world war doubtless still vividly recollect how it was proclaimed in both the enemy camps that what they were really fighting for were the ideals of justice and peace. This war, the greatest and most sanguinary that the world had ever witnessed, must, it was declared, be, if not the last of all, at any rate the last on a big scale. An order of things must be devised and carried out which should enthrone justice in the seat of violence. To some extent, and to quite a considerable degree, the things that were written and spoken on this subject naturally lay within the sphere of the inevitable war propaganda. But there is scarcely any doubt that the conception of an organized and firmly established international order of justice was sincerely cherished by some of the leading statesmen of the belligerent countries; and it is a fact that this conception played a great part in the minds of thousands and thousands of those who ventured their lives or who otherwise passed through the sufferings entailed by the war. Also in the neutral countries in Europe the belief in the possibility of making a considerable advance in the direction of an international order of justice in connection with the expected peace gradually won adherence, even in circles

where great scepticism on this point had previously been exhibited. And indubitably towards the end of the war there were various indications which warranted some optimism with respect to endeavours to build up an international system on the foundation of justice. It is scarcely possible to imagine a more powerful admonition to peace than was involved in the world war, especially in its latter phases. The unparalleled devastation of material and spiritual values, which was patent to all, the cultural decline which was bound to result from that destruction, the dishonour and shame which was thereby thrown on European civilization, all this, if anything, ought to serve to prepare a soil for the thought of an effective organization of peace on the foundation of justice.

How far since then has this idea been realized? Well, this is a subject on which opinions are widely divided. Some believe that the nations, even if they have not yet reached the promised land of peace and justice, are nevertheless rapidly approaching that great goal. Others contend that the goal, now as before, looms in a dim and inaccessible distance, and that the belief that real headway has been made in this field is nothing but an airy and indeed dangerous illusion. Between these extreme points of view there are various gradations.

To adduce cogent arguments in favour of the one view or the other as to the prospects of a permanent state of peace is obviously not possible. Many of the factors which must be taken into consideration are of such a nature that they cannot be gauged or weighed with any precision. But from this it does not follow that anyone need rest content, as is often the case, with vague sentiment, based solely on individual temperament or political bias. For we do not entirely lack landmarks to guide us in forming a judgment on this question. I shall now endeavour

to set forth some facts which, in my view at any rate, serve as such landmarks. I do not of course lay claim to any infallibility or to any other authority than that which may be founded on some years' occupation with international problems and a warm interest in progress towards the ideal of peace. For my part I am one of those who believe that the cause of peace and justice has made some progress during the years which have elapsed since the conclusion of the peace treaties, but that the goal is still far distant.

Among these steps forward I attach primary importance to the creation of the League of Nations. It would be idle to attempt to disguise the regrettable fact that the League hitherto has been unable even approximately to accomplish its great mission of bringing about good understanding between the nations. But it would be equally unfair to assert, as is often done, that the League has hitherto been unable to accomplish anything of value. An impartial judge, it seems to me, must recognize that the League has already done the world considerable services. But this is not the time nor the place to discuss in detail and appraise the work of the League. I must confine myself here to pronouncing the opinion that even in its present stage of weakness, the League is a bright spot on the otherwise dark horizon of our times, that there is hope of its development into an important factor for peace and culture, and that its disappearance would involve a serious and probably irreparable loss for humanity.

The League achieved one of its most notable successes as early as 1920, the first year of its existence, when it was agreed to establish that institution which has been named the Permanent Court of International Justice.

That Court, in contradistinction from the previously existing courts of arbitration, is a real college of judges it does not emanate from the parties themselves, but has

an entirely independent existence. It is obvious that such a college has greater qualifications than the courts of arbitration for administering real justice. And indeed the Court by its work up to the present seems to have succeeded in acquiring and preserving that reputation for incorruptible impartiality which is indispensable for the maintenance of its position. That position will be greatly strengthened if, as there is reason to hope, the United States of America within the near future should adhere to the Court.

But the success for the ideal of justice which was involved in the creation of this permanent court was not so complete as had been hoped. It was not found possible to bring about a general agreement, under which it should be obligatory for the members of the League to submit to the Court the judicial conflicts which might arise between them. Hitherto only a number of small states have adhered to an agreement on these lines. The future will show whether one may reckon with that self-denial on the part of the Great Powers which would be involved in sacrificing, with respect to judicial questions, that privileged position which is associated with political supremacy.

If now the states, great and small, should succeed in coming to a general agreement regarding the submission of judicial conflicts to the decision of a court, this would, of course, signify a considerable success. But those who perchance dream of a peaceable international adjustment of all kinds of conflicts between states will feel that, even after such a step, there is still much left to be desired.

There are, in fact, a number of serious disputes where respectable interests can be pleaded on both sides, but where no settlement can be reached on the basis of judicial principles. International law, in contradistinction from

the internal law of civilized states, is of a very fragmentary character. Many of the international disputes which in recent times have given rise to conflicts cannot be settled on the basis of recognized principles of law. Examples of such controversies are disputes about immigration, the right of foreign nationals to possess property or to carry on business, the right of countries which are poorly provided with raw material to obtain a share, on reasonable terms, of the natural resources possessed by other countries (*e.g.* fuel oils, coal, ores, artificial manures). In this connection may also be mentioned questions regarding the position of national and religious minorities in countries where these questions have not been settled by treaty.

There is, moreover, reason to presume that in the future we shall have to reckon with questions concerning territorial changes in the frontiers of states. All historical experience shows the folly of the belief which is sometimes expressed that the arrangements made for the welfare of the world or Europe may remain unaltered for many years to come. Opinions may differ as to the desirability of the sweeping changes in previously existing conditions which have been made by the peace treaties. But it is at all events evident that territorial changes in the *status quo* will occur in the future as they have done in the past, and that treaties must in many cases lose their sanctity under altered conditions.

An attempt to bring changes of this nature within the purview of the international order of justice has been made in the Covenant of the League of Nations, which purports to provide facilities for effecting necessary modifications by means of pressure on the part of the League. Whether this attempt will lead to results, will depend on how far the League has the prospect of acquiring that authority

and power which is required for the realization as a whole of its world-wide mission.

Among the many other controversial subjects of a non-judicial character which may give rise to difficulties in the future, mention may be made of colonial problems. Moreover, that antagonism which, though not manifested in any concrete conflict, is provoked by commercial rivalry may in the future, as in the past, assume a far more serious character than formal disputes of a more temporary nature.

Now, many lovers of peace whose opinion deserves respect look upon arbitration as a means for the settlement of all manner of political disputes. This view has gained some support in the so-called Geneva Protocol of 1924, which purported to assign obligatory arbitration in the last resort as a method for the settlement of political disputes, exception, however, being made for questions which could be considered to fall within the sphere of the sovereignty of either of the parties.

From the point of view of international law, there is obviously nothing to prevent the conclusion of agreements for the settlement by international methods of political conflicts as well as judicial disputes. There are some pre-war and also a few recent examples of treaties of arbitration without any reservation. But it is far more usual in treaties of arbitration to make reservations for certain important questions, especially those which affect sovereignty, honour, vital interests, or similar matters. For small states, especially those which, like Sweden, have no reason to expect serious political conflicts, treaties of arbitration without reservation, where they are obtainable, would seem to afford advantages outweighing the risks that may be involved in a procedure for arbitration, the outcome of which may often be quite incalculable. But it

seems doubtful whether in the near future there will be any general tendency, extending even to the Great Powers, to conclude treaties of this character. Thus, for example, it seems unlikely that the United States should be willing to submit to arbitration such a question as that of immigration. It is, moreover, questionable whether it is even desirable that unreserved treaties of arbitration should be concluded on a large scale. For it is unfortunately very dubious whether the success of the principle of arbitration which would be involved in such a general agreement could be of a permanent character. So long as the mentality of the peoples remains as it has been hitherto, it might sometimes prove to be by no means easy for a Great Power to undertake to give effect to a pledge to submit to the award of arbiters on vital questions which cannot be settled in accordance with judicial principles. And if a state which has given such an undertaking were unable to honour it, great injury would thereby be done to the principle of arbitration and the cause of peace in general.

I am therefore of the opinion that, at any rate for the present, a general tendency to adopt the procedure of arbitration is scarcely to be reckoned with in regard to disputes affecting vital interests. In these matters we must depend chiefly on such mediatory and conciliatory action as may be taken by the League of Nations, and in certain cases on such settlements as may be reached through a unanimous decision of the Council of the League.

In regard to the character of such a settlement, I may be permitted, as a warm friend of the League, to observe that this body, at the present stage of its existence, may perhaps sometimes feel itself prompted by its instinct of self-preservation to take a decision which to some extent goes in the direction where the least resistance is likely to be encountered. But if the League contrives for the

present to avoid too severe tests, there is, as I love to believe, some prospect of a development which will gradually make the League strong enough to disregard such motives as those to which I have just alluded.

I am, however, of the opinion—I will not attempt to disguise this—that if an international peace organization which is capable of reducing the danger of war to a minimum is conceivable at all, such an organization must in some degree assume the character of a super-state, or, in other words, that the present idea of sovereignty must in some measure be abandoned. Possibly the solution of the peace problem is to be sought in a slow process of evolution, whereby the League of Nations is gradually consolidated into a combine of this nature, a new form of United States. However this may be, such a radical transformation of the present international situation, if conceivable at all, would seem to be for the moment entirely outside the sphere of practical politics.

I have endeavoured to show that the future bears in her bosom international difficulties for the adjustment of which neither the League of Nations, nor the new court of international justice, nor other possible situations, afford a reliable guarantee. However great importance may be attached to such situations, it must nevertheless be established that the centre of gravity of the cause of peace really lies on a different plane, the spiritual.

The principal question is whether there is ground for hope that a spirit different from that which has hitherto in general governed international conditions may be developed in the nations, a spirit more germane to the lofty principles of Christianity.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I will point out at once that I cannot include among peace-promoting

factors that extreme pacifist movement which, from a religious or humanitarian point of view, maintains the unlawfulness of all war, even in self-defence. It may be thought presumptuous of me before an audience such as this to discuss the interpretation of Christ's word : ' Resist not evil.' I cannot, however, disguise that I am unable to interpret these or similar words to signify that a man is obliged to look on with arms crossed whilst outrageous violence is committed against a defenceless fellow-man, or that he is not at liberty to assist to the best of his power in the defence of his country, when a hostile attack has taken place. With every due recognition of the noble motives which undoubtedly inspire the majority of those who maintain such pacifism, I consider that their views, if they were to succeed in gaining ground in one or other of the countries of Europe, but not in the rest, would merely tend to increase the elements of unrest in that part of the world.

General moral disarmament, which is now so often talked of, cannot, as far as I can see, be brought about by a movement of this nature. The problem is in fact far more complicated. What it comes to is this—without abandoning the love of one's country, which at the present stage of humanity is one of the most precious of values, to combat the travesties of patriotism, and without propagating the ideas of self-effacement, to counteract the evil powers of vengeance, arrogance, suspicion, and ' sacro egoismo.' If such work can be carried out with success in different countries, the cause of peace, in my opinion, will have made greater progress than can be achieved in any other way.

Personally, I regret to say, I do not venture to hope for any decisive result from a peace propaganda, however intensive, of the nature to which I have alluded. I fear that it will be long before people in all countries get away from that special code of morals which in international

conflicts is apt to be adopted by the peoples and governments, a code of morality which is often widely different from that which is applied in private life. I doubt whether it will soon be possible to relegate to the limbo of the past the days when the mysterious and fateful natural laws of mass psychology can spontaneously inflame the passions of neighbouring peoples, or when a Government, in order to divert attention from internal conditions or otherwise to enhance its prestige, succeeds in working up the public feeling in favour of war against another country. But I do not doubt that the peoples are in some degree amenable to education towards the ideal of peace. I would fain believe that it is possible by systematic work of this kind to accomplish a great deal of good. It may perhaps be possible in one or other of the great and powerful countries to induce the general public to realize that there are not a few cases where, even from the point of view of the home country, solicitude for so-called prestige ought not to be the highest norm, nay, that even the voluntary sacrifice of what at the moment appears to be a real interest of state may be for the benefit of the state that makes the sacrifice as well as for his adversary and for the world at large.

Those who believe in the possibility of promoting the cause of peace by a methodical enlightenment of the people must naturally look to the Christian Churches as important centres of such enlightenment. Those who so view the matter cannot but rejoice that the great question has been brought up at this memorable Conference, and at the interest which it seems to have aroused in all quarters within this assembly.

There are those—what use to disguise it?—who consider that the men of the Church during the world war sometimes neglected their duty of working for the application of the principles of Christianity towards the enemy, and instead

were themselves often seized with the spirit of hatred. Others think that in any case after the war the churches and their ministers ought not to have been so tardy in speaking the language of peace and conciliation to the peoples. I will not here pronounce a judgment on this delicate subject. I shall confine myself to expressing the ardent hope that the proceedings of this Conference on the peace question may conduce to prepare the way for that goodwill between the nations of which the world has hitherto seen far too little, but of which it is now more than ever in need. One thing is certain, that the churches have their natural place in the ranks of those who work for peace and justice. Such work, if anything, is in the spirit of their Master.

The Rev. Harold Buxton (England)

(Hon. Sec. Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's) Fund)

Thinkers of every country are increasingly convinced of the madness and waste of war. But the appeal to reason alone must fail. For men, in the mass, are irrational. The background of a common faith and the sense of community which this brings, alone can provide an influence strong enough to save mankind from fratricidal and suicidal conflicts. A common faith involves the recognition of a common authority, that is, the obligation to observe a common law. The only true and lasting basis of a world-order or of a world-law is the universal, the catholic religion of Jesus Christ.

Let us examine this statement or proposition more closely.

The idea of a ' natural law ' of universal application was inherited from the ancient world—the natural law by which all just rulers must be bound. The organ of its influence is man's moral sense. Thus men have come to see that ' morality is the nature of things.' It is not an arbitrary

law imposed upon wills which do not respond to it. The Gospel of Christ came to expand, to consecrate and to fulfil this natural law.

Jesus Christ came to redeem the souls of men. But He came also as the giver of a new law and to inaugurate a new order of society, *i.e.* the Kingdom of God. He is the Lawgiver for the human race. The Christian Church accepted His law. To St. Augustine it became the law of 'God's City.' The process of defining this law, of applying it to every aspect of the conduct of men and of nations, was the work, notably of Aquinas, and of successive generations of Christian thinkers, students, philosophers and lawyers, right down through the centuries. Thus then was codified a system of Christian ethics and a Church law, covering almost every conceivable sphere of known activity.

So, it is important, for our subject of war and law, to go back—to take a glance at Church history. People ask, was there ever, in fact, an organized 'Respublica Christiana'? Yes. The world of that day, for all the lesser kingdoms, princedoms and feudal domains, was in a real sense unified in one 'Respublica Christiana.' The Christian standard of ethics—without respect of persons—was everywhere recognized in theory, though often violated in practice. The Church spoke strongly and clearly; and with one voice. The idea of a universal sovereignty was never forgotten. Both the Empire and the Church witnessed to the unity of Europe under one sovereignty. Think of it! the unity of Europe achieved under one sovereignty of Christ! There was a time, there was indeed a long period of time, when this unity of Europe was *taken for granted* and never so much as questioned. But, alas, neither the Church nor the Empire succeeded in finding visible organized sacramental expression for this unity adequate to meet the

extraordinary developments and changed situation of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Christian East was already a separated limb of the body of the Church. Now both Church and Empire were to be broken—rent asunder by the mighty forces of a new spirit. With the Protestant Reformation, the long cherished unity of Christendom ceased to be. Henceforth the limits of society were narrowed to those of the nations; and 'Christianity' or 'Christianism' (a very inferior word to 'Christendom,' the dominion of Christ) became primarily a concern of the individual soul.

We have no wish to minimize the immense benefits of the Reformation. No need to dwell on them here and now. Recognizing them, do we realize the great loss involved—the loss to Europe, the loss to individual Christians, by this loosening of the united fabric of Christendom? Notions of public right and of the brotherhood of nations, all idea of an international morality, were swept away in the period of political chaos which followed. The publication of the *Prince* of Machiavelli had already indicated the general lines of the new political development. From this time onward, sovereignty was held to reside in the state alone. One by one, the modern national states came into being, each claiming to be self-sufficing, a law to itself, its duty comprehended in the rules of self-development, of forceful and victorious progress, of a policy of 'devil-take-the-hindmost.' Holy Church in a Catholic and universal sense came to be scoffed at as an impossible restriction upon the freedom and prestige of independent peoples. National churches, no matter whether they happened to be Orthodox, Latin, or Protestant, were fettered by the shackles of state control, and have seldom until recent times shown themselves capable of more than a national outlook and vision.

As early as the seventeenth century men, disgusted with their Christian teachers, began to turn to some secular escape from their troubles: and writers like Grotius devised a theory of international law which if honestly adopted would have saved humanity from untold misery. Other good and honest men followed him—in similar efforts. But none of them were able to secure widespread support or Christian sanction large enough to modify the individualism of the disunited states of Europe.

Then, later, to nationalism succeeded economic imperialism, the exploitation by the Great Powers of the West of the undeveloped resources of Africa and of the backward regions of the earth's surface. A ruthless, competitive process—from which the smaller nations were excluded by *force majeure* and in which the late-comers could only hope to make good by force of arms. The struggle to live was resolved into a frantic effort to rival one's neighbour-nation in arms—to build a bigger military or naval machine than the others could afford—to keep the peace by strenuously preparing for war.

This process continued until in 1914 the Great War burst upon us. We Christians, members of this church or that, were unprepared. We saw no way of stopping what appeared to be—and indeed *claimed* to be—an inevitable process.

The world has become again an armed camp, by conscription. The war to end war has left a new legacy of fear and bewilderment. Thought is secularized. The situation is menacing. True, Labour, throughout the whole world, is solidly against war. The interests of finance, more and more international as they are, are increasingly for peace. Reason and bitter experience have powerfully influenced the minds of this generation—so that nobody who has seen war regards it as anything but devil-devised.

But men are everywhere waiting for a lead—looking wistfully, half-despairingly to the churches—looking for prophets to arise, with compelling power, to lead them forward to a righteous world-order, in which both politics and economics shall be based on the law of Christ.

Shall they look in vain to the Christian society? That depends in considerable measure upon the outcome of this unique Conference. We have come to see that a church which is only *national* is a contradiction in terms. The Church of Jesus Christ must have unity. She need not have any rigid uniformity, but she *must* have unity. In thought and in principle, the reuniting of the Christian society *precedes* the reunion of the body politic—the organizing of a fellowship of states or nations. We cannot go back to the Middle Ages. The conditions are widely different. We are dealing with a new world—embracing every continent. But our task is the same—to bring the world to the feet of Christ—and we can learn certain lessons from the past for the Church.

(1) The need for a united voice.
(2) Discipline.
(3) Religion brought into every phase of life.
(4) To have no respect of persons.

Alas, of course, for this generation at least, it is only a partial unity we can see in view—and this is because the Roman Catholic Church stands outside, aloof and alone. Our Conference is not prepared to restore the papacy to the leadership of the Christian world—because the papacy has lost its leadership—for the time at least. But some day—with a Swedish pope, say, or with an English or American cardinal raised to the chair of Peter—who can foretell what miracles may be wrought? Anyhow that is what we ultimately need—single, authoritative leadership.

Meanwhile the non-Roman churches are more and more conscious of their call to guide and direct the consciences of men. Members of the Conference have spoken of the need for a bureau to carry on its work, to register and codify applications of Christian principle to social and international life. We do need a bureau for the study of Christian sociology. We need more. We need a Council of Action, especially to deal with questions of war and law. But, I beg, when we do act together, let us act—as we are justified in doing—defiantly! be capable of saying 'No.' Above all, let the Church be bold enough to restore discipline; to purge her ranks; to excommunicate in God's name, those who defy her, those who live by sucking the blood of others, the war profiteers, yes, and—perhaps—shareholders in armament firms.

I would like to stress this point on the need of the restoration of discipline. Protestants like to speak of life and *liberty*; Catholics, of duty and *discipline*. Both are good; but for the world to-day discipline is that most needed, for discipline means the recognition of law. We must restore discipline in Church life first and then teach it to the world. Thus the churches will help to restore the necessary basis and background for world-law.

Finally, I want to call your attention to the urgent and immediate problems of war and law which ought to be dealt with by our Executive or Council that carries on the work of this Conference. I desire to recommend:

(*a*) An organized, persistent and widespread attack by all the churches represented here upon the continuance of *war* as a method of settling international disputes. Men's sense of justice demands that something other than brute force be employed to resolve what are always, from *some* point of view, moral problems. And this campaign should not neglect the *causes* of war. A direct challenge should

be issued to all those 'interests' and 'half-truths' which combine to preserve war as a respectable institution in our day. Such questions, *e.g.* of a fair and equitable distribution of the world's food supplies and raw materials—must be regarded as essentially moral questions, the concern of the Christian society. Again, many traditional views, *e.g.* of 'Patriotism,' must be radically revised.

(*b*) Further, we have a breathing space—but there are international problems on the horizon which must be tackled now, or they will inevitably lead to war in the future. The Baltic problem—the Balkan problem—the problems of Armenia and of Mosul—the problem of the whole of North Africa. One need not specify more. We must confront these *now*, before they become actually dangerous for the peace of the world.

The Covenant of the League of Nations provides methods of some sort by which international disputes may be dealt with. Our attitude to the League, as it is now, must be qualified; but our attitude to a league, such as the League may become when it is freed from its embarrassing relationship to the Allies, is perfectly clear. It must be, *not* a super-state, but a true co-operation, a common enterprise of equal partners.

In America, in Germany, in France, in England, in fact everywhere, during the last two years, an immense amount of thought has been bestowed upon the question of the substitution of law for war. The questions of disarmament and of security have been continuously debated ever since the war—but the question of arbitration has been receiving particular attention in 1924 and 1925. And here lies its vital importance—in that prevention is better than cure. 'A system of arbitration is a system of watching the clouds, a system of warning when a cloud the size of a man's hand appears above the horizon, and the taking

of steps at once, not of a military kind but of a rational and judicial kind, to charm it out of existence.'

While we are not concerned with all the details of the Covenant and of the 'Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes' propounded a year ago at Geneva, yet the principles of these documents can be commended as being in harmony with the law of Christ and of His Church. The Covenant will need amendment—in the sense of making its meaning clearer and more precise. But if, so amended, it be accepted by the nations it will mean nothing less than this—that war will be no longer tolerated as the natural way of settling a quarrel, that arbitration will be the rule instead of the exception.

These last two years, at Washington, Berlin, Rome, and of course Geneva, an immense amount of time and trouble has been expended upon debating the question of arbitration. The mere fact is a sign—of a changing mind, of a stirring of conscience. The anarchy of our international relations is condemned. At present national armaments are used by the powerful states, for any purpose whatever—at their own discretion. Is not the world ready for at least this step—to agree to employ national armaments, by international agreement only, for the carrying out of international decisions?

Such an agreement would be a tacit recognition of the principle that no individual state, any more than an individual person, can be the final judge or arbiter of its own conduct. It would be as much as to say that truth and justice are more surely found, not in the arbitrary or partial will of this or that government, but in the sanctified common sense, in the judgment of all the peoples inspired by their common faith.

SUPERINTENDENT D. WOLFF (Germany)
(President of the Provincial Synod of the Rhineland)

IN a world of peoples rent asunder by war and even now menaced by the smouldering embers of war, which ever and anon blaze up into flame, this Conference would raise a cry to God, witnessing to the eternal divine law for the intercourse of nations and carrying the healing power of the Gospel.

It is difficult to speak in the name of God. Only he who has innocent hands and a pure heart may so do ; only he whose lips God has purged with fiery coals. Are we convinced that we, that our peoples, the peoples whom we represent, have gone the divine way in our relations to other peoples, have always gone, and are now going, that way ? Perhaps we have already forfeited the right to speak in the name of God. But if we put this to ourselves in all humility in the form of the searching question : Is Justice or Force the divinely willed basis of international relations ? then perhaps we shall have more right to speak in the name of God.

It is difficult to speak in the name of God, and to say how He wills that the peoples, with their characteristics, their claims on life, their needs, their weakness and growth, shall live together with one another. Is not history, that flowing stream of human life, a testimony to the truth of the words : Who hath known the mind of the Lord, and who hath sat in his seat of council ? Does He not set before us the greatest of mysteries in the destinies of peoples and in the meaning of history ? Does not God also use force to execute His judgments, and are His judgments not justice, nay, more than that, grace ? Who will take upon himself to speak of Him and of His will ?

Our theme of to-day broaches this subject. It appears

to give an answer : Justice, not Force, as the divinely willed basis of international relations. We are confronted there with a dilemma : Justice or Force ? I ask : Is this dilemma one which covers all possible cases, or does it just neatly cut the difficulty ? Is it a dilemma put by the Gospel and which emerges from its depths, or does it proceed only from its surface ? Perhaps it proceeds only from a Gospel reduced to a human standard ! In any case this dilemma is merely a human formula.

But, for all that, it may contain at least a kernel of truth. But naturally it involves also flaws and deficiencies. That must be admitted even by those who believe that the great and intricate problem of the war has been disposed of by applying the formula in the negative.

This formula is human in the first place because it is so worded as to put opponents in the wrong and set them in an odious light before any soundly minded Christian. True that there have been peoples, states, governments, which have allowed force alone to hold sway in the relations between the peoples, and even those who in so doing have nevertheless usurped the word of 'justice' and have endeavoured to palm it off upon the world. But I know of no circumstances, where in Christian times and countries force has been, or could be, proclaimed as the divinely willed basis of international relations. And in this circle there is certainly no one who would so do. Well, then, the question involved in our theme is apparently answered with ease. 'Of course : Justice is the divinely willed basis of international relations ! '

Justice ? Divinely willed ?

But is justice not also something human ? Written law can only be the mere expression of the real or supposed needs of an individual, a class, a people. Justice may be the expression of human egoism ! Justice in certain

circumstances may be nothing more than the attempt to anchor fast certain temporary conditions of power! Are contracts and agreements divinely willed justice? Are peace treaties justice? Even if forced upon the signatory? Are arbitration treaties and security pacts justice in the sense of a *divinely willed* justice? Justice in the relations of men and peoples is in truth not always something voluntarily agreed to, not always something voluntarily willed out of motives of humanity, of brotherhood. Justice is quite as often something imposed, not to say forced, by the stronger upon the weaker.

Is this what we mean by justice when we speak of the divinely willed basis of international relations? This surely cannot be the meaning. For it by no means marks that sharp contrast to force, the supposed non-divinely willed basis. For this sort of justice is always somehow connected with force. It is mostly born of force. It is usually nothing without the force that creates it, even if this force is merely the force of circumstances. Nor can it be maintained without the force which executes it. Nay, within the sphere of this justice there remains room enough for the use of force, whether under the guise of justice or in brutal nakedness. And its sphere does not extend so far that there is not room enough for force alongside of justice.

In other words: All human justice, so far as it is, even in a remote degree, the outcome of force or of not entirely voluntary agreement, even though it were justice on behalf of the League of Nations, has but little to do with that which we wish to proclaim as the *divinely willed* basis of international relations. We discern therein that naïve egoism which is so naïve that it believes itself to possess the divine justice, and therefore with a good conscience proclaims force as its helper.

But we, who wish to speak about the *divinely willed* basis of international relations, ought to avoid even the slightest semblance of conscious or unconscious hypocrisy, and we must not be led astray by human, nay far too human, formulas, but endeavour to penetrate into the truth. Consequently we are here concerned neither with pacifism, nor with the League of Nations, nor with the idea of arbitration, all of which are nothing but human attempts to regulate international relations under the viewpoint of higher expediency.

But what have we to say about these matters *in the name of God*?

Luther once spoke about the good and gracious will of God, which frustrates and prevents all evil counsels and all evil will. To this end God sometimes makes use of force, force which is executed by man. Who dare reproach Him, if He wills this? Who can? He is the Lord and also *the judge* of His instruments.

Jesus once said to a man who pleaded his rights before Him: Who made me a judge or divider over you?

The mission of the Church of Christ in this world of hard facts is prophetic. Prophets draw up no programme. They only preach repentance.

They proclaim the majesty and lovingkindness of God, and holy obedience, and the ministry of love.

They say, like John the Baptist, in the face of the mighty: 'That is not right'—and they say it not only to mighty kings, but also to mighty peoples, and they witness that God says at His appointed time: Thus far and no further!

They witness, like Jesus, before the self-righteous and the self-satisfied: Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things? I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

They witness to the word of Jesus: Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you, But, whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister. And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant. Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.

That witness is the duty of the Christian Church. This is more difficult to-day than ever. Civilization has made the peoples more brutal in their struggle for existence and in their lust of power. And because it treats everything rationalistically, it rationalizes also the holy commands of God, and drags them down to a low human level.

It is a temptation for the Christian Church to interpret in human terms the sublime command of God in regard to international relations. And if she succumbs to this temptation, she will consider only the dilemma: Justice or Force? The Church of Christ must be greater than her times, if she wishes to be the voice of God. Just as God is greater than any times!

THE REV. JOHN A. MARQUIS, D.D. (U.S.A.)
(Chairman, Administrative Committee, Federal Council of Churches of Christ)

THE laws of the nation constitute as a rule a measure of its conscience. The laws are the method of society to guarantee the realization of its conviction about what is right and justice. But only religion can improve and purify the opinions about violence or justice. Only the Church of Jesus Christ can infuse God into the relations between the nations. Nothing is more needed in this time of ours.

When the League of Nations was created, that meant a palpable progress in the development of Law, a new and fresh area was laid open to the conquests of Law. It is a surprise to see how the League of Nations has developed in spite of all difficulties. Since the League has been able to overcome misconceptions and opposition unto this date, we are authorized to calculate that it will keep on and overcome difficulties that it will meet in the continuation, because that institution has deep roots in humanity, because it is rooted in the Christian conscience and in the Biblical idea of Law.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1925

PUBLIC MEETING (9–10.30 P.M.)

Chairman—THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA

IV. THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (*continued*).

IVH. CHRISTIAN LOVE AS A POWER FOR THE RECONCILIATION OF PEOPLES

DR. NATANAEL BESKOW (Sweden)
(Principal of the Birkagården, Djursholm)

CHRISTIAN love—the power of reconciliation between nations. Where was that love when its presence should have saved the world from disaster? Is there any such love? And are we, representatives of the Christian churches, entitled to claim the position of its apostles?

To a great number of people all talk of love as a power in international affairs will seem—mere talk. That talk may be very appropriate in a church congress, but in political affairs its only use is as a sleeping draught.

Certainly love cannot be applied to international relations, or to any relations between men, as a paragraph

in a programme. Either love is spontaneous or it does not exist. Nothing could be more ridiculously vain than if a Government, after having proved that its military resources were not sufficient for solving a dispute in the ordinary way, should say: 'Well, let us try love.' But where the spontaneous power of love is, it must work, independent of all programmes. Love is power. A creative power. The creative power. If we believe in God, we believe in the creative power of love. For God is love. With this belief in a God who is love, the belief in love as a reconciling power between nations stands or falls.

People who sneer at the thought that love should have anything to do in political affairs, or even that it should be of any use in practical relations between individuals in ordinary life, probably think of love as feebleness, indulgence. If God is love, love must be the most positive thing in the universe, and when love is working, it must mean that a power is working which corresponds to the deepest reality in all that is, a power which in all that it affects disengages and calls into co-operation forces of the same nature. And that is why love is the power of reconciliation. By its own divine presence it drives away arrogance, fraud and—most poisonous of all—fear, thus making free the powers of life, which unite man to man.

Now the problem is: if there is such an almighty, creative power of reconciliation, how can we bring it into function in the relations between the peoples of to-day?

The first answer is: love can only be brought into function by whole-hearted action, even unto the sacrifice of life, for the nature of love is to give itself. Just in so far as a man is reserved in his love, so will he fail to test love's creative and reconciling power. If he thinks 'I will try love, but I will not go too far,' he will reach nothing. And this is the reason why the way of love is exposed to distrust

from people with a sense of reality. It is a dangerous thing to ' try love ' as a means of settling disputes, while keeping the revolver behind the back, in case love should fail.

If these are the conditions for the working of reconciling love, we may indeed ask ourselves : can we ? It depends upon whether we are willing to be *used* by that love which spoke through the lips of Jesus, when He said : ' If I be lifted up I will draw all men unto me.' We are speaking of the Cross as the sign of reconciliation between peoples and races, but to believe in the reconciling power of the Cross must mean not only to stand under the Cross but to go the way of the Cross. Glory be unto God for our brothers and sisters whose lives in this world have thus revealed the uniting, the reconciling power of love.

Can this power work between nations ? Is it not impossible to think of a state dealing with another state in love—without the revolver behind the back ?

It seems to me that we often are bound in a superstition with regard to the state. Fortunately the relations between peoples are not confined to state institutions alone. We have witnessed during the war and after it how acts of love by individuals and groups of individuals have brought together the hearts of peoples who are very far separated, and even caused states to put their means to some extent at the disposal of love. Here great possibilities open to the disciples of Christ.

' Love cannot be applied to international relations as a paragraph in a programme. Either love is spontaneous or it does not exist. But where it does exist it must work.' Thus, what we have to do is to open ourselves to this almighty power, to be filled and used. Then love itself will create its own tools and methods, using also our brains for this work. And so mighty is the reconciling power of love that true acts of love even on a very small scale can

break through misunderstanding and fear, and open hearts to hearts.

Let us give ourselves without reserve to the power of love which is ready to work through us. And let us try to think out the best ways for its activity in international relations. Let us not wait till the next great outbreak of hatred and fear. We should use the respite to organize love for international service. I know there is a growing host of young people who, bound by conscience to refuse taking part in war, are longing for opportunity to give their strength and their enthusiasm to rebuilding instead of destructive work. It is ours to give them this opportunity.

We feel a strong impulse to honour the heroic women and men who, when the tide of hatred and fear rushed over the world, went the difficult and dangerous ways of reconciling love. But the best way of honouring them is by walking, through practical deeds, in their footsteps.

H.R.H. Prince Carl of Sweden
(President, Swedish Red Cross)

You have desired to hear a few words here this evening also from the president of the Red Cross in the country where prominent representatives from practically the entire world have gathered together in these days for deliberations of the greatest importance—and, I am convinced, also blessing—for Christendom at large. After much justifiable hesitation, I have at last put aside my doubts, and will accede to your friendly request, but without making any claim to be reckoned among the chosen speakers of this evening on that beautiful but exacting subject, the peacemaking power of Christian love.

Christian charity, in the sense of practising human love, is assuredly a power for good on earth. What indeed can

better console a grieving heart, what can more surely assuage the bitterness of distress and the pangs of suffering, and appease a rancorous mind than the work of love in the spirit of Christ ?

It is the power of love that holds the nation together, and that power is in a large measure the foundation of the state and the community. A Government which is not guided by love for the people, and is not solicitous for the welfare of the starving, sick, and defenceless, can no longer fulfil its function and can bring no real blessing. So in all other spheres of life. Without human love, which is the mother of justice and mercy, no community, no home, can in the long run endure, and without it the intercourse of human beings would soon become a hell.

The reason why the world is so filled with hatred and with so much more and bitterer suffering than is inseparably bound up with life and death itself, is, above all, the lack of love between human beings. Man has forgotten that he was created to be good.

That we give and receive love and ourselves perform services of love, whether on a large scale or small, this it is that gives value to life and to our mutual relations. But true human love must in its exercise be unselfish and without respect of social position, race or creed. Equality in the face of suffering is fully as important as equality before the law.

Any person who has the means and power to practise love and justice and in this way to draw together and reconcile peoples, classes or individuals, and who neglects to do this, has in truth much to answer for.

Well, Christian charity, rightly viewed, is indeed a power for conciliation and concord upon earth. And as I now stand before representatives of so many different nations and peoples, it is only natural that I should here lay special

stress on the great power of human love to conciliate the peoples, on its importance in international life, for intercourse between the nations. It is just here that a far-sighted human love, which is capable of stretching out across the national frontiers, must make its power felt and permeate statecraft. Greed for greater power and wealth, even at the expense of others, must be transmuted into higher ideals. The world conscience must awake. But who bears the responsibility for this if not man himself? God has given us freedom of the will. In the last resort it is the character of the human mind that determines the destinies of the nations. The way to peace and a happier world goes with refinement of the human heart and consciousness of responsibility, with endeavours to allay the hatred between the classes, and with the infusion of a more temperate and more unselfish spirit into the inner life itself of the peoples. That way is long and arduous, but it is a way upon which it is worth while to enter. May we not grow weary! On this depends the salvation of civilization and the welfare of millions of human beings.

International relief work, of which we have seen so many beautiful examples during the terrible years of world distress, is certainly a step in the right direction and a proof that love is alive. But this is not enough. Much more is needed in order that the goal may be attained. If Christian love is to become a power to reconcile the peoples and to create peace upon earth, it must permeate the human soul and the soul of the peoples.

True that we need in addition much wisdom, knowledge and personal ability, but these forces must enter into the service of human love and subserve its higher aims. The blame is often cast on the evil of the world, but whose is the fault? We men are not merely the pitiable victims of the World War, we are ourselves the cause of its

appalling devastation and shame. Reform yourself, and your fellow-men, and the world will be transformed. In these democratic times this is a greater truth than ever. Men have the world which they deserve.

All this is a gigantic problem. May we all unite in the endeavour to solve it—the powers of state, the Church, the school, the home and the Press, in short all the powers that can influence the development of life into greater justice and love. And the world-embracing organization which bears on its banner the symbol of the Cross and which I have the privilege of representing this evening, can have no higher wish than, by the practice of far-seeing human love, to be not merely a consoler of those that suffer, but also—in the spirit of this Conference—a promoter of the ideal of conciliation in the world. The apprehension that internationalism, the union of the nations in love, may relax the springs of development, deaden patriotism and level down life is certainly without foundation. The loyal national spirit, which pays consideration also to others, can live nevertheless and have its full due, nay that spirit is indeed the indispensable condition for a healthy internationalism. For he who does not feel warmly for his country where his cradle has stood and in whose soil he one day will rest, that man can still less embrace the whole world in his love.

May we therefore all of us, *all* peoples—that is a condition —bow down before the Peace-making Power of Christian Love and seek to serve that Power in spirit and truth, for more light over the world and the coming of Peace upon earth.

Dr. Elsa Brändström (Sweden)
(Swedish Red Cross)

It is not without hesitation that I venture to say a few words on the service of Love, as a means of reconciling the nations. I lack all theoretical knowledge of the subject and I can therefore only speak from my personal observations made during and after the Great War in Russia and Siberia, Germany, Austria and America.

Observation of the psychological development in different countries during and after the war, compels one to admit that a great deal of what one sees is due to severe mental strain, which has its counterpart both in individuals and in nations in time of peace, only in a fainter and weaker form. In this as in many other respects the Great War offers invaluable material for illustration.

If we are to entertain the hope that the service of love may become one of the bridges leading to reconciliation between the nations, we must have a clear idea as to the nature and purposes of these bridges. And if we are to take an honest view of the matter, we must realize that only light pontoon-bridges have been laid from shore to shore. Certainly these bridges can now and again bear enormous weights. If we think of events like the sinking of the *Titanic*, the earthquake in Messina and the famine in Russia, and remember what great sacrifices were made by individuals and by nations in order to relieve the suffering, we certainly have a right to rejoice over these proofs of the ethical progress of our time. We must not, however, allow ourselves to be dazzled by the light of these sporadic fires of sacrifice, but must honestly admit that they are only isolated cases, which through the huge catastrophes they involved, lifted us out of our ordinary indifference. These catastrophes proved to individuals as well as to

nations their power of ethical response and their capacity for rising above themselves. As long as we have to confess that these events are only of short duration, we must admit that the foundations on which an international service of love is built up are not firm enough. It is therefore necessary to strengthen these foundations, and above all things to convince the workers of their responsibility. The narrow and prejudiced manner in which so much national as well as international service is carried out is contrary to its real character. Why is the mere word 'charity' a red rag to so many people? How many a young enthusiast is disappointed when he looks behind the scenes and learns how much hypocrisy and self-love, how many intrigues and prejudices often hide themselves behind the word charity. The young idealist does not understand that charitable work, like every other kind of work, reflects a man's moral effort after the highest ideals in life.

The possibility of a nobler service of love is bound up with the ethical development of individuals and nations. But this development does not go hand in hand with the development of reason, but often in the opposite direction. If we tried to *think* a little less, and to *feel* a little more we should no doubt make more headway. If we ourselves are no longer able to act intuitively because we have been suppressed from our earliest childhood, we must at least endeavour not to impair the growing generation in the same way.

This new generation, which is to make amends for so many of our sins, must be trained in a service, which is living and sympathetic and which will exercise a reconciling influence among the nations.

But how can we help in this matter? Perhaps through the attempt to give the young people a chance of developing into upright, free and independent individuals, who realize

that only natural, spontaneous and simple things are great. Spontaneity and originality are closely allied to one another. The gulf arises only when reflection begins. This was very evident during the war. I have seen Russian peasant-women giving wounded enemies something to drink immediately after taking leave of their sons and husbands. In Siberia I have seen German prisoners sharing their last crust of bread with starving women and children of the enemy nation. The Great War has given us a thousand illustrations of the fact that feeling, long before reason, prepares the way for reconciliation.

Therefore—however paradoxical it may sound—the war has not only had a separating but also a uniting effect. The magic formula, which has here and there produced wonders, is ' to learn to know and respect one another.' When I was in the United States, I found there were no Americans who spoke so respectfully of the Germans as those who had stood face to face with them in the war. Similarly the Austrians, who were for years prisoners in Russia, often came to know and understand the Russians most intimately.

What a lesson we may draw from these facts ! And we should try as far as possible to make the young people grasp this primitive, humane and sublime point of view. There are neither cosmopolitan nor international tendencies in such efforts. On the contrary, only one who is proud of his national characteristics, his country and his people, can indulge in the luxury of respecting the convictions, manners and customs of other nations. Toleration is a quality which only strong personalities and nations can possess.

The smaller the sphere of our activities, the more numerous are the fronts we have to defend, and the greater will be our prejudices. The wider our point of view, the

greater our tolerance, the more numerous are the possibilities for thorough understanding. And only honest attempts at understanding one another can open up the path for sympathy.

But understanding and tolerance for those who differ from us in our own country are the first conditions for exercising any influence beyond our own frontiers. We must first sweep our own doorstep, if we are to lay the foundations of a fruitful, living and international service.

Every supporter of an idea can either realize or hinder it—and the same holds good in the service of love. The frequent criticisms on the part of outsiders of those who are entrusted with carrying out the work and service of love are no doubt sometimes justified. It seems that in this, as compared with other spheres of work, much less stress is laid on those special qualifications that might ensure success. Of course, good intentions and the honest desire to serve the cause, are the first conditions ; but not the only adequate ones. It is unfortunately too often overlooked that a high degree of will-power, efficiency and self-discipline are necessary for most positions. So the idea has gained currency that work of benevolence does not make such high demands on the ability of the workers. Incompetence is hidden under the mask of good intention and fidelity to duty. If capacity and knowledge are needed anywhere, surely they are needed here. Think what spiritual values and treasures of culture may be either saved or lost. When we consider charitable work from a material standpoint, it is impossible to carry it through adequately without practical efficiency, economy and common sense. We must respect at once the claims of the whole community, whose resources we utilise, and the claims of the individual to whom these resources are devoted.

Charitable work is a work done in the service of culture,

and we must always regard it as an art. If we think of those men and women who have done work of this kind which was productive beyond just momentary and material help, their lives and their work seem to us like a beautiful work of art, because they had the courage and the strength to follow their inspiration and because they unstintingly gave of their best, not impelled by a sense of duty and by conscience, but because they could not do otherwise. A higher power has inspired them to act thus, and they have brought forth the most beautiful and the most sublime quality—Love. It is their art to create harmony—harmony between individuals and harmony between nations. We must endeavour to understand them and co-operate with them and give them both our admiration and support, so that stronger bridges may be built between shore and shore.

Knowledge and understanding of each other are the bridge-heads, faith in man and enthusiasm are the piers, on which the service of love must rest, if it is to serve the great end of reconciliation between the nations.

'For he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?'

Dr. Selma Lagerlöf (Sweden)

(Member of the Swedish Academy; Nobel Prize for Literature)

I should like to tell the Conference about an incident that took place about fifty years ago.

It was a foggy night out on the Atlantic. Two great ships had collided, and one of them, a powerful mail-steamer on her way from New York to Havre, had sprung a leak amidships and gone to the bottom. The other ship, an immense sailing-vessel, had disappeared in the fog without making any attempt to help the many passengers on the mail-steamer.

Among these unfortunates was a young American woman, at that time residing in Chicago. She was wealthy, beautiful, and talented, married to a good and prominent man, and the mother of four lovely little girls. She had undertaken the journey in order to visit her aged parents who resided in Paris, and show them her children. For this reason she had all four daughters with her on board the ship. When the collision occurred a terrible confusion had arisen on the sinking ship. Boats had been set out, to be sure, but neither she nor her children had got a place in a boat. When the steamer finally sank all five of them were washed out into the sea.

She was first drawn far down into the depths by the suction from the sinking ship, and then ejected to the surface again. Then she realized that her children had been torn away from her, and that they had been drowned. She could not swim. In a moment she would be drawn down into the depths again, and that would mean death.

Then, in her last extremity, she thought no longer about her husband or children. She thought only about lifting up her soul to God.

Just before this she had witnessed terrible scenes. In the face of inevitable destruction, the passengers on the wrecked ship had lost all presence of mind. There had arisen a wild struggle over the boats, which in no way could have accommodated the five hundred passengers. The stronger men and women had made their way with blows and kicks. The weak and the sick had been pushed aside, trodden upon, or merely cast into the sea. The same terrible struggle for life was going on all about her now, on the surface of the ocean. Several heavily loaded boats passed by, and the people sitting in them had drawn knives to keep off the swimmers who approached to grasp

the edge of the boat. Horrible cries and curses were heard on all sides. But from all these scenes of cruelty and chaos, of merciless savagery and pitiful terror of death, she released her soul to uplift it to God.

And her soul rose up like a released captive. She felt how it rejoiced in casting off the heavy fetters of human life, how with exultation it prepared to soar to its rightful home.

'Is it so easy to die?' she thought.

Then she heard a mighty voice, a voice from the other world, that filled her ears with a thundering reply.

'It is true that it is easy to die. That which is difficult is to live.'

It seemed to her that this was the greatest of truths, and she assented joyfully: 'Yes, yes, it is true that it is difficult to live.'

And with a feeling of pity for those who still continued to live, she thought: 'Why need it be so? Could not life on earth be so arranged that it could become as easy to live as it now is to die?'

Then she again heard the mighty voice, which answered her: 'That which is required in order that it may become easy to live on the earth is unity, unity, unity.'

While the words still echoed in her ears she was rescued. It was the great sailing-vessel, which had turned back and sent out boats. She was taken up in one of these boats, and later, together with about eighty other survivors, she was put ashore in a European harbour.

This incident and this message came into my mind when I first heard about the Universal Christian Conference of Life and Work. I fancied that after the great collision—the terrible shipwreck—that had befallen Christianity, many of its best members had felt themselves cast out into a bottomless deep, with the dear ones lost, with aversion to

life, ready to accept the threatening annihilation as a release. But out of this abyss of agony, voices from another world have reached these despairing ones. They too have heard, amid the wild tumult and bloodshed, the cry of unity, unity, unity; and it is for this reason that they have now gathered here from the four corners of the world to create the peace and harmony that people have yearned after for thousands of years, which surely should make life easier to live.

This was the first thought that came to me upon hearing about the Conference. The second was that I should like to participate by bidding the Conference welcome. For I thought, no matter how the attempt may succeed, the idea is great and bold, and worthy to be greeted as a forerunner of brighter days.

May I relate further about the shipwrecked woman's life and work? The problem that she had to solve was the same as that of this Conference, although on a different scale. And I may well admit that when I meditated upon her life, my heart trembled. I seemed to see a message written by God's own finger—a message of guidance, of awakening, of trust—which should be read by just this gathering.

But let me say first that the young American woman, Anne Spafford, received the message that had come to her that terrible night as the true Word of God. She did not tell herself that it was illusion and self-deception, but interpreted it as a sacred command, which it was her task to convert into reality.

Several years went by, however, before she made a serious attempt. She was too entirely broken down with sorrow over the lost children. Two new daughters grew up in the home, but the sense of loss continued. At last she realized that help and consolation would not be hers until she had

dedicated her life to the establishing of unity in the disunited world.

But unity—what is unity? How can it be realized? How can one live in unity with one's fellow-men as they now are,—selfish, self-righteous, false, dissipated, sinful? Let us go to meet the great difficulty.

Is it not really necessary that all become perfect before any kind of unity can reign here on this earth? A single person, who tried to live in unity with his fellow-men—would he not be scoffed at, trodden down, crucified?

Anne Spafford adopted the usual expedient. She, her husband, and twenty of their friends, founded a community whose members pledged themselves to live in unity with each other and to serve and help all humanity.

These Chicagoans sought in no way to introduce a new religion. They were all fervent and tried Christians, and they buried themselves in the study of the Acts of the Apostles in order to find, in the first Christians' way of living, a guiding principle for their conduct. Following their example they moved together in a single large household. They introduced community of goods, they served one another without compensation, and they were surprised over the feeling of ease and security that entered into their lives.

While they thus sought to emulate the first confessors of Christianity, whose lives in Jerusalem were continually in their thoughts, news came to them that disease and famine were devastating the Holy City. This aroused a desire to transfer their activities there, and their desire came to fulfilment. Several other reasons doubtless contributed to their decision. They lived in the warmth and hopefulness of the first enthusiasm. The message that had been given to Anne Spafford seemed to them the very essence of Christianity, and they felt that it should be

propagated from the place in which our religion had its source.

In 1881 the members of the community arrived in Jerusalem. They took lodgings in a beautiful little house close to the city wall, where from the roof terraces one could look out toward the circle of lovely hills which frame the landscape. Their occupation was to search out the sick in the narrow lanes of the Holy City, to feed the hungry, and to help and care for orphaned children. They lived a simple life, taking their meals together and performing earnest devotions. They concerned themselves but little with preaching the principles that had led them to this place. But to all who visited them they related the divine message that had rung in the ears of the shipwrecked woman, and said that they through their mode of living would bear witness to this truth.

Let us stop here for a moment. Does it not seem strange that this community, which desired to spread unity over the world, should have chosen to proclaim its beliefs through good works and actions? It demanded no uniformity in dogmas. It desired, like this Conference, to bring about Christian unanimity in work and modes of living.

It also came to pass that a few, through seeing the peace, the harmony, and quiet happiness that prevailed in the little circle, became convinced that theirs was the right course, and requested that they might attach themselves to the American colony. There were a number of Syrians from the coast cities of Palestine, several baptized Jews, and a few travellers from Europe and other parts of the world, but most of the new members were Orientals. In this way the community was increased until the new arrivals numbered forty, a small number in itself; but when one considers that the new entrants were asked to give up their old lives, move to the colony in Jerusalem,

surrender all their property to the community, and submit themselves to a strict and abstinent mode of living, one almost wonders that the influx became so considerable.

The largest addition to the American colony came, however, not from Palestine, but—strangely enough—from Sweden. A group of peasants in Nås parish in Dalarna had organized a similar religious cult. Through countrymen who had emigrated to Chicago they came to hear of the Americans who had moved to Jerusalem in order that they there might lead the lives of the first Christians, in unity and perfection. These peasants were seized with the desire to unite themselves with the colony. They sold their farms, renounced home and fatherland, and journeyed to Jerusalem. This happened in 1896, when the Americans had lived in Jerusalem for fifteen years. The Swedish emigrants numbered about forty, but among them were several minors.

Does not the thought of this fill one with wonder? The colony in Jerusalem was composed chiefly of the same nations who have gathered for this Conference. To the colony came small groups of people from the far West and the far North in order to work for unity in association with a few Orientals. There, as here, Anglo-Saxon energy met with Oriental mysticism and Northern sincerity. Here we have also the privilege of having Gallic clearness to aid us. There, as here, Calvinists, Lutherans and Orthodox churchmen, hearkened to the cry of unity, while the people of the South made no move. Is it not like a sign, that these who have gathered here will make a start toward the great union, the awakening of brotherhood among Christian peoples, and community of action?

But let us go further. From the very beginning the colony had assumed a distinct position among the many Christian communities in Jerusalem. Its members had

always felt it a duty to display a Christian character toward the Oriental surroundings, and to hold fast to the idea of unity. They had heard the Jews and Mohammedans derisively lamenting over the constant quarrels that divided the Christians, and they wished to set them a better example. The colonists, who were cultured, loyal, peaceful people, had always enjoyed the greatest esteem among the natives of the city, and this was not only among the poor. Such aristocratic Arabic and Jewish families as there were in the city visited the colonists and were their true friends. But to many of the Christian communities in Jerusalem and the Orient the colony became from the first a rock of offence. They would not understand what this layman's organization which exerted no missionary activity and made itself friends among the opponents of Christianity, had to do in Jerusalem. They were accused of leading despicable lives, and attempts were made to harm them and make it impossible for them to live in the Orient.

Is there any one present here who doubts that the Conference will meet with the same fate? Is it not certain that the best among the non-Christians will greet such a Conference as this with joy and follow it with good wishes? And is it not equally certain that its worst adversaries will arise out of Christianity itself, that from this quarter will come the voices that misinterpret its motives and seek to frustrate its resolutions?

I hardly need say it. At any rate, it is clear to everyone that the colony in Jerusalem could not live in undisturbed peace, but that it came to be agitated by serious internal contentions. The most dangerous of these arose from the fact that the colonists had adopted purely ascetic rules of living, such as not to take payment for any kind of work—not even for work that was performed for wealthy

people outside the colony. Likewise they strove after the greatest abstinence in the relations between men and women. Out of these disputes arose poverty, dissatisfaction and many unnecessary conflicts, especially since the colony's children had begun to grow up into youths and maidens. But gradually the leaders of the colony came to realize that these ascetic practices were not necessary for unity, and they were discontinued. It is an upright and charitable life that is demanded from the colonists, but no regulations that conflict with human nature are imposed upon them. They are allowed to receive compensation for their services, and ever since this permission was given a cheerful spirit of industry has prevailed in every corner of the colony. They are allowed to marry and live in their own homes, near the great palace-like main building of the colony. Ever since these ascetic questions were settled the colony's reputation and prosperity have been continually increasing. A great many Swedes, myself among them, have visited the colony and have afterwards spoken of it with admiration and interest. They testify to the sincere Christian spirit, the unbroken unity, and the life together that is intrinsically so deep and serious, but nevertheless so full and happy.

It seems to me that the Conference should not fail to take warning from this. The Conference is to introduce Christian law into the relations between peoples. The Conference will do this with the discreet consideration that nations are living beings whose natures cannot be changed; and not impose unnecessary restrictions—only those that are necessary to maintain unity and create confidence.

The foundress of the community died two years ago at the age of eighty-one, after having given her entire life to leading and serving the community. It has never become powerful and world-encompassing, as she had

perhaps hoped in the beginning—it includes not fully a hundred members. But on her death-bed she was able to say to herself that the Divine voice had led her aright. Unity had surrounded her life like a protecting wall. Sorrow had not been absent, but shared by many faithful and sympathetic hearts it had lost its bitterness. And the ability to help—to lighten others' burdens, had increased in a wondrous way. She could tell herself that for the former poverty-stricken Jerusalem her colony had been a great blessing. She could think of bands of Jewish refugees whom her colony had rescued, of suffering pilgrims in danger of death to whom they had ministered, of five hundred hungry who had daily been fed. She felt that the people who had been trained in the colony were sincere, pure-hearted, cheerful, mild, and happy in serving others. She could rejoice that the assistance of America during the war had to a large degree been given through her efforts.

Surely it was far from her thoughts to boast, on her death-bed, of worldly success; but nevertheless she considered that God, even in this way, had chosen to show that unity was the blessing of human life. The colony now owned a great palace, situated not far from the Gate of Damascus, as well as six smaller buildings. It owned dromedaries and horses, cows and goats, buildings and land, olive and fig trees, shops and workrooms. Photographs of Palestine from its studio were sold all over the world, and it fitted out caravans which transported travellers far and wide in Palestine and Syria.

Her once so despised colony had become a resting-place, a haven of peace, in the Holy City. In the evenings people gathered on the terraces for prayer and conference, song and music. Thoughts of peace went out from this place during the hopeless darkness of the World War. Unity is possible, unity can be attained between the peoples of

different nations, unity can also reign between the government and the people.

But does there not lie, in the success of the humble predecessor, the most glorious promise for the mighty successor? Does not one feel how God in this way promises this blessing to the work for unity among all human beings, the unity of mankind? Will He not say to us that in the sign of unity all mankind shall attain to a more perfect development, that in this sign prosperity shall increase, the power to help and make happy shall be multiplied, and the sorrows that must follow human life shall in manifold ways be diminished?

Let us hear! Let us listen! He whose voice, through the thunders of the World War, spoke to us of unity, speaks to us also through the humble creation of His lowly servant. 'Unity!' she calls to us. 'Unity between Calvinists and Lutherans, unity between Protestants and Greeks, unity between Greeks and Catholics, unity between Christians and non-Christians, unity, unity, unity, between all the peoples of the earth!'

John Forsell, Director of the Opera, gave a song recital during the evening.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9.30 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA

Prayers were said by DR. TIMOTHY STONE (U.S.A.)

FIFTH MAIN SUBJECT

V. THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

THE REV. WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, D.D. (U.S.A.)
(Professor, Union Theological College, New York)

OUR experience in the Commission on Education has been an epitome of the experience of the Conference as a whole. By a process of education through contact we have been discovering our unity in variety.

There were nineteen members in our Commission. They were of three continents, eleven languages, twelve countries, sixteen different ecclesiastical bodies, and almost every type of educational philosophy. It included Greek Orthodox, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Reformed, Anglicans, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and a member of the National Church of Czecho-Slovakia. Four bishops of as many countries—Japan, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, the United States—were included in its membership. Yet the report which we present you is unanimous.

This result was not reached by the surrender of individual conviction—we tried that method for two days without success; rather by the gradual welding together of view which took place in the course of our discussion. The report in its present form represents the work of no single mind, but the common conclusion of us all.

We have been materially assisted in our work by the reports of the sectional committees, English, American and Continental, to which we make frequent reference. Each contributed something essential, and they should be regarded not simply as preliminary studies but as integral parts of the present report.

Two convictions dominate the thought of the Commission: first, that as Christians we are responsible for bringing the spiritual resources of the Gospel to bear upon the life of our generation; secondly, that we cannot discharge this obligation aright unless we apply our Christian principles consistently to all the relations of life, and that it is our duty as teachers to find out how this can be done.

We realize only too well that in saying this we are saying nothing new. With almost monotonous repetition, one Commission after another has been reminding us that we cannot divide life into two parts, religious and secular; one, controlled by the Spirit of God, the other, in which we follow our own selfish inpulses. All our relationships must be Christianized; not least those in which brotherhood is most difficult. If this cannot be done, our doctrine of God's Fatherhood loses its reality. Apart from human brotherhood, the Fatherhood of God remains but a phrase. But there is this difference between our Commission and the others: they have been concerned with the goal, we with the way; they have been telling us what we ought to do, you have asked us to tell *how we should do it.* In the last analysis every commission has brought us face to

face with an educational problem. For it has led us back to the heart of man where motives and ideals have their home. To do right one must know the right and one must will the right.

This sets us our task as Christian teachers. It is our duty

1. To understand the persons whom we seek to influence for Christ ;

2. To develop to the full the resources for character-building which the Gospel puts at our disposal ;

3. To find the appropriate point of contact which will open the way for our message in circles with which the Church is at present out of touch.

And first, of the conditions which confront us. Of these I have time to refer only to one. This is the growing tendency among teachers to regard education as co-extensive with life and to make the teacher responsible for physical and moral as well as for purely intellectual training. The school is regarded as a miniature society in which the pupil practises on a small scale the activities which he is afterwards to exercise on a larger scale. This enlarged conception of the teacher's function confronts the Church at once with an opportunity and with a danger : an opportunity in that it provides a welcome point of contact with the Christian view of education as the training of the entire personality for fellowship with God and service of man ; a danger, lest in the desire to make place for the new material which the sciences are pressing upon us, religion, the oldest and the most abiding of man's interests, be crowded out or relegated to a subordinate place.

And it is not simply in the school and the university that this danger presents itself. Other social units besides the school are concerning themselves with education and working out a philosophy of life which moulds the character

of those who come under their influence. This is true of labour, big business, the youth movement, the state. Each is organizing research, carrying on propaganda, influencing public opinions. In a very literal sense of the word, all the world has become a school.

We gladly recognize that in each of these great centres spiritual forces are active, and ideals of brotherhood and service are upheld. In each, consecrated men are working and giving their lives for a cause which is larger than self. The Church should recognize the existence of these spiritual forces and ideals, and should support those who are striving to realize them. But at the same time she should be on her guard against the danger they present, the danger, namely, that in the name of brotherhood, aims will be followed which are really narrow and divisive, and ends, good in themselves, be promoted by an appeal to motives which are selfish. We must be on our guard lest in our desire to find a point of contact with men whom we wish to help, we lower our own standard and substitute any lesser goal for that brotherhood in Christ, to which by her divine charter the Church is committed.

How, then, faced with such an opportunity and with such a danger, can the Church discharge the responsibility divinely committed to her as a teacher :

1. By making earnest with our obligation to be consistently Christian in the sphere of life which we can control ;

2. By seeking every possible point of contact with the larger sphere of life we desire to influence.

Christian education to be effective must begin at home. On this we are all agreed. If we have failed in the larger sphere, it is because we have first of all failed there. We have spoken of love, and too often our conduct has given our

words the lie. We have preached brotherhood and lived as strangers, sometimes even as enemies. Much has been said and rightly about the impossibility of a Christian society apart from the Christian individuals who compose it, and doubts have been expressed even in this Conference as to whether such a society is really possible. But may it not prove that one reason why the Christianization of society as a whole seems so impossible is because we who call ourselves Christians have made so poor a showing in the sphere in which we profess to believe that the Christian life *is* possible? With one heart and mind, we confess our common sin; and pray for that life-giving Spirit which is able to renew and to transform each surrendered soul.

What God can do for us if we have faith to trust Him, He can do for others, He can do for the world.

In accepting this tremendous responsibility, we do not conceal from ourselves the magnitude of the task. All the agencies at our disposal must co-operate in the work of Christian education; not simply the Church and the school, but the home, the playground and all those voluntary organizations like the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., which are so noticeable a feature of our time. All parts of life must be seen in their educational significance—practice as well as theory, instinct and emotion as well as reason. We must begin with the child, to be sure; but we must remember that the child begins with his parents. We must begin with the child, but we must follow him all through his life, and surround him wherever he is, as workman, teacher, parent, artist, statesman, with those moral and spiritual influences implicit in the Christian religion, without which a full and rounded life is impossible.

Above all, we must realize the central place which *worship* plays in the complete life and we must draw the

appropriate consequences for education. All the world over, there is a revival of the spirit of prayer born of the sense of human helplessness, of human need. But prayer to be effective must be intelligent. It requires concentration, practice, self-mastery. Jesus *taught* His disciples to pray.

We begin then with Spirit. But Spirit, to be effective, requires a body through which it can act. If the Church is to enter into touch with the powerful social agencies of which we have spoken—economic, racial, governmental—she must use the points of contact available, and create new ties where they are lacking. Here the sectional reports give much interesting and encouraging information, to which we refer our readers who desire suggestions in detail.

It is clear that in dealing with units of such magnitude, the individual Christian, even the individual Church, is at a disadvantage. A co-operative approach is the only effective method, such as is provided by our existing federations and councils. The response already given to this Universal Conference in the most widely different quarters is the most convincing demonstration of this fact.

An apposite illustration is given in the report of our Sub-committee on Text Books. This report draws attention to a serious danger—the danger that history, which should be our great teacher of brotherhood, may be used for partisan, or at least for narrowly national purposes. The report makes definite recommendations which will be brought before you by their Chairman and which the Committee as a whole heartily approve.

But this is only one illustration of many that could be given of the way in which the Church's influence is hampered by our lack of access to the necessary facts. 'The Church,' as the American report rightly reminds us, 'has no

miraculous means of learning facts. The sincerity of our purpose will not prevent us from falling into error, if we neglect the rules of evidence which we follow in other departments of life.'

We suggest, therefore, to this Conference (and in this we are simply voicing what has been expressed independently by many other speakers) *that it recommend to the appropriate authorities the creation of an International Bureau of Education and Research to serve as a clearing-house of information for the various Christian communions on those moral and religious matters in which they have a common concern.*

In making this recommendation, we do not have in mind a committee with executive responsibility, authorized to commit the churches to any definite line of action, but simply a convenient centre, such as now exists in more than one country, through which the needed information can be assembled and distributed. As to the nature of this bureau in detail, and the manner of its appointment, if approved, we prefer to make no recommendations, leaving that for the consideration of such Continuation Committee as the Conference as a whole may decide to appoint.

On one point we desire to lay special stress: the new bureau, if established, should not be a *substitute for existing educational and fact-distributing agencies*, but a means of correlating and interpreting them. As this Conference would have been impossible had it not been preceded by a *long period of preparation and prayer*, during which many preliminary conferences had laid the necessary foundation, so our Continuation Committee will be useless save as it becomes the centre of a wider educational process in which the whole Church takes part.

It is the more necessary for us to emphasize this, since the Conference has revealed to us—as many of us had never realized before—how much *we have still to learn*

before we are fitted to teach. God has revealed much to us of His purpose for man and His power to save, for which we humbly thank Him and to which we confidently witness. But He has still more to teach us, we are well assured, as to the way in which that power can be supplied and that purpose realized; and this understanding He can only communicate to us if we approach Him together.

But knowledge of facts alone is not enough; there must be training in sympathy. I would make my own that fine word which Dr. Hough spoke yesterday: 'If the Church would win the mind of the world, she must keep the whole world in mind. If the Church would win the heart of the world, she must bear the whole world on her heart.'

Will you pardon me if in concluding I say a single word, as a theological teacher, to my colleagues who are teachers? We, too, have our sins to confess; we especially. When I think of my own career as a teacher—how provincial has been my outlook, how narrow my sympathy, how abstract and theoretical my teaching in comparison with this wonderful world of reality into the midst of which it has pleased God for these unforgettable days to introduce me—I am filled with shame. How the technical terms of which I have been making use in the class-room—Orthodox, Anglican, Lutheran, and the like—have grown warm and living, as I have seen them interpreted and transfigured in the persons of the men and women with whom I have worked on this Commission and in this Conference. Too long we have studied and taught as individuals. We need to organize our thinking as our colleagues in the physical sciences have organized theirs. Too long we have confined our teaching to our own little section of God's truth, overlooking what He has revealed to our brothers in other ages and in other churches. The time has come for a larger

conception of the teacher's responsibility. I, for one, propose, God willing, to go back to make my class-room as never before a place in which to interpret to the ministers of the future the infinite variety and inexhaustible riches of the Church Universal.

PRESIDENT JACOB KOCH (Austria) spoke next.

VA. THE EDUCATION OF THE CHRISTIAN PERSONALITY

THE REV. P. CARNEGIE SIMPSON, D.D. (England)
(Professor, Westminster College, Cambridge)

THE subject on which I have been asked to speak is 'Personality,' or, more particularly, 'The education of the Christian personality.' I wish to begin by saying frankly that I make no claim to be an expert or an authority in educational matters, and I shall not presume to speak to this Conference on educational principles or methods. Allow me, therefore, to treat the subject quite generally.

Where shall one begin an exposition, which must be very brief, of so fundamental and yet so evasive a topic as personality? Certainly it is best to begin *not* with any academic definition. Nor shall I begin to discuss the metaphysics of the idea, including the sense in which we apply the term to God, not, of course, thereby imputing to Him the limits of our imperfect personalities, but as our most comprehensive category of being. The restrictions of my time make it useless to attempt to enter on such questions. I wish, rather to occupy my few minutes by speaking simply and practically. I shall speak mainly of what personality means in human life; and, even in this, I shall have in view not those we call 'great personalities,' but men and women whom we meet any day. For God makes every soul a personality. I wish to avoid

being abstract. Personality is a thing of persons, not of general ideas. Still we must generalize about it if we are to speak on the subject at all. Let me, then, name three elements in personality which are, as it seems to me, primary.

I

One is the element of *Freedom*. Nothing has the note of personality which is machine made, is imposed from without, is merely routine or traditional. Personality has a self to realize, and it can live only as it has the liberty given to it to realize that self. Of this freedom, two things may be said here—in but a word each.

One is that, essentially, it is an inward freedom. If it has the means and the opportunity to be able to express itself also outwardly, so much the better. But it is not dependent—at least, not entirely dependent—on the fortune of circumstance. It is essentially a freedom of the soul. The other is that it is a rational—and that means, also, a moral—freedom. It is not the liberty of mere licence. That makes a man not a personality but only a prisoner to his own passions. Freedom is never anarchic. It is always in accord with the nature of the being who exercises it. So the freedom of man's personality is rational and ethical if man be rational and ethical. It is not what the Scottish poet, Robert Burns, claimed—a 'freedom in sinning.' This is not to say that it is a dull and narrow moralism. But it is of reason, not of mere passion, as it is of the soul and not merely of circumstance.

The reflection may here occur to some minds that the type of men and women produced within the churches often suggests what is expressive of a dull and narrow moralism, or at least what is conventional, rather than what is expressive of strong and original personality. Where this is so, something is wrong somewhere. What is wrong is, I

suggest, that often, in the religion of the churches, what is secondary—namely, ecclesiastical discipline or orthodox tradition—becomes authoritative and formative instead of the original and inspiring principle of Christianity. The original and inspiring principle of Christianity is nothing other than a fellowship and friendship with Christ. And that fellowship and friendship are something which not only in itself is essentially personal but also calls out and articulates a man's true personality as nothing else does. For it is one of the wonderful facts about Jesus Christ that He, who in a unique way reveals God to man, also and in a unique way reveals a man to himself. When we are living our lives in the society of Christ, we gain a wholly new idea of what our life should and shall be and of what we should and shall be. Christianity is not a man losing himself in God (as mysticism tends to make it), nor is it his tying himself to tradition (as ecclesiasticism easily makes it). It is a man finding himself in Christ. And this is a relationship of freedom. Even God cannot make persons by law or to order. He can make suns and stars by law and to order ; but they, with all their wonderfulness, are but superb mechanical toys. Men so made would be not persons but only the Robots of Karel Capek's remarkable play. Men possessing personality God can make only through freedom. It is the responsibility of freedom that makes free men : it is responsibility to Christ that makes Christian free men. That is the relationship of the Gospel to personality, and its postulate is freedom.

II

A second element in personality is the *Social*. This applies to our conception even of God as, in the highest and the only perfect sense, personal. The term could not be rightly applied to a being who is only the Supreme

Individual. For the poorest man who lives his life in the relationships of even but his own family knows something of a richer personal experience than such a Divine Solitary. God, therefore, whom we must call the One God, must also be thought of as, in some real sense, a Society as well as One ; and this is what Christian Theism has sought to express—with, I cannot help adding, an elaboration that goes far beyond the available data—in the doctrine of the Trinity. The idea applies also to human personality. A man by himself is hardly a person—is, at least, an utterly impoverished person. Robinson Crusoe, alone on his island, would soon have lost nearly all that makes personality—except in so far as that might have been preserved by the memory of the past : it was necessary to bring Friday into the story that Crusoe himself might remain a man.

Now, people often make a mistake about this social element in personality. They oppose it to the element of freedom. They think that they would be more free to develop themselves if they were independent of the claims and ties of those around them, and if they could, as they put it, ' live their own lives.' This is a question which is a very real one for many—especially many young people—in the present day, and it must be looked at not unsympathetically. There are people whose surroundings and relationships in life make it difficult or impossible for them really to be themselves and to develop the talent and the personality that God has given them. Or, again, there is the case of a great creative artist—Wagner is a conspicuous instance—who could only have given to the world what it was in him to give it, by a certain egotism in life and by, even ruthlessly, cutting himself off from many ties and especially from the service of others. I recognize these cases, alike in ordinary life and in men of genius, and I will

not peremptorily or indiscriminately judge them. But—to speak generally—it is no true solution of the problem of life or even the problem of the realization of one's highest self to disown and desert what others claim of us and need from us. Selfishness—I repeat that I do not judge special cases, in which what looks like selfishness may not always really be so—is not the true road to a greater or richer or nobler personality. Even if it be true that a great genius may be, in certain respects, selfish, still it is true that a great *man* is large-minded and loving; and it is in man, not in genius, that personality resides. Thus personality needs love as well as freedom. The more deeply that a man is related to others in understanding and sympathy and service, the more is his own personality enriched and enlarged and ennobled. Love, even when it seems to limit life, does not impoverish it; what impoverishes life is selfishness, even when it promises to liberate. Personality, I repeat, needs love as well as freedom. In a word, it is of the heart. It may be the head which makes us clever or stupid, even wise or foolish. But it is the heart which, fundamentally, makes us good or bad—that is to say, makes our character. And it is also the heart which, fundamentally, makes us big or small—that is to say, makes our personality.

III

I pass to a third—and the really formative element in personality. It is not so simply named in a word. It is just *life*—especially life's calls and challenges and crises. Men in ideal conditions of freedom and congenial social relationships will yet not develop any personality if they dwell in a paddock, out of contact with the real world and not facing life's sterner and more dangerous issues. A man's

personality is proved as he is found equal to life and, especially, life's testing emergencies. Shakespeare says it :

> 'In the reproof of chance
> Lies the true proof of men.'

Wherever anyone is facing the facts of life and bravely meeting their challenge, there is something of genuine personality. This is why personality is often found to a less degree among those whose lot is soft and sheltered, and to a greater degree among those, outwardly quite ordinary, who are in the thick of the real battle of life. On the whole —and, of course, allowing numerous exceptions—there is, I think, more genuine personality among the poor than among the rich. There is certainly more among the workers than among the parasites of society. I even dare to say there is more among sinners who are up against social laws than among pharisees ; and often more among honest heretics than among the self-satisfied orthodox. Personality, which is freedom and fellowship, is above all, reality. And thus, an absolutely indispensable characteristic of a man—or a woman—who is to be described as a personality is courage. I mean, of course, the courage that is moral rather than merely physical. No poltroon has personality. But every brave soul has something of it ; and every martyr has something of even great personality.

All this applies immediately both to our education and our religion. It is a little thing that these should produce those who can pass the academic tests of the schools or the ecclesiastical tests of the churches. They must, if they would make men or women of character and of personality, produce those who, in the judgment of their fellows and in the judgment of God, can pass the tests of life.

To conclude, it may disappoint some that I have not spoken of this subject more picturesquely. Personality is

a thing often, and indeed, easily caricatured. There is a type of man—and of woman—who thinks to be a personality by egotism or even by eccentricity. It is true that personality sometimes expresses itself in minor things. But the essentials about personality are great things. I have mentioned three; not, of course, offering these as any full analysis. But, certainly, personality includes freedom and cannot be machine-made: it means human fellowship and the enrichment that comes from love and service: it has courage to meet life—especially life's more testing emergencies. In other words, a true personality, first, can always be himself; secondly, can understand and help everyone; and, thirdly, can dare anything to which fate challenges him. I only add that, if this description be at all true, the supreme Personality in history is that of Our Lord; and so the aim of 'the education of the Christian Personality' is to create and develop those who shall be men 'in Christ Jesus.'

THE MOST REV. K. FARSKY, D.D.
(Patriarch of the Czecho-Slovak National Church)

THE creation of a Christian personality presupposes, I believe, one condition and that is sincerity of purpose.

In the sphere of the spiritual, this sincerity of purpose means identifying one's own self with such an ideal or ideals as the soul may have discovered and recognized.

Personality lacking this sincerity of purpose is no personality at all.

Now, as regards myself and the community I represent—we founded, five years ago, a new Czechoslovak Church. Among the churches, we are the youngest one. We rose to eight hundred thousand souls, and we grow larger still from one month to another.

In organizing our community we declared what we do

believe and what we do not believe; that is to say, what, after three centuries of spiritual oppression—oppression inflicted in the name of Christ, we can or cannot accept as our belief.

By some, we have been reproached as not being Christian at all; others said, that we do not comply, in our doctrinal views, with what is called historical Christianity.

But, on the one hand, we yearn to become no less Christian in our very being, than any of you.

I feel sure that in this movement there is a great awakening of true and sincere personality; far from being perfect, we yet crave to attain perfection, willing to submit to its demands and even ready to suffer for this our endeavour.

The past generation, it seems to me, have been building by heaping up gigantic cubes which they glued by asphalt to one another; we prefer to use small bricks and little human grains of sand held together by inner cohesion; in fact, we believe in a Church united by individual conviction rather than by anything else. We do not believe that stability can be ensured by mere weight and size.

As regards such as may be inclined to question our sense of historical values in Christianity, we hold that the sole test of Christianity is the standard of living of the followers of Christ; whereas what we actually see is Christianity which, in many cases, does not even try to imitate Christ as the Son of man; as for ourselves, we see much of Christ's greatness embodied in our John Hus. We cannot forget his bequest: 'Therefore, faithful Christian! seek *the truth*, hear *the truth*, learn *the truth*, love *the truth*, speak *the truth*, uphold *the truth*, defend *the truth* even unto death!'—'Veritas vincit!' is our motto for ever.

To his opponents and adversaries he used to reply, that he was ready to yield to their demands, if they succeeded in convincing him.

This was our reformation five hundred years ago.

After three centuries of struggle, we follow John Hus and, by following Hus, we follow Jesus Christ. We are building a Church founded upon freedom of conscience and individual conviction, in accordance with truth as verified by science, and we wish to be sincere both in theory and practice. We feel the weight of age-long struggle for truth resting upon us as we go on.

This Conference is gathered together for the purpose of reconstructing the Church of the whole world. But in our country the Roman Catholic bishops at this very moment proclaim Rome as the sole representative of Christianity; they declare, too, that Hus, the first martyr of the new-age reformation, who gave and is still to give so much to all of us, is to be regarded as a forerunner of the Reformation, as an antagonist to Christianity, and that Bolshevism is to be looked upon as an outcome of the Reformation.

This Conference stands for unity; is it prepared—I ask —to defend, if necessary, any of the units of which it consists?

On the other hand, we feel that goodness is to be achieved more by loving God than by fear of Him.

We do not hate the Roman Catholic Church, but we insist on the preservation of Christian personality.

Our one aim is to be good, and to be strong in being good, in order to help the work of God in this world through the sacrifice of our lives.

The Rev. W. Fulton, D.D. (Great Britain), Professor Dr. Rendtorff (Germany), and Dr. Stephan von Ugron (Roumania) also spoke.

Vb. THE EDUCATION OF THE CIVIC CONSCIENCE

Dr. J. R. Slotemaker de Bruine (Holland)
(Professor of Theology, Utrecht)

In considering the general theme of Christian education we shall deal with three main factors: personality, the nation, and the world. Thus our horizon expands in ever-widening circles. First, the individual as such; then the community to which he belongs, and finally, the world-wide community of all nations—humanity. But this involves a problem, the problem of the individual and the problem of the community.

By way of introduction, let us consider the conception of the community in general, the community as such, not in its national or in its political aspect. For the community embraces these aspects and something more. It involves social, economic, cultural, religious, as well as national and political elements. But we are concerned at this point with the community as such. We may have learnt all we can about the education of Christian personality, and yet remain only at the beginning of our subject. The community lies behind the individual. There is something attractive in the idea of the individual as self-sufficient, as possessing a strong independent character, as having a real personality. But Max Stirner has taught us what it means if the individual only thinks of himself, regards himself as a single, solitary being. This would be hell indeed. Not merely the hell of arrogance (ὕβρις) but also the hell of self-centred egoism that ignores the claims and rights of others, and involves 'bellum omnium contra omnes.'

The community must be recognized as a great fact. But while saying this, we must, as Christians, energetically

oppose the idea that Christianity means merely devotion, self-denial, love of one's neighbour, concern for others. This is impossible, if only for the reason that the subject under discussion is the education of Christian personality, as God has willed it. What God has made *me*, that I must be, and that I ought to be. This should be expressed and maintained. Thus far I entirely agree with Stirner. Otherwise, Christianity would only be for those who lack personality, who have no backbone and no character—the great colourless mass of so-called Christians in whose composition there is no steel and iron.

This being so, we must find the solution of the problem of the relation of 'personality' to the 'community.' For we cannot have the one without the other. In what direction shall we look for this solution? A fine clue is afforded by the well-known French maxim: 'Pour pouvoir se donner, il faut se posséder.' That contains a great truth that brings us much nearer to the goal. But we can only obtain a solution of our problem, if we get rid of the antithesis between the individual and the community. Stirner's individualism and solidarity of society are both centred in man; but the Church ought to be centred in God. When God has become the centre, the foundation and the goal of all thought and all endeavour, then the individual and the community become secondary, because only God is primary. Then, at least in theory, though unfortunately not always in practice, every collision of duties is impossible, because God has designed man to be a personality, and also to be a member of a community. 'Have we not all one Father and one Creator?'

It should, however, be added, that we are not concerned now with a theory, with a merely rational solution of our problem, or even with a new code of morality or with a new law. The real and effective education of the civic and

social conscience, in its widest aspect, can only take place when everything performed is regarded as a spiritual fact and as an aspect of spiritual life. In this connection the Church does not supply us with new standards of education, but with that great and almost overwhelming fact of solidarity, an almost undreamt of community-life, as we meet with it in the life and work of Jesus Christ. The Son of God, in His incarnation, showed us true solidarity with mankind. The Lamb of God, who bore the guilt of the world, has embodied and expressed the deepest solidarity with misery and guilt. This is the religious basis of our social life in its whole breadth and depth, as the Church ever proclaims it to mankind.

Now what does all this signify for the civic conscience in our national life? First, we are faced with a difficulty similar to that which we have already encountered. For when we consider national life, the question arises, how far, for Christian men, can nationality as a new and higher form of individuality, assert its rights over against that wider society of the nations which we may speak of as international life. This problem can merely be indicated here. It will, doubtless, be discussed in detail by the speaker to whom the third division of the subject has been assigned. Next, brotherhood in social life and in the community of mankind must not be attained by regarding peoples as identical, and by forgetting or explaining away all differences. The divine Creator of the worlds has made everything with a nature and a being of its own. Besides, there are the differences and divisions which cannot be derived from the creative will of God, but which, none the less, exist. And we must not forget the varieties of and the differences between religious, dogmatic, social and political convictions, nor the differences of function and work. But the power of the Gospel will be shown

inasmuch as the spirit of brotherhood will be born and express itself as conscience and will, as fact and deed.

Further, we must oppose that view of life which recognizes in social, political and economic life only 'classes,' *i.e.* opposed groups which are engaged in rancorous struggles with each other. One ought rather to regard the different groups as 'members of one body,' which complete and supplement one another, and among which there ought to be no question of pride or aloofness. Further, self-sacrifice and self-denial must work hand-in-hand with devotion to the whole and to others. This rule will find its most difficult, but at the same time its most fruitful, application when we learn from Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God who bore the sins of the world, to bear the sins of others and to share responsibility for them.

Where this sense of brotherhood finds practical application as work for the whole community, it will be necessary to create organizations and to make laws. This, however, is not the proper business of the Church. But it is quite certain that both organizations and laws will be in themselves quite insufficient. The essential thing is always the spirit which is to fill all these mechanical agencies, in order that something really living may emerge. It is here that the Church has its great task. She knows the source of brotherhood, of devotion and of service. She witnesses to this and proclaims it without ceasing. She must herself manifest these great qualities and activities. For she may be sure that humanity, the community in every nation, is eagerly waiting for those whose solidarity is not a matter of theory or speculation or law, but has become life and fact. People are waiting, consciously or unconsciously, avowedly or secretly, for a manifestation of these qualities and for this kind of activity from Christian churches and from Christian men and women.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

V. THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION (*continued*)

Vb. THE EDUCATION OF THE CIVIC CONSCIENCE (*continued*)

THE RT. REV. JAMES DE W. PERRY, Bishop of Rhode Island (U.S.A.), THE REV. R. H. TRIBE (England), and GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT BURGHART (Germany) also spoke.

Vc. THE EDUCATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONSCIENCE FOR BROTHERHOOD

E. F. WISE, C.B. (England)

(Economic Adviser in respect of Foreign Trade to the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Co-operative Societies)

I APPROACH the problem of the churches and education in international relations from a different point of view from that of the other speakers. I have no claim at all to speak either as a preacher or as a teacher. I am a mere layman, who, as a Government official and as a business man, has been brought into intimate day-to-day contact with the practical difficulties of international relations.

What is the object which Christian education in this matter sets out to attain? It is surely to create such a real and powerful sense of human brotherhood as does not at present exist, and as will secure that in all international relations the spirit of Christianity shall prevail. In particular it must create such an opinion as will make war impossible as a method of settling international differences. For I hold it to be beyond argument that war and the passions which it creates are the very negation of brotherhood and, therefore, of the spirit of Christianity.

What form, then, is such education to take? Others

will speak of the need of freeing the presentation of the facts of history, of geography, of philosophy from the national prejudices which in many countries poison from the beginning the minds of the young against other races. But it is not enough merely to free the education of the young from such distortions. The churches must occupy themselves also with those who, either as politicians or as voters, have responsibility for the present direction and control of international relations. For these, as well also as for the young, the teaching in an academic way of sound Christian doctrine, useful though it is, is insufficient by itself to effect any substantial change so long as the material world with which they are in hourly contact shows only evidence of the prevalence of a quite different spirit. Examples are infinitely more effective than abstract precepts. The churches must see to it that Christian principles are not merely enunciated *in vacuo* but are quite clearly stated and their application urged in the graver issues which engage public attention. They must be constantly prepared, with due consideration and in no spirit of barren controversy or political self-seeking, boldly and clearly to enunciate the Christian point of view on the actual problems of current international politics.

This does not of course require that they should produce detailed policies on every disputed topic. It does require however, much more than vague generalities. Moreover, it is clearly their special duty to do all they can to prevent the importation into international discussions of the spirit of envy, hatred, malice and of uncharitableness which, in these latter years, has so often disfigured them. Sometimes, no doubt, mistakes will be made and often unpopularity will be incurred. But no greater mistake can be made than to continue to let men and women suppose that the Christian religion and those authorized to speak

for it have nothing to say on the most vital problems of everyday life.

Moreover, in moments of acute crisis, when national feelings and passions run high and zeal for the national cause is apt to blind men's eyes and deafen their ears to all other considerations, the churches should stand firmly aloof from any action likely to encourage or justify a resort to violent or warlike measures. In the Great War there was no more pitiable spectacle in Europe than the sight in almost every country of the churches bound, willingly or unwillingly, to the chariot wheels of nationalism, each claiming the special favour of God for their own national aims. In times of excitement there is never any lack on the platform and in the Press of so-called defenders of the national interest. It would give meaning and reality to the Christian teaching of brotherhood if ministers of religion felt it to be their special duty to propound the point of view not of their own nation but of the other party to a dispute, patiently explaining the arguments which seem to justify the other nation, striving to create understanding and to eliminate rancour.

In the application of Christian principles to practical problems, let not the churches be afraid to show their faith in the practical efficiency of Christian teaching. The suspicion and fear which the war engendered still hovers over all international relations. The talk is of disarmament and of trust in the League of Nations. But no great nation or group of nations is really prepared to take the lead in dispensing with the material protection of fleets and armies. Faith may move mountains, but there is at present not enough of it to exorcise the fear of one's neighbours. It is surely for those who believe that the Divine Will shapes human affairs to take the responsibility and the risks of misunderstanding and unpopularity involved by urging

the wisdom of reliance on goodwill rather than on armaments. There is no greater producer of goodwill in others, whether persons or nations, than evidence of willingness to believe that it exists. The ordinary man and woman will understand much more easily what the application of Christian principles to international relations means, when he finds that those who speak for the churches are not afraid to face and to justify the risks which others allege is involved in their adoption.

Finally, the churches should regard it as their special function to prepare the ground for a more effective expression in political institutions of the essential unity of mankind, for which the present experiments in the League of Nations and other institutions are intended to be a preliminary. The progress of invention, science and communications is rapidly rendering national boundaries mere geographical abstractions. It is for the churches to see that the spirit of brotherhood produces a public opinion which will insist on the creation of international institutions so strongly established that international war will seem as great a crime as civil war. The churches can prepare the ground for this by constantly insisting in their teaching on the essential unity of mankind, on the points of resemblance between individuals of different nations rather than on their points of difference, their common needs and common interests rather than their divergent claims, and on the necessity of subordinating the special interest of particular races and nations to the interest of the whole world community.

Further, by encouraging and assisting every form of international association and effort, not only in matters of government, politics, and industry, but in the arts, in science, in missionary enterprise, in social and humane activities and even in sport, the churches will provide

opportunities of practical education for their members in international co-operation.

Already, especially in the working-class movement, pressure of economic forces is producing a sense of international solidarity. It is for organized Christianity to see that the highest ideals of the Christian religion form and inspire the international institutions which the march of events will inevitably create.

THE BISHOP OF SEELAND (Denmark)
(Rt. Rev. H. Ostenfeld, D.D.)

ABOUT a hundred years ago the Duke of Wellington said: 'Education without God makes men better thieves,' and now we in our times feel that this saying was a true one. Therefore the cry is coming up to the Church: help us to make a new generation, to educate to the great art of understanding how to live, in which so many have failed. Jesus Christ is the only one for whom it did not fail; He was not a specialist with a small narrow territory, but He understood the very point of what life's meaning is: to live with God and for God. It was His power that He was not alone because He always did His will who sent Him. And now it can be said that in our days defeat has been seen everywhere. The whole technical apparatus of the modern world has been defeated, and great schemes for improving humanity have been defeated. In a certain sense the Church itself has been defeated through her divisions. But Christ has not been defeated. To Him men look to get help, and He is willing to help, but He says, 'If any man would come after Me, let him deny himself,'—that is the teaching of Christ about education.

But if the Church is to give help in that great and important question she must first herself obey the word of

Christ. And what does that mean in this connection? Not that the Church should reduce her message and her teaching to a minimum of commonplaces of religion, but that she should practise the old saying: 'Unity in essentials, freedom in unessentials, love in all.' The Church must begin with repentance: 'mea culpa, mea maxima culpa.' Christians have many times prayed to God that He would be their co-worker, instead of taking the right place to be the co-workers of God and follow Him.

But now we meet a misunderstanding. Many people are very eager to demand the effects of Christianity, but they do not care for Christianity itself. But there is no effect without the cause. If you want the effects of Christianity, the feeling of brotherhood, you must begin with Christ Himself.

If that be admitted, and I think that everybody needs to admit that, I want to draw a conclusion from it. Christ cannot be effective in the young generation without being known. Here we meet the difficult question about the religious instruction in our schools: many Church-people do not believe that Christianity can be taught as other things are taught; they want a special instruction in catechism and an instruction in Bible knowledge *otherwise* than in other disciplines. And from a purely humanitarian point of view many do not wish any religious instruction at all; and the consequence has been that in many big countries a Christian instruction is banished from the school. And now the Church is asked to influence the new generation to a better way of living and thinking. I think that there is a middle way which would be useful. As historical instruction is given about Kant and Goethe, about Lincoln and Washington, about Gladstone and Wilberforce—so there might also be given historical instruction about

Christ, His life and teaching, His death and the faith of His Church in His resurrection—without any dogmatical interpretation. The power which is in Christ Himself will make itself known, and it is the only way in which it is possible that the Church should be able to give her help, as St. Paul says: how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? (Rom. x. 14.)

And then I would emphasize what is said in our report about *the boarding schools for adults*, which we have had in Scandinavia during the last seventy years. It was the Danish minister Grundtvig who gave the impulse; in these schools, *e.g.* in Denmark every year several thousands young men (in the winter term) and young women (in the summer term) get a spiritual and vigorous impulse for life. These schools are not organized by the Church, but their teachers are Christian men who are giving their best; and we can see the effects of these schools in our whole agricultural population; and we are trying to find our way to the young men and women from the industrial working classes.

But how is it possible to accomplish this immense task of educating mankind in brotherhood? I answer that it must be realized in the same way as in a home, where the one brother shall not imitate the other in every respect, but he shall fix his eye upon the strong points of his brother and take delight in them. In that way life in a family becomes a rich life which concentrates itself about the same home, about the same father and mother. In the same way the education, in view of the great differences in classes, nations and races, must be constructive and not critical, selfish and negative. We are to be educated to be brothers and co-workers with one another and not competitors. If the Church is to have some influence in that matter the Church must be of one soul, put herself

under the leadership of Christ, look upon herself with criticism and upon others with the mind of a brother.

The aim of Christian education is high and great. To some it will perhaps seem unattainable. But I would like to call two things to mind. First, a word by Bishop Brent: 'The unattainable is the only aim high enough for human endeavours.' Second, a word by Jesus: 'To God all things are possible.' God uses men to realize His plans. Men who do not want to serve their own ends, but will make it their object to obey Him and carry out His will. And His will is that they stand together under the leadership of the only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that they shall be one in Him and around Him. Under His leadership they are always sure to gain the victory. Human plans, even the most brilliant, have failed; human leaders, even the greatest, have been defeated; but He will always lead His followers to victory.

PRESIDENT HEROLD, D.D. (Switzerland)
(President of the Swiss Evangelical Church Federation)

IN view of the present political and industrial situation, which involves the possibility of new wars, with the conviction that war is utterly opposed to the spirit of Jesus Christ, and in recognition of the responsibility imposed upon all churches by the golden rule of the Gospel, the Swiss Evangelical Church Federation considers it to be its duty to use all means within its power to promote and maintain peace between the nations. It therefore makes public the following statements:

(i) It condemns, in the name of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, every policy that rests on force, all thoughts of revenge, all economic selfishness, and, in a word, everything that favours conflict of any kind and that arouses feelings

inimical to peace and to the material and moral well-being of mankind.

(ii) In the consciousness of the duty which the spiritual power of the Church implies, it declares war against the pernicious forces of hatred and destruction, a war which can only be waged with the weapons of the Spirit, with faith and prayer.

(iii) It regards it as an unconditional duty of the Christian Church, in obedience to her Lord and Master, to cause the prophetic voice of love and goodwill to be heard with greater distinctness above the chaos of human passions and to proclaim the message of universal brotherhood.

(iv) It is at one with the efforts of the World Alliance for promoting friendship through the churches. It regards most hopefully the work begun by the League of Nations; it begs its friends not to be disconcerted by the many difficulties they must encounter in the continuous pursuit of their end; and it assures them of its resolve to sustain them in their work by prayer and co-operation.

(v) In agreement with the Geneva Protocol it advocates:

(*a*) The compulsory settlement of all disputes by the Court of Arbitration.

(*b*) The protection of international rights and the security of nations by the League of Nations.

(*c*) Progressive disarmament by international agreement.

(vi) It protests, in the name of Christian solidarity, against every violation of the rights of humanity, against the oppression of Protestant minorities and particularly against the abandonment of the Armenians, who were the victims of political injustice.

(vii) In the belief that the hope of the world rests alone upon the help of the living God and upon the illumination

of mankind by the Gospel of Jesus Christ and with the conviction that a united meeting for repentance and intercession would have great spiritual significance at the present time, the Swiss Evangelical Church Federation invites all the churches represented in Stockholm humbly and prayerfully to unite in a common and general declaration against war and solemnly to confirm their faith in the victory of peace.

(viii) It invokes the blessing of God on the efforts to bring about a rally of spiritual forces (in the Stockholm Conference) and a brotherly co-operation between the nations (in the League of Nations), and beseeches God so to illuminate the churches that they may become more and more the faithful witnesses of their unseen Lord as they intervene on behalf of righteousness, love and peace.

Almighty God, our Father in Christ, may Thy Kingdom come !

Bern, July 8th, 1925.

In the Name of the Swiss Evangelical Church Federation :

President : Dr. O. Herold.

Secretaries : Dr. A. Keller, Alb. Lequin.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop J. Janoska (Czecho-Slovakia), Licentiat Stange (Germany), The Metropolitan of Sofia, The Rt. Rev. Bishop S. Zoch (Czecho-Slovakia), and The Rev. William Blackshaw (England) also spoke.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27, 1925

EVENING SESSION (5–7 P.M.)

Chairman—THE REV. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, D.D.

V. THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION (*continued*).

VB, C. THE EDUCATION OF THE CIVIC AND THE INTERNATIONAL CONSCIENCE FOR BROTHERHOOD

THE BISHOP OF PLYMOUTH (England)
(The Rt. Rev. J. H. B. Masterman, D.D.)

How can education be made to serve the cause of international goodwill and fellowship? The answer to that question depends on another, 'Do we believe in the impartiality of the love of God?' Nominally, of course, we shall answer yes, but the history of the world shows how hard it has been to make that belief a reality. In spite of all that the prophets taught, the Jewish people never rose above the idea of their own nation as the special favourite of God. They interpreted the purpose of God as the establishment of the supremacy of Israel over a subject world. So the first great struggle of the infant Church was the struggle to vindicate for the Gentile peoples an equal place in the Christian society. God loves all nations with an impartial love! That was the mystery, as St. Paul calls it, kept actually from the beginning of the world, now revealed in Christ. But does this mean that the words 'chosen people' have no meaning? Assuredly not. If we believe that the existence of nations is the expression in history of the purpose of God, we must believe, not that one nation, but that all nations, are 'chosen.' But chosen for what? Not for supremacy, but for service; not to get, but to give. Vocation is always sacrificial; its supreme symbol is the

Cross. A nation proves its vocation not by aggression, still less by self-satisfied isolation, but by fellowship and service. For we are members one of another, each with our own gifts to bring, and the truth that when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it, is vindicated by the whole record of human history.

It follows from all this that the education of an international consciousness must be the work of the Christian churches. The belief in the impartiality of the love of God stands or falls with the revelation of God as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The idea that we can build a brotherhood of mankind on any other foundation than the Gospel of Jesus Christ is an idle dream. Science and art, literature and commerce can link nations in the bonds of common interest, but only when our hearts are aglow with the love of God can we ever learn to love our neighbour as ourself.

There is a place in the Christian Church for both the national and the catholic idea, but the catholic idea must always be the stronger. For while a Church must reach out one hand to the national life which it seeks to consecrate, it must reach out the other hand—the right hand—to the whole world of humanity for whom Christ died. One of the Church's greatest tasks is to widen the range of human sympathy, till the love of man for man overleaps social and national boundaries, draws together the whole world into one great family. If we believe all this, what are we doing to make it a reality? May I mention a few things that we might do?

We might Christianize the text-books from which the children in our schools learn their earliest lessons in history. It is right that children should learn to love their own country, for you cannot build any true internationalism on the restriction of those local loyalties that lift us out of

selfish egoism through love of home, the city and mother-land; but you can see that you do not so teach history as to foster distrust and contempt and hatred of other nations. You can let the dead past bury its dead, instead of poisoning the hopes of the future with the embittered memories of the past.

Again, we might cultivate the habit of identifying other nations with their virtues rather than with their defects. And, incidentally, I think we ought to recognize the danger of personifying nations, so that in place of a community of human beings with human hearts and minds we think or speak of unreal abstractions. There is no such thing as the France or Germany or Russia of our newspapers. There are communities of people capable of being swayed by common impulses of generosity or panic or passion, struggling with the baffling enigmas of life, bound together by that we call the accidents of history. If, whenever I read in the newspapers that France thinks this or Germany wants that, I can by the grace of God turn this bogey into a great many very lovable human beings over whose lives broods the all-embracing love of God, I shall see the life of the world more nearly as God sees it.

Again, we might take every opportunity, in the education of our children, of showing how the real progress of the world has been achieved by the co-operation of nations, not through their contests. It is not enough to say to them that 'Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war' unless we can tell them something of what these victories have been. And how much greater they might have been if the resources squandered in ages of contest had been available for the uplifting of human life!

I have said that the development of international consciousness must be the work of the Christian churches. But again we must beware of abstractions. It is only in

a few of the countries represented in this Conference that the Church can exercise much direct control over the education given in the schools. What the churches can do is to arouse Christian men and women to use their influence as citizens to ensure that the education given in the schools and colleges under public control shall foster in the coming generation a new spirit of goodwill. The key of the whole problem is in the teachers. If the teachers in our schools are inspired with enthusiasm for the ideal of international fellowship, they will make that ideal attractive to the children. I think that in England this is generally true. One result of the rise in the salaries of our elementary school teachers is that many of them are able to visit other European countries in the holidays. I should like to see an international organization for encouraging such visits, for I am sure they promote a kindlier feeling between nations. The more we enter, even superficially, into the lives of other nations the more stupid and irrational war seems as a method of settling international disputes. A good many of our teachers in England belong to the League of Nations Union, and are able to tell the children what the League of Nations is doing. I think it is true to say that in our country the great majority of the people believe in the League of Nations—not as a perfect organization but as an honest effort to develop a new spirit of international co-operation. We think that if we can put behind it the whole force of Christian public opinion, it may achieve great things—especially when the vacant chairs of its council chambers are filled.

The key of the problem is in the teachers, but all that they try to do may be undone if the atmosphere of our home life is one of narrow and intolerant nationalism. We often blame the Press, but let us remember that the Press cannot move far ahead of the general standard of public

opinion. In the long run, a nation will get the Press that it deserves. What we need is that Christian men and women in every nation should resist the subtle influence of crowd-consciousness and be prepared to take up the Cross, if need be, in defence of the truth that love is the only true motive power of human life. And if the store of human goodwill seems too little to meet the demand that is made upon it, we must learn, in prayer and penitence, how to draw upon the infinite resources of God. 'Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.' Teach men to believe in the love of God, and then—and only then—you will teach them how to love one another.

Vd. EDUCATION TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

The Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan

(The Rt. Rev. Llewellyn Gwynne, D.D.)

The many world movements for a better understanding between nations and races do not go far before their promoters find that strong desires, expert knowledge, material support, first-class organizing for any real progress are not sufficient, without some driving power beyond these. It is to the Christian Church that they look for this spiritual dynamic.

Instead of a strong, steady, definite, regular flow, the whole of Christendom supplied only a fitful weak supply of spiritual power bitterly disappointing, not sufficient to send the vitalizing force into national, international, industrial problems of to-day.

It is true that Christendom is influencing nations, races and sections of communities all over the world, yet she is so split up and divided that the full volume is dissipated in independent and detached effort.

The reunion of Christendom then is one of the strategic points in any advance of almost all the world movements. Many of us who believe this and are working for this are conscious of the urge of a spirit not our own.

Simultaneously in different continents God's Holy Spirit is breeding in the hearts of His people a strong desire for unity.

From all parts of the mission field as well as from Europe, America and the British Dominions, come reports of keen interest.

The leaders towards reunion have arrived at a stage far in advance of the rank and file.

Since the appeal for unity went forth from Lambeth in 1920 there has been the necessary ebb and flow of strenuous struggle, yet I think, a gradual advance. On the other hand, it has been discouraging to find that with the exception of the unofficial conversations at Malines one of the greatest of the historic churches holds coldly aloof.

For twenty-six years I have been a missionary in Egypt and the Sudan, and for a time assistant bishop to the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, and have therefore had opportunities of contact with the Eastern churches.

In the readjustment after the war when new hopes were raised by the cries of self-determination and freedom, some of us missionaries working in Egypt and the Sudan seized the opportunity of starting a fellowship of unity.

The object of this fellowship was to create a united Christian opinion for the benefit of these countries, and at the same time to do our share towards Christian reunion. This society, consisting of Copts, Greeks, Armenians, Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans, has been in existence for more than four years and has brought together in frequent conferences the churches of the East and West.

An incident at one of our early meetings indicates the

temper which has in the main characterized the conferences. An item on the agenda was 'The Purpose of a Church.' One of the Greek bishops in a masterly way explained that the Greek Orthodox view of the Church was to be a repository of the Truth of Christ and to define and state the truth to every age.

A missionary member of the conference asked the bishop whether he thought that Christ our Lord meant His Church to be an instrument to tell out His good news to every race and nation. To which the good bishop replied: 'Yes, but some Christians have had their hands free for centuries to go anywhere and to speak freely the message of Christ, while we have been under the heel of the Turk for many centuries.'

Then rose one of the Presbyterian missionaries and spoke with great emotion. 'Yes, and we wonder how you Eastern churches have kept your faith all through these terrible persecutions. Surely God has some great work for the Eastern churches, having brought you through the fires of so great affliction.' Almost immediately an atmosphere of confidence was created in which more delicate questions could be talked about.

One result of our fellowship has been that we realized more than ever the difficulties and the disabilities of the Eastern churches.

Their temper of mind in the Near East as a result of oppression has been always to act on the defensive—it is not easy for them to avoid suspicion and distrust of any not of their Church. Their motto has been 'safety in numbers,' and they have formerly robbed and been robbed to such an extent that any other Christian body is suspected of sheep-stealing. Then again, the effect of continual persecution has been to drive them into conservatism to such an extent that they keep strictly to their liturgies

and forms, words and ceremonies, even though the language is antiquated and understood only by the priests—and not always by them. The effect on character has been disastrous, for continual suppression and cruel treatment have driven them into deceit and cunning. That is not to be wondered at when the rank and file have for hundreds of years cringed to live. They are recovering slowly from that weakness of character wherever the hand of the oppressor has been taken off.

The great hindrance of any advance or reform in the Greek Orthodox Church is that their five patriarchs have not been able to meet in Synod.

A suggested programme which I was privileged to see of a Synod contemplated but unfortunately not realized in the spring of this year disclosed the fact that in that great Church they were fully aware of the vital questions relating to Christians everywhere.

The ancient Church of Egypt, the Coptic Church, is passing through difficult times. Nationalism has ever been the bane of Egypt, has fallen like a blight upon the hopes of the more spiritually-minded amongst the young Copts, while their Church continues to lose annually about five hundred of their number who go over to Islam.

In our efforts toward unity we have succeeded in producing friendship and mutual confidence—we hold our united services, meet at unity dinners, join together on occasions in each others' churches and so witness that there is a unity somewhere as well as a desire to attain it.

But one is conscious all the time of unseen barriers which cry 'Thus far shalt thou go and no farther.'

There are also the bars of language, race mentality, differences in points of view and education; these can be overcome, and do disappear on occasions during conferences.

But traditional deep-seated suspicion and jealousy bred from bitter experiences of centuries, are not so easy to break down. The questions of policy, the guarding of their faith, the protection of their races, the deep cunning necessary to match the cunning of their oppressors, have turned all their leaders into politicians. At the back of their minds linger doubts whether there is not some ulterior motive of acquiring political power or even property in our desire for closer unity.

They—or rather some of them—doubt our wisdom in our enthusiasm for missionary work. One of the well-known ecclesiastics in the Near East expressed his opinion that work amongst the Moslems or the coloured races was a mistake and that as they are the children of Hagar it is not the will of God that they should ever become Christians.

Our vision of a world-wide dominion of Christ, with all nations and races made members of the family of God; the extension of the kingdom of Christ amongst Moslems; a united Christendom vibrating with life and work supplying the spiritual dynamic for the great world movements for brotherhood, is not *theirs*.

Their faces are turned another way—so deeply ingrained is fear, suspicion, jealousy, that they live in that dismal world to-day. I don't blame them. We Westerns forsook them in their direct need when we might have helped. Our Western politicians have used them as mere pawns in their game and delivered them over into the hands of their enemies for their own purposes. We have boasted too much of our Western freedom, our visions, our strenuous efforts; we have called them dead churches—proselytized from amongst them, patronized them. I wonder if we could have done as well as they in keeping their faith through these centuries of persecution. Are we surprised that, while we view the world as the field for the Kingdom

of God, that they are looking out on it with fear and suspicion lest they be crushed.

And yet it cannot be that God had brought them so far through tribulation for naught. They surely are part of the plan in His great purpose for the world.

The Copts, Armenians, Syrians, living as they do as nationals amongst their Moslem fellow-countrymen, are better equipped than Westerns to evangelize in that area and have a great work to do in the service of God.

Even now, while some of their leading laymen see clearer than many of their clergy, that the hope of vitalizing their churches lies in contact with the West, we from the West feel that the requickened Eastern churches would be the greatest instrument for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ in the Near East.

Therefore we are necessary one to the other in the service of God for the world.

How then are we going to break down the barriers which keep us apart ?

1. We must still pursue our efforts to make friends through conferences, united services, unity dinners, visiting each other's homes, learning each other's languages.

2. We must avoid any appearance of patronage, minimize their shortcomings, magnify their powers of enduring for the name of Christ. From time to time members of their churches find their spiritual home in ours. Let us be frank with them, glad if they return to their churches with renewed faith.

3. It is very difficult for them to understand why the Western Christians have done so little for their persecuted brethren in the Near East. Why they have cried and cried in vain ; persecuted, massacred and sometimes even forced to deny their faith, while the powerful Christian nations seemed to pay no heed. They are grateful for the

material help given them in their distress, but they cannot understand why the great Western powers do not exercise their strength in delivering their fellow-Christians out of the hands of their enemies. They ask that 'They too, being delivered out of the hands of their enemies, might serve God without fear.'

4. In regard to the Greek orthodox church, we must urge our statesmen in our several countries to make it easy for the occupants of the five Patriarchates to meet in Synod—for until that is held they are hindered from any united action in meeting the problems which confront the Christian Church everywhere.

5. In the meantime let us co-operate wherever possible, working for the social and moral welfare of the people amongst whom we dwell, also fighting against drunkenness, the white slave traffic and soul-destroying drugs, and strive together to apply the principles of Jesus Christ our Lord and Master in the making of the laws, in the settlement of industrial disputes, and, when we are strong enough, to make our united voice heard in international relationships. In this way, in trying to do God's will in regard to these evils, we shall be drawing closer one to another and arrive at a better understanding of each other and of the truth of God, for the Great Master Himself said, 'If any man do His will he shall know of the doctrine.'

6. There is little use, I think, at this stage, to attempt agreement of doctrine. The Easterns are great theologians and love nothing more than discussing doctrine, but my experience has been that this leads nowhere. There are great fundamental truths upon which we all agree. No Church has the whole truth, and the most learned are far from the whole knowledge of God. To speak reverently of the Great Father of us all, love, fellowship, comradeship, must be more pleasing in His sight than mere views about

His nature. The visit of some of the Greek Patriarchs to London at the Sixteenth Centenary of the Council of Nicea brought the Eastern churches in close touch not only with the English Church but with the English people, and probably the social functions, the visits to the homes of our people, the entrance into our family life, have done more good than the mere reminder of the great Council of Nicea.

The whole world is drawn closer together by numerous modern inventions. We Christians do not doubt that these have come about in God's appointed time. Perhaps we were not ready for it before. The East and the West are meeting, and in the meeting there will be a clash of ideals and misunderstandings; there are, however, signs of a desire to know each other better and an understanding which is spreading sympathy and an ability to see each other's point of view. It will not be soon, but the time is coming when the Christians of the East who hold on to their faith with consummate tenacity will join with the Christians of the West in their struggle to carry out the ultimate plan and purpose which God has for the whole world, when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

Professor G. J. Andersson (Sweden).[1]

When the Archbishop of Upsala honoured me with the request to contribute to the discussion upon education towards a better understanding between the East and the West, he asked me to speak as if I were a representative of China.

This invitation has given me an opportunity to interpret

[1] When preparing this article, the author has drawn freely from Dr. L. C. Porter's excellent volume, *China's Challenge to Christianity*. On the other hand it goes without saying that Dr. Porter is in no way responsible for opinions expressed in this lecture.

to the best of my ability the views of the modern educated Chinese, especially with regard to Western culture, and still more especially in regard to Christian work in China. I feel sure that in this way I shall be able to make a somewhat more useful contribution to this Congress than would have been the case had I been limited to speaking as a Westerner and a Christian.

The way in which China is generally depicted in the Western Press and Western literature of to-day is a far from adequate and satisfactory representation.

We are told of civil war, of numerous military leaders competing for power, of brigandage rampant in most of the provinces, of official corruption, of the planting of poppy and of opium smoking.

Such a picture is liable to lead many a Western reader to believe that China, once the middle kingdom in power and culture, is now in a state of decay and disintegration. Yet, in spite of all disquieting symptoms, Chinese patriots and students of Chinese culture do not despair.

From the study of Chinese history we know that China on several previous occasions has passed through periods of internecine strife and inward dissension. Such intervals of disintegration have sometimes lasted for decades and sometimes even for centuries, but at the end of these periods China always emerged as a re-united nation.

What then are the hopeful features presented to us by the China of to-day which allow us, the friends of and believers in the Chinese people, to remain unshakably optimistic in this time of distress ?

In the first instance, we have the soundness of the rural population of China, and in this connection we must bear in mind that the Chinese are preponderatingly agriculturists, the ' farmers of forty centuries ' who during good and evil

times carried on and brought to perfection the tilling of the fertile soil of China.

If the Chinese village is not ravaged by brigands nor looted by soldiers nor too severely harassed by the tax collector, the farmer will cheerfully carry on his peaceful task without knowing of, without bothering about, the question of Monarchy or Republic, of the antagonism between the North and the South, of the radical tendencies of the Koumintang, or of the struggle for power between Chang and Wu and Feng.

The immense strength of China in this time of unrest is the system of self-government, which is an inherited characteristic of the Chinese state structure. The authority of the central Government may be merely nominal for the time being, except within the walls of the capital, but yet the administrative authorities of the provinces, some of them equal in population to the great European Powers, have their independent treasuries, their own Foreign Office, their own Board of Education, and so on. One of these provinces, the model province of Shansi, has under an able ruler been enjoying seven years of continuous peace and progress, undisturbed in spite of the turmoil that has been raging around its borders.

Considering the financial difficulties of the Peking Government and the lawlessness of military rule, it is remarkable that during the last twenty years so much substantial progress has been made in commerce, in industry, and most notably of all in education.

It should be understood that since 1906, when the old system of civil service examinations was abolished, China has passed through far-reaching educational remodelling, until to-day modern schools, colleges and universities are established not only in the coastal provinces but to lesser extent also in the remote interior.

Underlying this development of the new educational system, or combined with it, there are various spiritual movements, most noteworthy of which are the *literary revolution* and the *student propaganda.*

The written language, which is still officially in use in China, was a dead language already at the beginning of the Christian era, and has been retained in use only thanks to the persistent literary tradition which has been upheld to a large extent by the system of civil service examinations.

This medium, which is used by the literary class of Chinese much in the same way as Latin was used in Europe until recently, has been dethroned by a literary revolution headed by Dr. Hu Shih, philosopher, poet and educational leader.

The Pai Hua, the spoken vulgate language, has been adopted as the living literary medium, and the advantages of this have been advocated by Dr. Hu with remarkable skill and eloquence. Since 1917 this movement has rapidly spread all over China. Hundreds of periodicals are now being published in the new national language, and in 1920 the Ministry of Education introduced this written language in primary schools. Thus the success of a literary revolution, which in the history of Chinese culture will be counted as more far-reaching than the political revolution headed by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, has been completed.

The establishment of a living written language has naturally become a powerful stimulus to the spread of modern thought among the students, and to amalgamating the many student bodies of China into the nation-wide student propaganda movement, which has repeatedly made itself strongly felt in combating foreign aggression, as, for instance, in May 1919 and in June of the present year, when a most deplorable but quite natural anti-foreign

agitation swept over the whole of China as the result of the fatal incident in Shanghai on May 30, when a foreign police officer ordered a turbulent but unarmed crowd of Chinese students to be fired on.

At this period of rapid transition and discarding of old standards, the trend of thought amongst the rising generation of students is largely towards radical and extreme positions.

Ibsen and Nietzsche, together with various Western writers of more recent years, are studied with keen interest, and the doctrines of Russian Bolshevists are at present much in vogue in student circles. No dogma is left unchallenged: every traditional truth is doubted, debated and re-valued. The 'anti' clubs are numerous: 'anti-capital,' 'anti-religion,' 'anti-family tradition,' 'anti-old-fashioned ethics.'

In order to supply first-hand information to the students about the most advanced Western thought, an association has been formed for the purpose of inviting to China the world's most notable intellectual leaders.

John Dewey, the well-known educationalist of Columbia University, New York, spent two years in China lecturing to eager crowds in many centres. Bertrand Russell, the British mathematician and philosopher, stayed a year in Peking, explaining and illustrating his social and psychological beliefs, and as a visible evidence of his influence he left behind him a 'Russell Society.'

Hans Driesch, the German psychologist, was the third of these invited lecturers, and last, but most spectacular in crowded audiences and enthusiastic receptions, came the aged Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who, with his Pan-Asiatic preaching, awoke lively resonance among the students, until physical overstrain put an end to his lecturing tour.

The present spiritual renaissance of China is a very complicated process, marked not only by the breaking down of national traditions and the introduction of foreign radical doctrines, such as ' Russellism ' and ' Bolshevism,' but also by a notable religious revival within widely differing creeds.

A modern school of Chinese thinkers combats Confucianism, the powerful code of life which has ruled supreme over the Chinese community for more than two thousand years.

These modern leaders claim that Confucianism, with its doctrines of ancestor worship, unlimited parental authority, and such like, is largely responsible for the backwardness of certain aspects of present-day Chinese life.

In other circles a movement is afoot for the revival of the teachings of K'ung Fu Tzu. In the early years of the Republic a determined effort was made to have Confucianism proclaimed as the state religion of China.

This effort failed, but subsequently Neo-Confucianism materialized in the Confucian church in Pekin, in the schemes for a Confucian university, in Confucian army chaplains and in the ' Hall of self cleansing ' at Taiyuanfu, Shansi, where the model ' Tu-chun ' General Yen Hsi-Shan is personally conducting the Confucian service.

In Chinese Buddhism too a revival has recently taken place headed by the monk, T'ai Hsü from the Tien Tóng monastery in Chekiang.

The essence of T'ai Hsü's teaching is to bring Buddhism into the closest possible touch with the social life of to-day. This Neo-Buddhism has gained a considerable footing, especially in the provinces of Kiangsi and Chekiang. In many of the large cities, old temples are being repaired and new ones erected. Buddhist texts are republished and

periodicals issued to explain the meaning of the new movement.

A conference of Buddhist leaders headed by T'ai Hsü was held in the summer of 1922 at which a Norwegian missionary, Mr. Reichelt, was invited to speak on the 'Relationship between Christianity and Buddhism.'

Even within the most debased, the most superstitious member of the triad of Chinese religions, Taoism, signs of renewed vigour and fresh activities have recently been manifested.

From amongst Taoist circles there has sprung the Tao Yuan movement, a syncretism of the five great religions: Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Mohammedanism and Christianity.

In addition to these great religious bodies, there are in China numerous minor religious sects, frequently founded for some definite purpose: the protection of social ideals, protection of the nation against a decadent dynasty or the hated foreigner, the warding off of disease, famine and floods.

A high degree of religious feeling is often manifested in these circles whence some of the most unworthy converts to Christianity have emanated.

I hope I have been able to demonstrate and prove that the situation which the Christian missionary has to face in present-day China is fraught with dangers and difficulties.

The most serious obstacle in the path of the missionary in China is the contradiction between his teachings and the actions of other foreigners as well as the actions of foreign Governments.

This may be illustrated by an example from recent years. How can the missionary in the light of Christianity explain away the miserable and disgraceful caricature of foreign life such as is presented at a large number of cinema

theatres in China, where foreign films are shown which must give to the average Chinese the erroneous impression that foreign life is largely made up of murder, highway robbery, drunkenness and sexual depravity?

How can the missionary explain with any advantage to foreign reputation, that in Peking, where the admirably efficient police service is entirely composed of Chinese, a foreigner, even a foreign lady, may walk along the narrowest lane in the middle of the night with a feeling of perfect security, whereas the foreign settlement of Shanghai, with its foreign controlled police, is acknowledged as one of the crime centres of the world?

How can the missionary reconcile the teachings of Christ with many actions committed by 'Christian' Governments, such, for instance, as the opium war of 1838-1840, the burning down of the old Summer Palace in 1860, as well as the occupation of Tsingtao, Wei-Hai-Wei, and Port Arthur in the closing years of last century?

And finally a deadly blow has been struck to foreign prestige and Christian labour by the Great War, which made it clear to the most peace-loving of all nations how the fundamental teachings of the Christian religion have only superficially affected the very strongholds of Christendom.

When we are striking the balance of missionary work in China, it should be taken into consideration that the missionary on account of the frequently unchristian acts of foreigners and foreign Governments is handicapped in his work, conditions which he will be the first to deplore, but which he is hardly able to remedy.

On the part of the Chinese chiefly two objections are being raised to the missionary: first, that by legally supporting his converts he sometimes interferes unduly with Chinese jurisdiction and, second, that in certain

instances Church organizations and individual missionaries have taken improper economical advantage of the privileges granted to the missionary by treaty. I think it is safe for me to say that most of these objections refer to the Roman Catholic missions and that the vast majority of missionaries condemn such practices.

There are two features of Christian work in China which the Chinese cannot understand: the hostile attitude of the principal Christian churches towards each other and the claim put forward by the Christian teachers that their faith is the only true and supreme one.

As there is only one Christian God, it seems logical to the Chinese that there ought to be only one Christian Church. And to the receptive and tolerant mind of the Chinese it appears inconsistent to claim for any creed an *a priori* supremacy.

To the most advanced leaders of missionary work all these facts and circumstances are perfectly apparent, and the outlines for future, more considerate, and more broad-minded mission work have been already drawn with admirable boldness.

It is realized that the thousands of returned Chinese students, who during their years of foreign study have acquired an intimate and intelligent knowledge of America and Europe, know considerably more about Chinese and Western culture than the average missionary of the old school, and that therefore the educational standard of the missionaries should be raised so as to meet the requirements of the changed conditions.

It is furthermore felt that even along the line of ethical teaching, Chinese culture owes a great deal to the Western world, and ' that the scholars of all nations should approach each other in a spirit of mutual desire to learn, and without airs of superiority or condescension.'

This great problem has been admirably delineated in a small volume by Dr. Lucius Capin Porter, entitled *China's Challenge to Christianity*, published last year by the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada.

Dr. Porter is the son of an American missionary in China. He is himself a devoted Christian and has received a thorough scientific training, being for two years professor of Sinology at Columbia University and is now one of the founders of the new 'Yenching School of Chinese Studies' in Peking.

He has known the Chinese from infancy and consequently he loves them.

I cannot conclude these brief remarks of mine more appropriately than by making one more quotation from Dr. Porter's book:

> 'In relation to a people such as the Chinese, with a long cultural heritage of rich achievement, the Christian enterprise should be conducted with respect and appreciation: respect for the unique and precious characteristics of the heritage, appreciation for the distinctive qualities of the Chinese temperament and point of view which the heritage has produced. The greater the respect and the deeper the appreciation, the more Christ-like will be the way of approach.'

The Bishop of Tokyo (Japan)
(The Rt. Rev. J. S. Motoda, D.D.)

In tracing back the history of mankind we find that in the very early stage of their development there was already the beginning of a separation of the West from the East.

The question whether the human race originally came from one stock or from many stocks might be left to the student of Ethnology for solution, but it seems to have been proved sufficiently that somewhere near the borderline of

East and West was the spring of human culture ; and from that spring streams of influence were found leading to various directions on the earth.

Among these streams the two most conspicuous and most significant were that which took the westward movement and that which was directed to the eastward. It seems to be perfectly true that human civilization was differentiated into these two streams at a very early stage of the history of mankind.

In the pre-Christian time almost all the great thinkers of the world were produced in the East. Zoroaster in Persia, the Hindu philosophers, Sakya-muni the founder of Buddhism, Confucius the Chinese moralist, and many others of less degree, all came from the East, and their influences took the eastward movement, concentrating in the far eastern country of Japan, while Hebrew thought and Greek philosophy, which were also born on the borderline of East and West, made their movement in the opposite direction. Combining themselves with the influence of Christianity they took a westward movement.

From the Mediterranean coast to Great Britain, across the Atlantic to the American continent and across the Pacific, they have now reached the island country of Japan lying on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. Japan is now the meeting-place of one kind of civilization from the East and another kind of civilization from the West.

When two streams of influence meet in a narrow space there is naturally a whirlpool, causing waves and noise. This condition of unrest can only be settled in two ways, either by the greater stream completely absorbing or subduing the smaller and weaker one, or by finding a new stream in a new direction, different from either of the mother streams, but combining, assimilating and unifying both.

This is the state of things we find in Japan, and in China

too. Two kinds of ideas and traditions, two kinds of habits and customs, two kinds of human culture, two kinds of human races, so different from each other in colour, feature and language, meet face to face in that corner of the earth, each with race prejudice and national pride. Some sort of friction is inevitable. Suspicion and misunderstanding must naturally arise.

Our friends in the Hawaiian islands call their islands the meeting-point of East and West, and claim that the solution of racial problems must be sought there. Our Russian brothers say that their country covers a part of the West and a part of the East, and it is their mission to bring the two together in a harmonious whole. Both are right, but right only for a limited space of the earth. They can solve their problems by Americanizing in one case and Russianizing in the other.

In Japan we are facing the problem of uniting the two large sections of the world, not by trying to westernize or to easternize but by getting the best of what the West can give and retaining the best of what the East possesses. We seek to open a new stream of civilization into which the East and the West will merge and in which the East and the West may find their peace and happiness, and by which the peace of the whole world and the happiness of the whole of mankind may be realized.

What should that new stream of civilization be? We believe Christian civilization in the true sense of the term.

We all realize that the peace of the world can only be obtained through Christ, who Himself is the Prince of Peace, but we also notice that He wishes us to employ every possible human agency that we can think of, with the guidance of His Spirit, for the attainment of that peace.

The peace never comes to us unless we seek for it and endeavour to get it.

If there is any discord or any rupture, or even a sign of discord or rupture between the East and the West, it is usually caused by misunderstanding of one about the other, because of difference in the mode of thinking, in the expression of ideas, the habit of living and in the use of language. The East and the West are so widely separated in their racial traits and in the kinds of their cultures. We, the Easterners, do not think in the same order as the Westerners do. Your social etiquette is different from our way of social intercourse. When you speak straight, we speak round about. You go by a straight line, we follow a curve.

You generally speak out the whole of what you want to say; we speak out only the half of what we want to say and want you to guess what we have in our minds.

Consequently it seems more difficult for the Westerners to understand the Easterners than for the Easterners to understand the Westerners. Therefore, if there is any misunderstanding in the international relations between the two, the fault is on the side of the Westerners. We are blamable only in the fact that we do not use the same syllogism in expressing our ideas as you use, and do not act in the same way as you act.

The first step in the realization of peace is, then, the mutual sharing of thoughts and ideas. If each understands the other as to the meaning of what is being said and done, much unhappy complication can be solved and cleared. Here comes in the necessity of international education both in the West and in the East. By saying this, I do not mean to undervalue the importance of national education about which each country is so emphatic to-day.

What I mean is the greater emphasis of international education alongside and without conflict with the national.

These two must go together and can go together with no

conflict between them. 'I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine,' said Jesus Christ.

The fact that there exists a perfect harmony between Christ and His believers is because they know each other. If a man knows another man, or a nation another nation, as much as Christ knows His sheep and is known by them, there and there only will be seen between the two the spirit of unity in the bond of peace. Here lies the secret of mutual understanding.

Furthermore, in the society of men, or in the corporate life of men, one more thought is to be added. Not only should we understand each other's mind and spirit, but we should recognize and respect each other's work and place in society or in the world. St. Paul said, 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord, and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.'

This we might call the doctrine of spiritual democracy, on which all friendly relations depend.

The same principle applies to the relation between man and man, race and race, and nation and nation.

We often hear the expression 'the West for the West and the East for the East.' I do not know English enough to grasp what that expression really means, but it often has led, or misled, to the narrow idea of nationalism on to the bigoted doctrine of race competition. Our Christian idea should be, not the East for the East or the West for the West, but the East and the West for the common welfare of the whole of mankind. 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God,' says Our Lord. Here is the ideal of Christian education. The East and the West will exist for ever, so will probably these sets of races with their peculiarities and characteristics, but wherever they exist and whatever

they do, their highest object is the glory of God. Commended are the children of God with their 'diversities of gifts,' with their 'differences of administrations,' and with their 'diversities of operations'; but, with 'the same Spirit' and under the guidance of 'the same Lord,' the East and the West are found to contribute to the realization of the Kingdom of God upon the earth.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9.30 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—THE REV. ARTHUR J. BROWN, D.D.

Prayers were said by THE BISHOP OF BOMBAY.

A BOOK OF AUTOGRAPHS

It was agreed, on the motion of THE RT. REV. BISHOP W. DE PERRY, that a book signed by all delegates expressing their appreciation be presented to the city of Stockholm.

V. THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION (*continued*).

Ve. SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS IN HISTORY

PROFESSOR OTTO NORDENSKJÖLD (Sweden)

WIDELY as opinions differ as to so many of the questions we have treated at this Ecumenical Conference, yet there is *one* matter on which not only we, but all people, can be united: namely that, if it is a question of reforming mankind and building up a new world, it is necessary to begin with, or at any rate to lay special stress on the education of the young. This holds good, of course, not only from a Christian standpoint: for good or evil those who possess power, or those who are striving for power, in

different times and in different ages have acted on this basis. But if this is the case it must be a binding duty for us also, who wish to take part in the building of this brighter future on the basis of what we have learnt in the Gospel of Christ, to join our forces in striving to the end that the ethical principles that hold good for us should come to their own in this department also.

Thus the question of education on a Christian basis is infinitely great and important; and, as we all know, it has been treated in various connections at this Conference. Hence to-day we shall occupy ourselves only with education as a means towards mutual and international understanding between different peoples and nations—that is to say, *education as a help on the way of peace.* In the first place, though by no means solely, it is instruction in history and the history text-books that are of importance in this field, and which then it is of primary importance to influence.

Thus, when we know what possibilities are open through instruction in history for influencing mankind, either in a conciliatory direction, or contrariwise as a further source of hatred and nationalism, it is natural enough that the question of a reform of this branch of instruction should have been taken up since the disaster of the world war by a number of very different organizations.

It is not known to me, it is true, whether the League of Nations itself has directly begun any work in this direction; but the League of Nations Union at least has to some extent initiated enquiries and sought to bring forward this question. The most important work that has so far been carried out in this sphere would seem to have proceeded—I will only here mention amongst others—from the *Moral Education Congress* and its international bureau at The Hague, and secondly from the *Centre européen de la dotation Carnégie*

pour la paix internationale. The former body has endeavoured to draw up a kind of normal scheme for historical text-books with understanding between the peoples as its distinctive tendency—a work, however, which has so far not issued in any practical results. The latter body, through its 'Direction des relations et de l'éducation' under French guidance, has caused to be worked out and has published a very valuable *enquête* concerning school-books since the war.

Against this work the objection could be made that the points of view from which the material has been collected, and in which it has been expounded, have been so predominantly French that it can scarcely be said to occupy a quite impartial international attitude, but nevertheless these facts do not very appreciably diminish its value and importance.

Amongst other bodies that have taken up the question of historical instruction in schools may be mentioned International Peace Congresses, the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom, and several Peace associations, and moreover no small number of educational organizations, which have, however, chosen to move on very different lines in different countries.

To these many international and national organizations there has been added from the very beginning the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, which has several times taken up the question of school-books at its meetings, and has appointed for its study a committee sitting at The Hague. Unfortunately no positive results of the work of this committee have appeared, chiefly, one may suppose, because of insufficient funds. But the work continues, and the World Alliance itself at its recently concluded meeting at Stockholm, on the proposal partly of its own committee and partly of

the Swedish National Council, has passed the following four resolutions, in which we can surely all agree, and I therefore reproduce them here :

1. We suggest that the World Alliance or the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, or both, should set up a Commission comprising members from different countries who, each one in his own country, should direct his attention to the trend of development of the subject-matter of text-books during coming years, and who, as far as the expenses can be borne, should sum up their observations in a report, to be periodically brought up to date.

2. We suggest a teaching of history, which at different school stages should take into consideration universal development in and by the side of the national life ; the progress of civilization in and by the side of political evolution, which should judge political matters in disputes according to the critical experiences of investigation in a spirit of truth as objective as possible ; which should abstain from precipitate and derogatory generalizations on the national characters of rival and hostile nations, but on the contrary acknowledge their contributions to the progress of civilizations.

3. We further suggest that serious representations should be made from this Congress to the Ministers of Education in the various countries for setting forth the importance of this question in its bearing upon mutual relations between nations, and its value for the preservation of universal peace.

4. Lastly, we recommend collaboration, especially between teachers of history, in different civilized countries.

Interest in these questions has been great in Sweden also, and the foremost champion of a common struggle against the untruths, the ill-will and the ignorance which have been instilled into millions of children in various

countries through unsuitable school text-books, is Archbishop Söderblom. On his initiative the Swedish delegation for the Ecumenical Conference appointed in 1924 a sub-committee consisting of three members, Dr. Carlgren—whom we have to thank for the greater part of the work performed—Dr. Söderberg and myself. The memorandum that we have drawn up is now in your hands, and a new sub-commission has during the past few days been doing further work on the preliminary investigation of the question. It is on the basis of this material that I now beg (in a word or two), by way of introduction to a discussion, to sum up my own view and, as I believe, that of my fellow-members of this sub-commission, on this question.

In order to reach a practical result there are two questions which we must get answered. In the first place, are things really so bad as in many quarters they are made out to be, and does instruction in history really deal to any great extent with materials which have a directly venomous effect on the youthful mind and consequently, far from working in the direction of reconciling the nations, contributes to widen the deep gulf between them? And secondly, if this question be answered in the affirmative, what can we then do to try to bring about a better state of things?

With regard to the first question, unfortunately, we are bound to say that there is very much that is wrong in this respect. You will find exposed in this building a small collection of books with remarks made by Dr. Carlgren. The state of things is very different in different countries, and even in this respect there are many good text-books. But there is also a large number of text-books, used by millions of children and young people, which work directly in the service of nationalism and quite needlessly help to intensify hatred and distrust and misunderstanding between the peoples. Wars have played a large part in

the history of mankind, and must therefore, of course, for the present take a large place in historical instruction; but it is easy to give examples of text-books that make that place unjustifiably wider than it ought to be and at the same time glorify wars in a way which ought not to take place in our days. For the rest, it must be clearly stated that I am not here attacking conceptions and views touching historical events and personalities, which must naturally vary amongst different peoples. Nobody can demand, for instance, that opinions about Napoleon or Bismarck should be the same in France and in Germany. I am concerned rather with the one-sided judgments which, in books meant for young people or in works intended for an uncritical and easily-led public, are passed, without tenable evidence, concerning foreign peoples and races—judgments which often, based on subjective grounds and starting from isolated facts, which often rest on no evidence, brand whole peoples as inferior, decadent or right-down barbarous. It can be shown that there are far too many such judgments to be found in historical works. I cannot linger here on any direct examples, but merely refer to Dr. Carlgren's summary in our Swedish memorandum and to the recently mentioned enquiry through the Dotation Carnégie in Paris. This last work is concerned exclusively with the representation of the world war, which for natural reasons has given birth to the worst weeds in this department in our time. Now it may perhaps be said that judgments on the late adversaries in that war will gradually become of themselves more objective and calm; but in order to attain this change within a reasonable time there is assuredly required active intervention on the part of all who wish to promote the work of reconciliation, so that, as it was expressed yesterday by the Lord Bishop of Plymouth, the hope of the future should not be poisoned by the bitter

memories of the past; and moreover these rancorous nationalistic judgments are by no means restricted to the descriptions of the last war.

It is not, for that matter, only instruction in history proper that is here at stake. Numerous representations of *Church History* also need a deeper and more objective vision and understanding than that which is conspicuous in the text-books of different countries. There are also many objections to be raised against several text-books in *Geography*. Men and nations are once for all unlike one another: they are created different, and in this dissimilarity we find one of the most powerful driving forces of development. But unfortunately it is very tempting, in the description of foreign peoples, to represent each difference as an evidence of inferiority, and thus draw a picture of something full of shortcomings; and perhaps merely to make their account more lively far too many compilers of text-books depict foreign peoples as inferior and ridiculous. It is easy to give examples.

If therefore we recognize that the account given of things in schools needs to be altered in many respects merely that it may correspond to the simplest requirements in the way of truth and not directly counteract the mutual understanding between peoples which is so important for the development of humanity, we are brought face to face with the second great question: what can we do in this matter?

Here we have two ways: first, to try to influence the *teachers*, secondly to *alter the text-books*, in the direction which is here under discussion. If the teachers do not themselves come to understand what is at stake, other measures are of but little avail. Into this side of the matter, however, our sub-commission has not considered that it ought to enter, except by a general remark on the importance of the question. It is to the text-books,

therefore, that we have for the present chosen to direct our chief attention. Of course, many of the statements are there on purpose, with the special intention to promote nationalistic feeling and—if it be necessary—the going to war. But we have come to the conviction that much of what is said in them has got there chiefly from lack of reflection and to make the text lively and readily interesting and comprehensible, and that if only authors, teachers and school managers once had their eyes opened to the amount of damage that can thus be brought about, they would themselves agree to an alteration. Our proposal, therefore, is that a commission should be appointed, with one or more members in as many countries as possible, which should be charged to keep an eye on text-books as they come out and from time to time make reports calling special attention to unsuitable or doubtful statements.

It has occurred to us that the members of this commission might be appointed through the intermediacy of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches and its national councils, and that the entire work should be under the guidance of the authority which will act as a continuation of this our Conference. Until such a time as such a body should start work and be in a position to devote itself to this question, an interim committee might carry on the work. And in our resolution our sub-commission has proposed a number of members in such a committee. The main thing, moreover, is that the material that has been collected by this commission should really be brought to the knowledge of teachers and text-book writers, and this should take place partly through specially published works, partly through the Press, and especially through periodicals on historical research in all countries, which would, I believe, without difficulty find room for such regular communications.

In numerous cases public opinion itself would react against such utterances, and the expression would be amended or made milder in a future edition. In other cases it might be necessary to think of other suitable measures in the form of making representations to the final authorities or the like.

Obviously we should not confine ourselves to a negative indication of unsuitable text-books and expressions, but we ought also to be able to give examples of how instruction can best be arranged. In this way also there have proceeded from other quarters various proposals, which, however, have not always proved to be expedient in practical life. Thus to abstain from giving instruction in the history of foreign countries from fear of not being able to remain neutral enough would surely be to jump out of the frying pan into the fire, for in this way the door would assuredly be opened for a still more dangerous nationalistic influence to arise by the side of the school education. So too we may fairly regard it as impossible that a common *international* text-book in history should be introduced into the schools of all countries. On the other hand, it seems to me that it ought not to be impossible that at least in the intermediate schools the children might have an opportunity of reading chosen passages from the historical school text-books of some foreign countries so far as they relate to the representation of such events as have had importance for both countries. It ought to be of great educational value for young people, under the guidance of the teacher, to have an opportunity of seeing how the other side has regarded the course of historical events.

No one can doubt that the question with which we are here dealing is extraordinarily difficult. Powerful nationalistic and conservative forces are at work to prevent a really radical change. It is important to try to win over

these forces, not to set to work with needless precipitation, and to keep on a national basis. Happily, powerful forces are already at work in this direction also and with these co-operation should be attempted. I believe that if only the public once clearly realizes what is here at stake, and how much can be gained, without any national self-sacrifice, by avoiding the evils when, as is now sometimes the case, the souls of children are positively poisoned during the instruction, it will also prove possible to bring about a better understanding between the different races and peoples.

Professor Dr. Carlgren (Sweden), Professor Arthur Hjelt (Finland), Dr. Peter Ainslie (U.S.A.), Dr. Scholz (Germany), Dr. J. Lupas (Roumania), Mr. Herbert Corder (England), Mrs. D. E. Waid (U.S.A.), Frau Carola Barth, Lic. Theol. (Germany), The Rev. W. van Kirk (U.S.A.), D.Dr. Wilhelm Engelhardt (Germany), and Rektor Adams (Germany) also spoke.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

Chairman—The Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D.D.

VI. METHODS OF CO-OPERATION AND FEDERATIVE EFFORTS AMONG THE CHURCHES.

The Metropolitan of Thyateira
(Germanos)

You will allow me to consider that it is not altogether by chance that a representative of the Orthodox Church, and in fact the representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, has been entrusted with the duty of reporting before you on the sixth and last part of the programme, viz.

the methods of co-operative and federative efforts by the Christian communions. He is not simply carrying out an honorable duty laid upon him by the Executive Committee of this Conference, but he is at the same time voicing the lively interest which the Ecumenical Patriarchate has displayed in this direction since even before the preliminary meeting of your Conference at Geneva in August 1920.

As far back as January of that year the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in full consciousness of the festering sores which the world war revealed in the Christian body, and conscious of the difficult problems created by the war and the grave dangers threatening the whole Christian edifice, issued its well-known Encyclical to all the Churches of Christ, calling for an understanding and co-operation among the various churches on questions of practical importance concerning the whole of Christendom. The unfortunate conditions which followed, grievous for the Patriarchate itself and for the whole Orthodox Church, have made it impossible for the Patriarchate, with the common consent of all the churches to which it applied through its Encyclical, to carry out to a conclusion the enterprise which it had initiated. The desire, however, to accomplish the task was so strong with the Ecumenical Patriarchate that the difficulties which intervened have not prevented it from giving its ready approbation to the decision taken elsewhere to hold a Universal Conference aiming at the same objects, or from declaring unreservedly its willingness to participate in the proceedings of this Conference.

I

Before I give a brief account of how our Commission has tried to reply to the question, By what ways or methods

can the Christian churches co-operate in matters of a practical nature which concern them all? it seems to me well to say a few words about the principles by which the churches should be guided in this co-operation.

(*a*) It is imperatively necessary that the idea should be revived and strengthened in the various churches that, besides the narrower notion of unity which brings together the members of any single communion and makes of them one body, there is another wider view of unity. In that wider unity, all who accept as a fundamental doctrine the revelation of God made in Jesus Christ, and who confess Him as their Lord and Saviour, should not consider themselves as strangers one to another, still less as enemies, but as fellow-heirs and of the same body and partakers of His promise in Christ by the Gospel (Eph. iii. 6). Without attempting to deal abruptly with the doctrinal differences which separate the churches, it is therefore our duty to cultivate and develop the idea of this wider unity, so that while each church should be considered as one body with regard to its individual members, it should at the same time be looked upon as itself a member of a larger body, all these members constituting the one Body of our Lord, in accordance with the magnificent description of St. Paul: 'For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ' (1 Cor. xii. 12). The spirit of this unity, properly cultivated and developed, would tend above all other means to diminish the differences between the churches, to increase the interest of each in the individual circumstances, stability, and welfare of the other sister churches, and to promote the common interests of the whole Christian body.

(*b*) It is necessary that mutual distrust among the various churches, a mistrust which is created by the

assumption that one's own church has a more correct conception of the substance of Christianity than another, and fostered and augmented by proselytizing by one church among the members of another, should be done away with. Such one-sided conceptions and such objectionable activities impair the spirit of unity and widen the chasms which now separate the churches. Mistrust can be overcome only when each church acquires a better understanding of the historical conditions under which other churches have developed, and appreciates and duly respects their traditions, customs and usages, and all that constitutes the manifestation of their particular existence and religious life. The principle of liberty always maintained by the Orthodox Church with regard to secondary matters should be widened so that, without prejudice to the peculiarities of any single church, none shall despise what is different or dissimilar in another.

(*c*) As experience thus far has shown, co-operation among various churches may be effected even without any organic unity existing between them at all. Certainly no one can deny that organic unity is the safest basis of co-operation even in matters of a purely practical nature. Already, however, co-operation of the churches in these matters is indeed quite possible if it is considered that the points on which they differ from each other are rather of the theoretical nature, while fuller accord prevails among them in practical questions of morality, although it may be generally contended that the conception of moral truths is not altogether irrelevant to, or uninfluenced by, dogmatic truths. But it is vital that all parties should show sincerity and avoid everything that might be considered as a request that any church should sacrifice something which that church itself considers as a vital point.

(*d*) Loyalty to one's own communion creates no obstacle

to co-operation with others when the above condition is inviolably adhered to. On the contrary, loyalty to one's own communion may even be a conducive to co-operation when, together with the spirit of wider unity, the feeling is cultivated that each church is bound, in common with other churches, to strive for the solution of problems far beyond the powers of any single church. The various post-war problems engaging the attention of the world cannot be considered as the problems of any single church, but concern all Christendom. The churches, during and after the Great War, have quitted the grounds of their isolation and approached one another. The very object of their existence in the world imposes upon them the need for concerted action, as if by one whole body. At a time when the various forces undermining the foundations of Christianity are coalescing under different forms aggressively, the churches would betray their own defences by discussing whether to co-operate to avert these menaces and to ensure the prevalence of Christian ideals in the world.

II

The decision of the International Committee that all reports be printed and distributed to the members of the Conference before they are presented from the platform, leaves time for me to indicate how our Commission arrived at its proposals.

(1) After a general discussion in which nearly every member of the Commission took part, it was unanimously agreed that if we really believe that the calling of this Conference is a work of God's providence, we must believe also that its continuation belongs to God's purpose. The continuance of the Conference is therefore absolutely necessary. Following the principle set by the Conference since its beginning, that none of the participating churches

be called to betray its own convictions, the Commission is of opinion that, despite the various views of God's Kingdom which the several churches entertain, there exists a unanimity amongst them with regard to the application of Christian principles to life and work. Co-operation of the churches is therefore possible. And finally, since a fundamental principle of this Conference is freedom, the Commission desires that the character given to this co-operation shall not be that of 'rigid organization' or 'legislative institution,' but that a free agency be created, uniting the forces of the Church of Christ in the service of the Kingdom of God on earth.

(2) It was especially in view of the spirit of understanding and co-operation prevailing among the churches in the last decade, and above all since this Conference was first planned, that the Commission reached the conviction that co-operation in future will be possible and of great benefit to the work of the churches. There is not only the fact that churches similar to each other are coming gradually to a rapprochement in many lands. What is far more, under the impulse of Christian love, churches separated by barriers thought to be insuperable begin at first to tolerate each other, then to approach each other, to extend hands to each other, to co-operate together. If the Great War under which the nation suffered so much has brought about great problems which now occupy the entire world, nevertheless, as a counterbalancing fact, the war has resulted also in this excellent good, that it has brought together those forces which are essential for the settlement of these problems, so that here also the words of St. Paul are realized: 'Where sin abounded, grace did much more bound' (Rom. v. 20).

(3) In its conclusion that a Continuation Committee should be appointed, three considerations seemed to the

Commission indispensable: (*a*) That this Continuation Committee should not assume the character of an authoritative and permanent institution; (*b*) That it must not take within the limits of its consideration questions which have not been discussed in this Conference; and (*c*) That the Continuation Committee must not appropriate rights which the churches have reserved to themselves. The functions, constitution and limitations of this committee are set forth in such detail in the report now in your hands that I need scarcely speak of them. I must add only that the Commission has decided to give to the representatives of the different sections the liberty to proceed at once or at the earliest possible moment to the appointment of the persons who shall represent them in the Continuation Committee, time thus being given, if they think it necessary, to the representatives to consult their own church authorities about the appointment.

Brethren, in the words of the Report of our Commission, 'the experience that we have passed through between Geneva and Stockholm leads us to thank God and take courage as we go through these days of prayer and counsel together and look forward into the future, trusting ourselves to the guidance of our heavenly Father and under the leading of His Spirit forming our plans for the next step along the path of further progress.' And, to conclude with the words of the Apostle Paul, 'Speaking the truth in love may we grow up into Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ; from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love' (Eph. iv. 16). AMEN.

THE REV. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, D.D. (U.S.A.)
(General Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ)

To one who has felt the spirit of this Conference, any appeal attempting to persuade its members is clearly superfluous.

The universal co-operative movement which has here found completeness of expression is not something that has been created or invented here. It has been simply a manifestation of the Spirit of God moving the minds, and still more the hearts, of men, just as truly as at Pentecost.

While this movement has had its leaders and its prophets of both vision and action, it has not been, like so many of our denominational movements, the formation of a temperamental group, but rather the unifying of many diversities of race and nation, speech and language, habit of mind and method of action. Indeed, this has been its history. It arose simultaneously in areas of different nationality and temperament, in Sweden, in Switzerland, in Great Britain, in America and other lands, moved by the Spirit of God ever present in every human heart. Its leadership has been associated leadership.

What we have done during these sacred days together has not been to generate or induce unity. We have simply discovered our inherent unity of spirit as we have revealed our hearts to one another. We have agreed on things upon which men would have asserted that we were bound to disagree.

We have simply discovered the elemental principle of God's moral universe, the principle of unity in diversity.

Thus has the Spirit of God led us, because we came together in faith in Him, and in faith and confidence in one another.

In other words, we have discovered the simple truth that the nearer we all approach our Master, the closer we come together.

In the last sacred hours of the Saviour's life, as He sat quietly apart with His disciples, He gave them His final message. It was not in the form of an intellectual expression of their belief. It was not a form of polity or of worship. What was that last symbol of His lordship and of their discipleship? He took a towel, He girded Himself and performed a humble act of loving service.

And it has been thus in our effort here to find the Christ-like way of service that we have discovered our oneness in Him and our oneness with each other.

Here we have been moved by the spirit of the Eternal and by the welling up of human sympathy, as deep has answered unto deep.

At one moment we have felt ourselves upon the mountain of Transfiguration and then in the next hour of the day we have found ourselves down upon the plain of human life, where He healed men of their diseases. At both times we have been at one with Him and have found that to be with Him was in itself unity with one another and with all who follow Him.

To me, my brethren, it is as simple as this, and we can trust the future, not because here we have created an institution, but because here we have become imbued with the Spirit of the Master.

Dr. Adolf Keller (Switzerland)

(Director of the Central Office for Church Relief Work in Europe)

We are seeking methods of co-operation. Let me speak of an experiment of international and interdenominational co-operation which was stimulated by the distress after the war and has taught us new methods of serving love.

Professor Deissmann has already referred to the Bethesda Conference 1922 in Copenhagen, and said that it was the most important preparatory work for this Conference on Life and Work. There, for the first time since the Reformation, official representatives of nearly all European and American churches came together to consider what could be done in common for the relief of suffering churches in thirteen European countries, for thousands of suffering ministers and social workers, for hundreds of evangelical institutions connected with or independent of the churches, such as orphanages, homes for old and young peoples, deaconess-houses and hospitals, students' homes, theological faculties, for all kinds of home mission work which to a great extent was and partly is still menaced with downfall and complete cessation of work.

Time does not allow me to give here more than a general outline of the organization and some conclusions. Those who wish to learn more about it or about present conditions in sixteen suffering countries can get our bulletin, *Hands Across the Sea*, which is distributed at the doors and can be bought at our office in Zürich.

(1) Our work has a broadly international and interdenominational, non-sectarian character. It does not serve denominational interests, but tries to bring help to the churches wherever their life or their institutions are menaced. The Bureau can therefore serve as a channel and clearing-house for all kinds of relief work. Indeed it was frequently so used not only by the denominations which have sister churches in Europe, but also by others, as, for instance, Anglicans, who used our Bureau for sending relief to Old Catholics and Orthodox institutions or by people who wished to help the Near East Relief. All gifts can be ear-marked.

(2) The Bureau is spreading information about con-

ditions in all European churches and their religious social life. By giving such information it spreads knowledge about each and prepares co-operation and the spirit of brotherly fellowship.

(3) It represents the first attempt at collaboration between American and European churches as a whole, in the field of practical works of brotherly love.

(4) Beside the relief work which unfortunately will still be necessary for some years, it has a constructive programme. It consists mainly in building up a new leadership and home mission work in churches where there is none. The first item—building up of a new leadership—does not only include aid to suffering students, but also to faculties whose libraries are antiquated, professors, students' homes, etc. The Eastern Evangelical as well as other churches are just starting their home mission work and request our help for building up such works of helping love as are necessary for the life of a church.

(5) It strengthens the co-operative and federative movements by furthering works of inner mission undertaken in common by the different churches in one country.

(6) In furthering and stimulating such common works it visualizes the essential unity in love of the Christian family. No confessional barriers need prevent the collaboration in common work of love and service.

In order that the spiritual values of such a common and constructive work may become more effective, it is suggested—

(1) That the members of this Conference recommend to their churches their participation in a common interdenominational work which is a test of that brotherly love and the spirit of co-operation which is the underlying principle of this Conference.

(2) That in view of a better connection and collaboration of the American and European churches as a whole, those churches also should participate which have no denominational sister churches in Europe, so that they contribute to aid those institutions of brotherly love which are not connected with any church.

(3) That the European Central Bureau in Zürich, being a clearing-house of co-operation, receive such informations from other denominational relief works still necessary to-day as to avoid overlapping.

(4) That all the churches able to render aid, show their brotherliness and their spirit of fellowship by helping the poorer churches to maintain their ministry or by helping them to build up in their countries the necessary home mission work.

(5) That within any future organization of this Conference a permanent institution for Christian relief and mutual help be created which would be ready to function in all cases of emergency and become a central agency for mercy and relief as the Red Cross is in other fields, ready to act when necessary and prepared to assist the weaker churches in their constructive programme of works of love by the experience and the methods of their sister churches.

Dr. Wilhelm Freiherr von Pechmann (Germany)

Previous speakers, either to-day or on other occasions, have said all that is to be said on the subject of co-operation between the churches. They have spoken in a clear and convincing way, and have impressed, interested and inspired us all. I should have preferred, therefore, to remain silent. But that is not possible. We are concerned however, in this impressive hour, with something far more important than with questions of method, viz. with a

confession of faith, and, indeed, a confession that we share in common, and in which the voice of Germany must not fail. It is to me a source of real joy that this voice is making itself heard here in Stockholm.

In all I say I want to keep our watchword before me—Life and Work. Life comes first, but what kind of life? Certainly not the life of this world, nor the life of this age, and not even the development, the elevation and the ennobling of this life, which is afflicted with sin and remains liable to death in the final judgment. No, we believe in a life of a higher order, in a life, of whose origin we read with deepest reverence in the words, 'In Him was Life.' Secretly, in the light of day, under the veil of our transitory life, eternal life begins to spring up, to grow and become strong in the souls of men as they grasp by faith the forgiving, reconciling, redeeming and sanctifying grace of God in Jesus Christ. As in our life here below we share in this Life from above, so we are able to attain to a real unity, which binds us together in spite of the broad and deep gulfs which separate us.

Life in this sense, however, involves work. But all life works according to its own laws. There are laws that determine the natural life and there are laws that determine the spiritual life—that glorious life which has its rise in the hidden life of the soul. The Church is commanded to plant and cherish this glorious eternal life in the hearts of the perishing children of men. In what sense, and in what ways, is it called upon to guide their natural life? This is a very big question, to which widely different answers are given. About one thing I am certain. The Church must take care that while she endeavours to make the world more Christian, she does not make herself more worldly. But she must neither forego the right nor limit the duty of bringing the power of eternity to bear on the life and struggle

of the time. We are in agreement as regards these rights and duties, and not less so, as we are conscious of the serious need of closing our ranks, that we may fulfil them more effectively. Let us work, let us work together as brothers, while it is day.

THE BISHOP OF HADERSLEV (Denmark)
(The Rt. Rev. V. Ammundsen, D.D.)

IN calling your attention to the report of Commission V., I will make a few remarks.

Each church must do its own work in its own way. Generally a work in a foreign dress, which fails to take the special traditions and conditions into account, will fail.

Still the life of each church can be greatly stimulated and enriched by intercourse with others. No church has been able to grasp the fullness of Christ. Just where a church is weak she needs inspiration from others. Perhaps such inspiration will force her to examine once more her own treasury, so finding forgotten jewels.

I may illustrate this by a point where I have a personal experience. And this point is not an isolated thing, but at the very root of the task before us.

We meet every day in our discussions two different trends of thinking and feeling. Both have their strength and their weakness.

The one is a conception of Christianity which lays the whole stress upon individual salvation. The world, it is said, is too evil to be really reformed before the coming of the Lord. We have only to proclaim the Gospel of salvation, worked by God alone through the atonement in Jesus Christ, and thereby save some individual souls out of the fire.

This conception is very strong in bringing comfort to a troubled conscience. But it is weak as to the working out

of religion in social life. The danger is, on the one hand, of such religious individualism becoming self-centred and, on the other hand, that, if we give up fighting for reforming the world, then the world will reform us; we are still in the world, and we are tempted to treat the affairs of the world according to the spirit of the world. Religion is shut up in the inner chamber of the soul, it is not allowed to contend for becoming omnipresent, and therefore it is weakened and fading away.

The other conception is that of those who would establish the Kingdom of God on earth. It is courageous, strenuous. Only it is too optimistic. It is a religion of youth, which has not yet understood the forces of evil, in the world and in self. It is bound to meet with disappointment. And it is often so busy that the inner life suffers from being hurried, and so self-confident, that the power of the Lord cannot be made perfect in weakness.

Now, some of us from the Scandinavian countries, and especially from my country, Denmark, are not able to identify ourselves with any of these two conceptions, but are greatly indebted to both.

Our tradition is the Lutheran, the proclamation of man being dead in sin, and of salvation through the grace of God only. But in one period of our life we were perhaps not able to grasp this Gospel. And we found that here was too little of the leavening power of religion. Then we received a fruitful inspiration from the West, a strong call to work. It gave a new impetus and courage. But by and by, through the work and our disappointments and defeats, we discovered once more just the wonderful truth of the Lutheran Gospel. It gave us a resting-place outside our own soul, in Christ. But we did not forget the lesson brought to us from the West. We saw, also through theological studies, that according to the intention of our

great reformer the Gospel will also give us the strongest motive powers. Christ has redeemed me through His blood, in order that I may fully belong to Him. This has been obscured in the popular Lutheran tradition.

So I for my part have become a better Lutheran through Anglo-Saxon influence, deeper convinced of the central truth of our tradition, but also recognizing that in the course of time we had lost something of the original riches, which we will have to take up again.

Others may make a corresponding experience from their points of view. So let us co-operate, freely giving and receiving, loyal to our own conviction and our own church.

PROFESSOR ISPIR (Roumania)
(Professor of Theology, Bucarest)

THE spirit of modern times is for a co-operation of the churches, if possible for a reunion, because (1) it is absolutely needed in the mission field, (2) it is wanted for international relations, (3) it is necessary for the internal life of Christianity.

The unbelief and the prejudices which begin to be so strong everywhere cannot be overcome, unless we Christians form a single front, unless Christians are one.

We must take account of all efforts which have been made in this direction. And which are the best ways to be followed?

(1) As a student of comparative religion I know that religion is, and always was, a mystical relation full of humility towards the supernatural in a way approved by society. We know that the essential elements of religion are the supernatural, humility and the Church (*ecclesia*). Yes, if man's relation with the Deity is not approved by the society to which he belongs, that is to say, if it is not for the sake of good—then there is magic instead of religion.

The history of religion confirms this; in other words, it confirms what we have been taught by the divine revelation of the Holy Scriptures of the New and the Old Testament, namely, that religion is the free relation of man with God.

To keep that in mind is the first step towards co-operation.

(2) Now it has been always said that the East is theoretical, mystic, and the West is practical, realistic—'Ex oriente lux, ex occidente lex.' I believe that this distinction is to some extent well founded. Men and nations are not alike, and their differences ought to be reckoned according to their origin, their environment and historical circumstances. It is quite intelligible, then, that the universality of the Church should not be looked upon as a uniformity of ceremonies and rites, but as a unity of ideals.

These ideals must be discussed not in relation with the philosophy of our time, nor in relation with our aspiration towards the future, but they must be discussed in the light of the history of the past, in the light of the true teaching of primitive Christianity.

This is the common basis of the churches and from it we can take our suggestions for co-operation. The Pope and the pastor must subject themselves to the teaching of the ecumenical Church.

And this basis gives us some definite points which always have been boldly maintained by the Eastern Orthodox Church, (1) that the Head of the Church is Jesus Christ, (2) that the authority of the Church depends on Him, and (3) that self-assertion of the individual must be repressed. To keep this in mind, it seems to me, is the second step towards co-operation.

(3) But we must not be exclusive, we must be open-minded people. You may be free to follow the ideal of your own communion, but have always before your eyes '*an open-air catholicity*.' I mean by open-air catholicity

that kind of attitude of mind which is the result of walking on an April morning through the gardens full of flowers and perfumes, that spiritual candour which exalts our soul and purifies it.

In the purity of our soul we carry on our ideals, and that is a sure way towards co-operation of the churches.

(4) Having these points in view we shall not forget that religion is a social force. In all times and in all countries religion was employed in various forms of philanthropy, education and social service. The social-Christian doctrine is not something new, but it is something which has to be realized. We must repudiate the phrase: 'Too much doctrine, too little life.' Our religion must be emphasized everywhere and at all times, in politics, in industry, in economics, in all social life. There must be therefore a *common platform* for the sake of the improvement and the progress of society.

Can I say how much has been done in this respect by the World Alliance and the Students' Federation for my own country, Roumania?

The time has come when we shall all forget the confessional differences and be attentive to the great problem of Christian co-operation which will give us all the power to do good works and to be true brothers one to another, that is to say, to love one another. 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one towards another.'

A very difficult task, but there it is. Many would be rather troubled. How is it possible that Christians should love one another in a time when self-assertion is the first commandment, when the doctrine of power, of material power, is triumphant, and the god of war is still the ruler of the nations? A very difficult task, but there it is.

(5) If we do believe that our religion is not a religion of man but of God, it is our duty to show it; we must show

to this world *that variety in forms of worship is compatible with the unity of the faith.*

It is the teaching of Jesus Christ that we proclaim to be the highest ethical ideal, the ultimate end ; it is brotherhood and humanity which compel us to be not only orthodox but catholic as well.

There must be a co-operation of the churches for the fulfilment of Our Lord's prayer : ' Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, In earth as it is in Heaven.'

The Very Rev. J. A. McClymont, D.D. (Great Britain), M. Monnier (France), Professor Choisy (Switzerland), The Rev. W. C. Emhardt (U.S.A.), Director Füllkrug (Germany), Professor J. A. Cramer (Holland), Pfarrer Theophil Mann (Germany), Professor Bieler (Canada), and Miss Lucy Gardner (England) also spoke.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1925

EVENING SESSION (5–7 P.M.)

Chairman—Dr. Kapler

VI. METHODS OF CO-OPERATION AND FEDERATIVE EFFORTS BY THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNIONS (*continued*).

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP IN LIFE AND WORK

Professor Nicholas Glubokovsky (Bulgaria) [1]

(University of Sofia, earlier in the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg)

'Αγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἵνα ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ὁμολογήσωμεν.

Christian Fellowship in Life and Work is the sign of a contemporary renovating movement, directed towards the spiritual rebirth of a weakened and dismembered humanity,

[1] Read by the Archdeacon of Maidstone.

and towards its complete union in the work of harmonious and active love.

Because of the contemporary character of this movement it seems to many to be quite an innovation which is connected with various names of spiritual and ecclesiastical leaders. And hence the further conclusion is drawn that this is only a happy transformation of the inborn human yearning towards reciprocity, a Christianized form of humanitarian solidarity.

Such an interpretation calls forth great obstacles in its practical application, from those who, though interested in the work, instead of giving the expected support, are inclined to active opposition, and, in part, exhibit it in no small degree. Some reject the indubitable Christianity, regarding it as opposed to self-sufficient humanitarianism, although, in the true sense, every 'soul is by nature Christian.' Others, on the contrary, find in it too little typical of Christianity, and discern in it the undermining of the historical foundations of existing Christian organizations, with their dissolution into impersonal abstractions, devoid of any concrete form and actual influence. Here is applied the narrow measure of confessionalism; a confessional tendency is given to the whole movement, and it therefore arouses not the unity of all Christians in friendly work, but confessional exasperation in mutual enmity.

All this is most sad and would lead to absolute hopelessness if it represented all the facts. But, in my opinion, there is here not so much party passion, as misunderstanding in principle. In the movement just referred to, I do not in the least deny the great services of its contemporary actors and promoters. I even think that some of them will be marked with golden letters in the annals of recent European history, in which our descendants will find few consoling pictures of the vaunted humanitarianism.

Nevertheless I suppose that the proclaimed reciprocity is rooted in the very essence of Christianity, which smoothes all divisions, accepts all individualities, and therefore creates universal brotherly union among all mankind.

Just so we should all think and act by the very calling and dignity of Christianity in agreement with its source in each of us. Apart from all dogmatic theories and doctrines, the experience of all times and peoples undeniably convinces us that, empirically, man is self-sufficient only for evil, and cannot deliver himself from this dreadful position. With the universal character of this fact before us, independent human regeneration is found to be incredible, in so far as the defect is natural, although not original but derived, and received by inheritance by all without exception. It is natural that with such weakness and incapacity in all mankind, a direct share in the essentially divine principle should be required, in order that by communion with it sinful human nature may be regenerated.

This is why ' when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them which were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons ' (Gal. iv. 4, 5). The Son of God, as the God-man, by His death upon the Cross obtains ' eternal redemption ' (Heb. ix. 12). The latter as yet is the property of this Divine Possessor and can only be received from Him. In the actual state of mankind such transmission would be either an unjust reward or a juridical appropriation by certain right. The first is inadmissible because of the divine beneficence of the redemption of Christ, saving from sin, but not encouraging it. The second has no support in human merits, and without them would contradict the very essence of the grace of Christ, which provides not outward justification, but the actual benefit of inward regeneration.

Thus direct union with Christ is obligatory in order that the deliverance by grace obtained for us might be naturally communicated to us and become our personal Christian privilege. In the absence of all human merit, the only means is faith, which in a mystical and lively way brings us into oneness with Christ, and this saving act is accomplished in 'baptism, which also saves' (1 Peter iii. 21), 'being baptized into the death of the Lord' (Rom. vi. 3), 'when we are buried with Him' (Col. ii. 12), 'that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life' (Rom. vi. 4). With this 'our old man is crucified and we die with Christ' (Rom. vi. 6-8). Our independent personality is completely abolished and should cease, leaving no trace. If there is quite a different result, this witnesses that a new and abundant source of life is obtained by death. But as our death was death with Christ and in Christ; then, evidently He works this great wonder, substituting Himself for our deadness insomuch that 'henceforth I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me' (Gal. ii. 20).

It is clear that now there takes place a real mystical union with the Redeemer and the absorption of our weakness in Him by the all-operative might of God (Rom. vi. 5 ff.). 'As many as have been baptised into Christ, have put on Christ' (Gal. iii. 27), becoming one with Him in the organic communion of grace. In this case they become, according to the beautiful exposition of St. John Chrysostom, *εἰς μίαν συγγένειαν καὶ μίαν ἰδέαν*, of one form and likeness with the Redeemer, and share directly all His prerogatives. Inasmuch as He is the Son of God, the baptized are also the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus (Gal. iii. 26), although in comparison with Him our sonship is not essential, but derived and secondary. This is adoption through Jesus Christ (Eph. i. 5, Rom. viii. 23), though not

adoptive only and juridical, for we are found to be truly the sons of God with all the gifts of the Spirit and the rights of inheritance (Gal. iv. 5-7, Rom. viii. 14 ff.).

According to the above it is indisputable that in this creative process of grace no human agency takes an active creative part, and all our external peculiarities disappear absolutely, since the ' new creature ' is formed beside, outside, and above them. As a result, it is inevitable that the human gradations of sex, age, race and social position do not exist for the life of grace in which ' neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision ' (Gal. v. 6, vi. 15), ' for by one Spirit are we all baptised into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit ' (1 Cor. xii. 13), ' for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon Him ' (Rom. x. 12). Here there are not our conditional differentiations in so far as all the baptised ' are one in Christ Jesus ' (Gal. iii. 28), ' who henceforth is to them all and in all ' (Col. iii. 11).

Consequently Christianity is real adoption by God, with which each one is obligatorily endowed at his regeneration by grace. This is not a later or supplementary acquisition or addition, but an essential quality of Christian dignity which without this is inconceivable and actually does not exist. Each Christian by his calling apart from all his individual distinctions unconditionally possesses the grace of adoption. But this is in equal degree indubitably the case for all members of the Christian family and therefore all believers are the children of God, becoming and remaining such by the very nature of their Christian existence at its origin. But if Christians are the children of the One Father, then naturally they are brethren among themselves by the might of the benefactions they have received. Equally with the adoption common to all, no less indisput-

able, is the real mutual Christian brotherhood, as inseparable from the Christian regeneration in all the justified.

We see then that Christianity by its origin is general 'God-sonship,' and by its application it becomes universal brotherhood. In the first case we are all united in the very source of our existence in grace, and preserve the latter unharmed only under the condition of this union from the beginning. All this dogmatically confirms for all Christians the oneness of life from its origin and functioning during its whole length until 'God may be all in all' (1 Cor. xv. 28). In the second case Christianity is absolutely and naturally expressed in the active love of all for the good of each, when all are inseparable members of the common organism, in which they naturally help one another by harmonious mutuality in the attainment of one aim, supporting the whole by well-ordered subordination, gladly aiding the sick, raising the fallen and so forth, for they are now one body without any division, 'so that if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it' (1 Cor. xii. 20, 25, 26), striving towards a general organic construction in the Church of God.

Thus Christianity by its very nature necessarily produces brotherly communion in active work for mutual welfare in the name of the highest interests of 'God-sonship' by grace, which should be embodied in vital co-operation in the fullest brotherly endeavour that all equally may be 'builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit' (Eph. ii. 22).

II

In sum it appears that Fellowship in Life and Work is rooted in the very depths of Christianity and is actually inherent in every Christian from the moment of his reception of the Christian dignity. Therefore it is natural and

obligatory for all men in so far as they become and so long as they remain Christians. This position is conditioned and caused by the Christian calling according to the divine comprehensiveness of grace, raising us above all earthly things to the sonship of God alike for all, and to mutual brotherhood among ourselves.

Consequently here all is built up by the might of God and does not depend on any external factors. But being such by its origin and essential nature, this state should necessarily be the same in its application and action. Hence it follows that in practical expression also independence, in principle, of all external help and limitation is demanded, in order that all development should take place without any repression or subordination. This does not destroy concrete differences; only they remain below the level of the mutuality of grace, and exist as empirical accidents of our low condition.

Speaking of religious reciprocal action one meets with the existing confessional differences regulating their proportional share in common Christian work. On this subject there exist the profoundest discordances and the most harmful complications. It is remarked that the success of religious unification cannot be reckoned on so long as the actual diversities, which sometimes border on religious intolerance, are dominant. It is therefore thought that the start must be made from some one great concrete factor, in order by solidarity with it to attain the inward unification of all others.

Thus plausibly is the effort towards confessional hegemony justified, which is especially clear and sharp from one special side. But in this conception there is included a defect in principle inevitably entailing peculiar practical evils. The means of action recommended contradict the very nature of the factor. It is proposed that

actual unity should be secured to it : but in that case it is necessary to admit that unity is not there naturally and it must be created by external efforts. It means that there will not be the one inward force which naturally produces concrete unification, and without it the whole process turns into a delusion at its foundations, and empirically becomes a stronger, cleverer and less scrupulous possession. As soon as such a centralizing force exists and functions, it will organically create from within itself a concrete mutuality, proportionate to its own energy, transforming external differences, by a creative process of internal change, into its own form and likeness. There is no room for tyrannical enslavement or unnatural depersonalization; it is like the arising of a Christian brotherhood of divine adoption, affirming equal Christian regeneration with the indubitable existence of all kinds of empirical individualization.

We must start from the source and base ourselves upon its nature. In our case this is the very existence of Christianity obligatorily begetting brotherly solidarity. Therefore it is necessary to rely exclusively on it and not on our confessional divisions which may be only practical conveniences for successful work by customary means, in order by their help gradually to rise to that height of Christian advancement at which all will be simply and only Christians.[1] In the opposite case there appears the denial of the acting factor, with all the actual ruinous results. Does not all our interconfessional history confirm all this too bitterly and shamefully ? Does it not witness that we have constantly rent the seamless robe of Christ and have appeared at the feast of God without a wedding garment ? Has not this been the greatest scandal that in the name of the one

[1] Cf. *Den ortodoxa Kristenheten och kyrkans enheten,* Professor Glubokovsky, Stockholm, 1921, p. 90 f.

Christ we have only separated, become obdurate and hostile? When we should have let our pure light shine before men have we not actually caused the name of God to be blasphemed among the heathen? Is not this why they triumphed first over weakened Orthodox Byzantinism and now in the Near East extirpate the Christian memory even in the names of the cities? Is this not why in the whole of 'Christian Europe' there is revealed purely heathen atavism with all the maliciousness of nationalistic irritation? Is not this the reason that 'The modern State is not only secular, it is in some respects anti-Christian; its outlook is materialistic, its aims selfish'? [1]

We will not further unfold this roll of Ezekiel on which within and without there was often written: 'lamentation and mourning and woe.' All this was the fatal reward of transgression against principle. It was proposed to create external Christian unity apart from and in defiance of internal unity. But then the action would remain without firm foundation and in substance must certainly be dissolved. We have the grandiose Roman Catholic organization which is striking in its external harmony, its mechanical agreement of its parts, and its almost universal extension. It has at its disposal the best material and spiritual resources, and its iron discipline allows of mathematical reckoning on, and securing of, the desired success. It would seem that the most brilliant effect might be expected. Our dark and cruel day demanded the lively concentration of all Christian forces for the healing of grievous wounds, for the removal of ruinous evils and the regeneration of weakened kingdoms and peoples. It was thought that here and now Romanism would especially reveal its creative productiveness and would renew the face of all our unhappy earth. Actual

[1] *The Expositor*, 1925, iii. p. 23 ff.

observation based on documentary evidence discloses quite the contrary. It is attested that during the last few years Romanism has had the least unifying results, and on this point decidedly yields to Protestantism, which, by its very individualism apparently is destined to separatistic breaking up.[1] An 'Evangelic Catholicity' already presents such suggestive proportions in the Protestant world as to call forth in outside observers the apprehension that it is a pan-Lutheran organization intending to carry out an anti-Catholic demonstration at the Stockholm Congress.[2]

In fact the most natural thing has happened that the inward rally of Christian forces in unity of spirit gradually overcomes the outward organization of united action. Otherwise it is scarcely possible to understand and explain the phenomena manifested. Proselytism of a purely pharisaical type has become a kind of disease of the new Romanism, and the conversion of the whole universe to the foot of the Roman Chair has become the bright vision and the sweet dream of the contemporary papacy. From these visions not one church is excepted, not one Christian confession; they are all represented as the obligatory field for Catholic missionary practice, just as though they formed a purely heathen domain. Such among others is Anglicanism with all its ramifications.[3]

[1] See *Christian Fellowship*, by Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Upsala. New York, (Fleming H. Revell Company), 1925, p. 167, 171; *Einigung der Christenheit*, Peter Katz, Halle (Saale) 1925, pp. 172-3, 177; and cp. *The Church of England*, by the Right Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester. London (John Murray), 1924, pp. 167-168.

[2] This apprehension is strongly expressed, for example, by *The Church Times*, No. 3,239, February 20, 1925, p. 199 *c-d*; No. 3,245, April 3, p. 391 *a*.

[3] See *e.g. Non-Catholic Denominations*, by the Rev. Robert Hugh Benson, M.A., new impression, London, 1921, in which the whole description is directed towards the recommendation of the most useful methods for converting to Romanism.

And as regards relations towards Orthodoxy everywhere, here the conduct of Romanism recalls the action of a rich and cunning landlord, who strives to get as much as possible of the goods of his sick and disheartened neighbour into his own hands, availing himself of every opportunity and of every possibility. I say this with great sorrow, but the facts cry out. In the East the Mohammedan Crescent has been openly preferred to the Christian Cross.[1] And in this direction the whole papal policy has been carried on which is now, for some reason, penetrated with Soviet sympathies, of course not for the sake of the tranquillity of Orthodoxy in Palestine.[2] Against Orthodox Russia, moreover, there is devised, since the time of the unlucky Genoa Conference, some mysterious bond with the atheist Bolsheviks, and by the consent of the latter apostolic expeditions are fitted out, acquiring special purpose since the death of the Orthodox leader and common Christian martyr, His Holiness the Patriarch Tikhon. In Poland there is declared and carried out a formal campaign against Orthodoxy in order to turn the Orthodox into Romans, or at least into Uniates, and meanwhile intercourse is not permitted of light with darkness. In England Roman Catholics are authoritatively recommended ' not to contribute to the St. Paul's Cathedral Fund.' [3] In the ' free ' Polish Republic Orthodox cathedrals in Lublin and Warsaw,[4] serving as precious monuments of the faith and love of many generations, are profanely pulled down and the material used for making roads and pavements. All is taken advantage of,

[1] See *The Church Times*, No. 3,125, December 15, 1922, p. 631, *a-b*, from the words of Signor Giulio Castelli in the *Nazione*.

[2] See *The Church Times*, No. 3,244, March 27, 1925, p. 359.

[3] See *The Church Times*, No. 3,238, February 13, 1925, p. 167.

[4] See the journal *Sunday Reading* ("Voskresnoe Chtenie") of the Orthodox Polish Metropolitan, published in Warsaw 1925, No. 11, p. 167 ; No. 15, pp. 236-7.

where there is insecurity. Poor Bulgaria, tortured by all kinds of catastrophes, is unexpectedly dignified by the nomination of a special Roman Catholic archbishop, although the two bishops already there are too many for the small number of Bulgarian Roman Catholics, instructed by a special organ *Truth*, which sometimes successfully rivals the Moscow Bolshevik *Pravda* in its degree of 'correspondence' with the meaning of the title. And for Roman feeling and disposition in regard to Orthodox Bulgaria, it is tragically characteristic that the villainous explosion of the Cathedral of the 'Holy Week' in which many innocent victims perished, and in which it was intended that the whole mass should perish, together with the King and the Government, Polish priests consider fairly natural for Orthodoxy, corrupted by Tsarism,[1] although the latter is quite uselessly brought in there.

III

Can anything go further? Of course here there is unnatural excess, of which the whole of Romanism cannot be accused.[2] 'During the Peace Conference', writes Dr. Headlam, 'a definite claim was put forward to the Church of St. Sophia by Cardinal Gasquet. In all the negotiations that were carried on for safeguarding the position of the Greek Church in the East, the influence of the Roman Curia was thrown on the other side: intrigues with the Soviet Government of Russia began and were encouraged by that Government for a time, because it might weaken the power of Christianity by encouraging division. It was the policy of the Fourth Crusade, it was the policy of the Jesuits at the

[1] See *Sunday Reading*, 1925, No. 20, pp. 317-18.

[2] Roman Catholics have more than once reproached me with one-sidedness, defamation and misrepresentation, but on this point I am decidedly confirmed by such an independent authority as the Right Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, who tragically witnesses in *The Church of England*, p. 165, that 'The Roman Curia has attempted to exercise political influence to the detriment of the Eastern Churches.'

time of Cyril Lucar, it is the policy which is disgraceful to Christianity'. But it strongly emphasizes the unsuitability of confessional exclusiveness for common Christian solidarity, if it does not desire to be anti-Christian enslavement of the weak by the strong with their inward equality. In this case a sorrowful issue is inevitable, for the essence in principle is exchanged for the historical form. The latter takes upon itself the whole mission of the former, but because of its narrowness is not capable of embracing all the actual manifestations and naturally cannot be reconciled with such want of correspondence. Hence comes confessional fanaticism which necessarily becomes confessional chauvinism with the whole sorrowful brood of such tendencies.

We will not enlarge upon this; all the preceding has been brought forward only in illustration of our fundamental view that living and active Christian mutual intercourse created by the very nature of Christianity should be built up on this foundation and be developed only in this direction. But this does not in the least mean that here at once confessional limits are destroyed and the anarchy of a chaotic medley is opened up. Form is inevitable for the concrete incarnation of existence and cannot suffer from the best manifestation of the latter, gradually widening out to adequate coincidency.

In just such an aspect the matter appears to me from the point of view of Orthodoxy, which is, I may be allowed to recall, our rooted belief, unhappily often mutilated by historical abuse. We do not deny it, although we do not always find the reproaches brought against us timely or reasonable.[1] In any case our attitude on this subject is

[1] Thus, even with extreme asperity, the Bishop of Gloucester, 'Union with the Orthodox Church' in *The Christian East*, ii. 2 (July 1921), pp. 94-7. Cp. also *The Church of England*, p. 20, although the latter's reprimands are somewhat weakened by the author's own remarks on p. 163.

not bound up with confessional usurpation. For the latter there is no support in the very organization of the Orthodox churches, because they all form a union of independent Christian units, which are completely equal among themselves and are alike subordinate; the parts to local Councils, and all together, to the Ecumenical Councils. Despotic centralization is here simply impossible. Equally with this, all historical collisions, created by themselves and called forth by the assiduity of 'well-wishing' outsiders, weaken the reciprocity and sometimes lead to severe and lengthy ruptures (as, *e.g.* of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate with Orthodox Bulgaria). Nevertheless, in spite of all unfavourable internal and external conditions the Orthodox churches keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and till now successfully and worthily defend and realize their autonomous solidarity. They rely and function on the ground of internal indivisibility, and by it overcome all external isolation, blending in the unity of their life in Christ Jesus and helping one another in work for the common benefit. Such is the very essence of the brotherly mutual relations between the Orthodox churches, which do not realize and think of them otherwise than in unity of faith and love in their divine foundations in grace.

It is comprehensible and inevitable that on this point there cannot be different views and practices of Orthodoxy in regard to other Christian confessions, although it does not consider them equal in the purity and fullness of the expression of Christian truth. The Orthodox apply here the same principle by which they live themselves and with which they always nourish all their children, bringing them up in a certain disposition.

And what is this disposition?

On this subject I cannot give a better answer than by presenting an image of an Orthodox church in which we

lay aside 'all earthly cares' and strengthen ourselves by prayer in the mysteries for united Christian work for the salvation of ourselves and our neighbours. Even now before my eyes in Sofia is the wonderful Alexander Nevsky Cathedral, which was condemned to destruction by Roman Catholic-Polish ill-will. This beautiful monument of Russo-Byzantine church architecture is the first in its Orthodox beauty outside Russia after the Sophia of Constantinople. The majestic pediment at once lifts the spirit of everyone approaching it on high, and there directs all thoughts to the crowning cross. All that is low and earthly, giving rise to such sad discord, disappears, and the faces of the saints over the entrances fill our being with Christian feelings of devotion to God and love to the brethren. We step inside, already in spirit at peace with all, and are at once surrounded by an atmosphere of heavenly solidarity in which our union in thought has been assured by mutual love.[1] On every hand we are surrounded by exhortation and example in the beautiful icons everywhere and indispensably adorning each Orthodox Church. We are sometimes separated and estranged almost to enmity, but the Lord of Sabaoth gives the assurance of our unity by our very existence as the children of God. This may inspire fear because of our nothingness, but before us is the Heavenly Father, who for our sake spared not His Only-begotten Son. We are too weak even worthily to receive the mercies of God, but the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, gives us all that is needful for life and piety. We are too feeble and sinful, even worthily to guard what we freely receive, but Christ the Saviour graciously calls and gives rest to all that labour and are heavy laden. We tremble before the unapproachable majesty

[1] At every Orthodox Liturgy there is proclaimed aloud: 'Let us love one another that we may with one mind confess.'

of the glory of God, but we have 'immutable intercession' to the Creator. We differ in possessions, position and capacity and cannot go by the same road and alone, but God needs and loves only living spirits and not lay figures, persons and not impersonalities. And here we are compassed about by a great cloud of witnesses, inspiring each one to attain the place suitable for him. Kings and slaves, priests and laymen, warriors and civilians, rich and poor, the firm and the fallen, the wise and the foolish, the learned and the ignorant, all are represented in the historical types of the saints who have attained an equal height and unite us all in the success of its possession. 'Time would fail me' to recount all the picturesque inspiration of an Orthodox Church, carrying us thither where there shall be 'neither sickness, nor sorrow, nor sighing, but life everlasting.'[1] But undoubtedly the general impression and effect is that here for all is the true house of God and here for all is the heavenly gate to the common Father, who 'maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust' (Matt. v. 45).

Penetrated by this contemplation, we while on earth feel as though we were in heaven, like the Russian envoys of our Orthodox Princess Olga felt in the Sophia of Constantinople. And now we return to our sorrowful and evil world with the unshakable conviction that in the house of our Heavenly Father there are many mansions for all, and for each one Christ alone prepares the place. Can our outward differences and dissensions disturb this divine union? Is not the divine stronger than the human? If with our lips we confess variously, in our hearts we believe alike in the one truth of Christ, which creates in all the unity of the life of grace in 'the work of faith, and labour of love and patience of hope' (1 Thess. i. 3). It is

[1] From the Requiem Office.

true that all have not equal gifts and ministries, but the Church is the body of Christ with living members, and not an external conglomerate with mechanical parts. Naturally all are not alike in power and all do not come at the same time, but in the vineyard of God there is enough salutary work for all, and from the Lord all receive equal reward (Matt. xx. 1 ff.) in so far as the Christian work of all for the Kingdom of God is alike, being rated not by our relative scale, but by its absolute inward worth, always remains the same.

There cannot be differences in Christ, and there should be nothing among Christians except communion in the unity of the life of grace and joint brotherly work. In this spirit the Orthodox Church on the holy day of Easter invites all alike, in the words of John Chrysostom, to partake at the table of the feast of God: 'For the Lord, who is jealous of His honour, will accept the last even as the first. He giveth rest unto him who cometh at the eleventh hour, even as unto him who hath wrought from the first hour. And He showeth mercy upon the last, and careth for the first; and to the one He giveth, and upon the other He bestoweth gifts. And He both accepteth the deeds, and welcometh the intention, and honoureth the acts and praiseth the offering. Wherefore, enter ye all into the joy of your Lord.'

But we must hasten the unity of Christian life and brotherly work. The world is decaying, and beneath fine phrases does not see that 'when they shall say Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape' (1 Thess. v. 3). There is no time to wait and nothing to wait for except the coming destruction.

'It is time to sacrifice unto the Lord.' [1]

[1] The opening words addressed by the deacon to the priest at every Liturgy.

PRESIDENT G. A. BRANDELLE (U.S.A.)
(President of the Lutheran Augustana Synod)

THE real Church of Christ, the true believers, are to-day and have ever been one in spirit and in truth irrespective of nationality and denominational connections. The abiding truth of spiritual fellowship has always been heralded forth by the redeemed in Christ. Despite the weaknesses and faults of the Church, it cannot truthfully be said that it has failed in times past. The farmer does his work faithfully and well, but at times there is no crop by reason of untoward natural conditions. Precisely so in the moral and spiritual realm. The virtues, insight and experiences of the parents cannot be transmitted to the children by heredity. All the virtues required for the building of a happy spiritual or social commonwealth must be acquired. The natural inclinations of man run counter to anything like this. Unregenerate man refuses to bow to the Sermon on the Mount, he heeds not the voice of God as it speaks in his conscience. The result is unrighteousness and crime. Time and again it is 'topped off' with wars. Did the nations heed the voice of the Church throughout the world, there would be no unrighteousness, no wars. From the point of view of millions, Christ was not a success. Yet no one here would pronounce Him a failure.

Aside from the insane outbreak of 1914, I doubt not that the world is improving in nearly every way. Indeed, I know it, for the days of my childhood were not like unto those of to-day. And yet, do we not all grieve over the lack of confidence in and understanding of each other on the part of the many organizations that make up the Church of Christ on earth? We would have it otherwise. But how is the change to be accomplished?

The wise and efficient builder figures out what he needs

by way of material and assembles it. Likewise in the matter of mechanics and labourers, and he sees to it that there is unity of purpose and action with all his employees. We must act in a similar manner. For we also are builders engaged in the maintenance and development of the Kingdom of God upon earth. I am not now referring to the outward organization of the Church only, but more particularly to the very essence of the Kingdom, that most wonderful, all-penetrating energy from above which lays hold of a man and forms him into a follower of God, an advocate and upholder of everything that is true, just and holy.

The great commission to the apostles was : ' Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' The Church holds this commission even to-day. Indeed, the Church is the only institution chosen by Christ for the propagation of His Gospel. Thus it becomes the vocation of the Church, through the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, to endeavour to prevail upon men to become heavenly-minded and to seek first the Kingdom of God. Its great message to the human family is : ' Be ye reconciled to God.' Its preaching must always be along this line. This obligation the Church can never alter or throw off. To this task it is committed until the end of time.

In doing its work, the Church accepts the Bible as the revelation of God to mankind in respect of the present and future interrelation of man and God with each other. Man was and is intended to be spiritually related to his Maker and to enjoy Him for time and eternity. And the how of this is made plain in the Bible. God reveals Himself as well in nature and in His dealings with men. He speaks also in the conscience of man. But the only sure and infallible guide to the house of many mansions is the Old and the New Testament. This book was never meant to

be a treatise on science. And the Church does not feel free to attempt to alter or amend it in any way.

The central figure of the Bible is Jesus Christ whom it makes the Son of God and the Son of Man. He is held forth as the redeemer of mankind from sin, death and the devil. Mankind acknowledges its dependence on its Maker, it admits that it has been alienated from God through the lusts of the world, the flesh and the devil. It has sought in numberless ways to get back to spiritual communion with God. But neither personal goodness, intelligence or works of sacrifice and mercy have ever sufficed to drive out the spirit of fear and to reinstate the spirit of heavenly peace and contentment. Not even an abundance of Bible reading and prayer alone will do it. True and lasting peace comes only to him who trusts in Jesus Christ for the remission of all sin. Christ requires that we believe Him to be our Saviour who gave Himself for our sins, and that we trust ourselves in His care as the child confides in the parents. Who preaches any other way of salvation is false to his trust. Nor dare any aggregation of men and women call itself the Church of Christ, unless the central theme of all its sermons be Christ crucified for us, and the compelling power in all its work be the love of Christ which constraineth to service.

The Christian denominations of the world have sought to epitomize what are considered as the fundamental teachings of Holy Writ into what it commonly calls creeds. It is clearly understood that these creeds, differing not inconsiderably from each other in some things, are not to be accorded the same honour as the Bible by way of reflecting inerrantly the will of God. But men of the highest Christian learning and experience have always thought well of these creeds as helps to a right understanding of the Divine Word. And though there be many who

speak sneeringly of creeds and insist that unity of action can be reached only when all the creeds are swept into the dust-cart, they themselves, nevertheless, have a creed written by themselves and insist that their creed, which in this case is their own understanding and interpretation of the Word of Life, be accepted by everybody. It seems to me that unity of purpose and action will be difficult to arrive at, unless the outstanding lines, at least, of the divine plan of salvation be embodied in a few paragraphs and put on paper so that all may know whether we intend to go to heaven on our own plan or on that set forth by the Lord Jesus Himself. Whether you call these paragraphs a creed or not, is entirely immaterial. They will nevertheless serve to establish the spiritual whereabouts of this movement. An agreement of this sort would naturally cause us as denominations to trust each other more fully in the future than we have in the past. There has been more theological bickering among us than was necessary. Too little respect has been shown for each other's belief and endeavours. So-called mission work in Christian Protestant lands in opposition to the church of the land should cease whether it be carried on as foreign missions or as church extension work. Interference with each other's work on the foreign fields should also be stopped. Sections of the same denominations must not endeavour to pull down under one guise or another each other's work. Missionary zeal of this description discredits the entire Christian movement. Christ did not authorize a fervour of this sort.

If we can agree in the main on what has just been said, one would think the time ripe for a united and honest attempt at lifting social, industrial and international matters to a higher plane.

In respect of social conditions, there are many grades. Between the highest and the lowest is a great chasm. The

natural and artificial resources of some countries are dreadfully limited. In these even the best men find it well-nigh impossible to keep body and soul reasonably well together, let alone having any comforts. In cases of this sort, it is exceedingly difficult to be of real and lasting service. In other localities the sober, moral and industrious workman gets along well. In my country he owns his home, educates his children and enjoys many comforts. It is ours to cultivate intensively and for the good of all people the virtues of temperance, sobriety and morality. If need be, restrain the evils of intemperance and immorality by the strong arm of the law. In addition, education, thrift, medical treatment and the preaching of the Gospel are sure to work wonders in time. If we get together, we can care for millions of this kind of people as they were never cared for before and turn them into a distinct asset to the community. For the present a lot of them are a manifest liability.

When you enter the industrial realm you enter an almost illimitable expanse. The paraphernalia of big business is most marvellous to behold. On this domain is constantly fought an interminable battle between the lust of money and the sense of righteousness. This is a real world-battle, for the contestants know neither individuals nor nations. Nor are the competitors always aligned along the same lines. If the ideas of the men of big business were always alike, or at least somewhat similar, much of this struggle might be eliminated. But no one mind comprehends it all. Hence the differences of opinion. Hence also the impossibility for an outsider, no matter who he might be, to understand the situation sufficiently well to dictate as to policies. No section of any one church nor all together can do this. But the Church is obliged to oppose itself to any inhuman practice of policy that falls under its observation. Its

weapon is the preaching of the requirements of God, of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, together with moral suasion. Did all the ministers of the world do this with the unction of the Holy Spirit, they would thereby cause such a stir against major forms of oppression at least that these would speedily be wiped out. If it cannot be accomplished in this way, there is once more the mode of legal restraint as concerns working conditions, hours, the employment of women and children, etc., thoroughly supported by the Christian people in general.

To keep the nations of the world at peace with each other is more than a man's job. Hitherto this has not been possible. You can coerce one nation temporarily to submit to another, but no nation can be compelled to respect and honour a sister nation. The likes, dislikes, aversions and experiences of the parents are not inherited by the children. If these are to be handed down to posterity, this can be done only through education. For this reason only truthful information as to the various peoples of the world is to be disseminated in the homes and in the schools. The public Press and writers of magazine articles and books should be held to strict accountability in matters of international relations. We believe a patriotic love for one's home and nation to be perfectly permissible, indeed commendable, but the welfare of the whole human family should be paramount. A world-consciousness should be striven for. The Church forces throughout the world, it seems to us, should, in the interest of world peace, advocate the drawing of plans that would be perfectly fair to all nations of the world, plans that would permit all nations constituted in a legal and orderly manner to sit at the council table of humanity.

In striving to do some or all of these things, let us ever realize that we stand for the Church of the living God and

that its great commission, the preaching of the Gospel for the conversion of the human family, must always be in the foreground, and that organically, or in essence, the Church and the state can never successfully be fused into one body. The flag of the Church is one, the banner of the state is another, both are needed and neither one can take the place of the other. 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.' Regenerated men make good husbands, fathers, masters, statesmen, diplomats and rulers. Unregenerate men are short-sighted, one-sided and know only the Kingdom of Mammon. Said the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, the British Premier, last spring: 'To my mind the distinctive Christian method is the individual transformation of character, and the making that character react on national life. There is really only one panacea for the ills of the world; it is this: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture. The thief cometh not but for to steal, and to kill and to destroy: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."'

The Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., LL.D. (U.S.A.)

(President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ)

I

The Church in every state must live its own life, and deal with its own problems. Following the lead of circumstances which frequently offer a divine guidance for the shaping of its course, when it approaches the reintegration of its forces whether Catholic or Protestant, it has first to find a common conscience, then, by reflection, a common mind, and after a wise interval of reticence, utterance which commands public attention and respect.

I have been asked to state here the relation of the Federal Council in America to the unification of the various Protestant denominations of that nation. I obey the request with the more pleasure, because I have perceived a marked resemblance between the policy and proceedings of this historic Conference and those of the Federal Council. What I venture to offer may be inapplicable to the far larger situation confronting my brethren who represent the churches of other states and creeds. Yet it has for the American brethren those advantages which actual experience confirms. Religious life in the Republic of the West has developed in two main directions. Its first expression was based upon the principle of freedom in all matters relative to faith and order. This expression has produced the one hundred and fifty churches, cults and groups of different degrees of vitality and importance which flourish in North America. Its second expression is of more recent origin, although its necessity had long been apparent. It is based upon the principle of voluntarily imposed conciliation between denominations. This principle became paramount because of the disorganized condition of the Reformed churches, which often rendered them comparatively inoperative in the presence of grave emergencies. The sincere beliefs of many of my fellow-citizens that the best government is the one that governs the least; and that all government derives its just powers from the governed, have profoundly influenced the Protestants of America. They are averse to elaborate ecclesiastical organizations, because these, as they contend, entail the loss of individual rights, and often stultify intellectual and spiritual growth by the pressure of officialism and routine.

But the woeful waste of energy and substance due to the overlapping of sectarian causes and to competitive churches offended the decided preference which Americans have

for efficiency as against traditions. In a country governed by public opinion it is of first rate consequence that religious propaganda shall be sound, reasonable, well-informed and also well-organized. By reason of the growth of immigration upon a scale unparalleled in modern times, Protestantism was compelled to take measures to set its house in order. We are not predominantly Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran or Congregational, but we can obtain a wider hearing for the essentials which underlie denominationalism than for the beliefs peculiar to any single denomination.

It was this situation and not any theory that led to those overtures which have resulted in the Federal Council. A further reason was the surrender of public education to secular control. Since upon nothing else do people differ so strongly as upon religious matters, the constitutional law of America provides that such differences shall be avoided by the municipal or political control of public education, and that has meant, in the main, secular education. Again the chauvinistic inclinations of small but vocal groups has aroused the conscience of those Christians for whom patriotism is subordinated to humanism as a part of Our Lord's purpose for mankind.

Plainly any steps toward co-ordinated effort had to be comprehensive in nature and tentative in arrangement. There is a strong and to some extent a justifiable pride in the state which Protestantism has carefully fostered from the first. But this pride was often provincial and indifferent to the needs and the characteristics of the countries from which a large percentage of our population came. It was also unregulated by that historic consciousness of the Christian Church at her height, when she was the mother of great states and taught them obedience as the first condition of social progress.

The religious devotion of millions of my countrymen found vent in attachment to their particular group and to the Bible as its authorizing source. That the Church, under God, gave us the Bible, and that the true centre of faith is neither a creed nor a book, but a Person and Life, are fundamentals still foreign to the consciousness of many excellent Christians in the United States.

It is the task of Christian statesmanship to divert these noble attachments and loyalties to more legitimate channels. Yet in doing this there is no desire to interfere in any way with the characteristic traits of our constituent bodies. Far otherwise, mobilization, not absorption, is a standing policy of the Federation. It is all the richer for its combination of the diversified gifts and graces of the fraternity of churches. As a distinct organization it dates from the year 1908, when it embodied in itself several previous attempts of a kindred nature. To-day it includes approximately thirty churches with a membership of thirty millions, a secretariat that covers the numerous departments of Christian Life and Work, and a representative rule by administrative and executive committees.

Its objects are :

(1) To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church.

(2) To bring the Christian denominations of America into united service for Christ and the world.

(3) To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and the religious activities of the churches.

It has established commissions consisting of some of the leading clergy and laity of the land upon Evangelism, Religious Education, Social Service, Race Relations, International Justice and Goodwill, Relations with the European Churches and those of the Near East, Army and

Navy Chaplaincies, Religious Publicity, and Friendly Intercourse with our large and influential Jewish population.

The Council has affiliated relations with the local federations in the principal cities, the various home and foreign missionary societies, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the other bodies of fellowship and labour.

It has won the confidence and esteem of the President of the nation, and some of its Cabinet officials have served upon several commissions. But it must not be supposed that the Council is anything else than the instrument of the churches that called it into being. Its existence is purely derivative and its powers are strictly delegated. It leaves theological and political controversies severely alone, and enjoys the favour and support of various types of Christians, liberal or conservative, modernist or fundamentalist, catholic or denominational. It is hung upon nothing visible, and finds its efficacy in this detachment, because the goodwill we have felt in this Conference has ensphered the Federal Council from the first.

II

We have discovered that ecclesiastical organizations which would save their lives may lose them, but those which lose their lives for Christ's sake shall surely save them. The reasoned approval of our constituent churches given to the service which the Council renders is its sole hope and reward.

Some among us insist that the spiritualities of the Church should be separate from social, economic and international issues. Others, and I think the large majority, maintain that our field of operation is the world. Beneath this superficial antagonism is an amazing oneness of spirit and *aim*, which all versions of testimony reveal.

The evangelization of the fifty million people in the

United States who have no connection with institutional religion is our chief concern. During the year 1922 one million of these joined the various churches, and we have substantial grounds for believing that they are but the first-fruits of an abundant harvest. The facts from which correct moral purposes can be framed are disseminated throughout the nation by one Commission on Education.

Extensive efforts for the religious education of the children have been made, largely at the instigation of our Lutheran brethren. The constituent denominations have passed through experiences analogous to those I have related about the Council itself. They are simplifying their complex equipment, and discussing or, in some instances, taking practical steps toward unification.

May we not learn from this fragmentary review of the most remarkable movement in American churchmanship —just—the need and the reward of patience? He goes far who goes slow, and is not discouraged with small beginnings. Bemused, as America sometimes is, with mere bigness, we had need to have it demonstrated to us that the principle which is right will win in the end. Not how fast or how slow we move, but *in what direction* is the issue to be kept in view here.

Again, the co-operation of the churches should be entrusted to the men and women who hold strategic positions in the churches. There is a temptation to ignore them in behalf of congenial associates or the eloquent preachers whom Protestantism sometimes overrates. Yet if we are to carry the churches with us, we must carry those brethren too, the clerical and lay, who have deserved influence in the churches. Many such personally known to me are not in this Conference. Through them as a convinced and transmitting medium we have to bring the American nation into line with the splendid possibilities latent in this

Conference. Let us seek out and enlist the leaders in the practical work of the Universal Church, who organize and push forward her missionary, social and educational service. They have the will, the knowledge, and the opportunity to help effectively. We should unify not only individuals, but organizations, and thus avoid additional machinery except as a last resort.

Above all else, the members of the Conference can educate, create contacts, dispel prejudice and arouse sympathetic appreciation. As the Archbishop of Dublin remarked to me a few days since, the great reality of the Conference is that we have *met*. We have been face to face and have doubtless received more benefit from salutary opposition than from casual agreement. I plead for a continuity of the spirit and purpose of our gathering, that shall assume those future forms to which the churches are led by the spirit of the Living God, and I rest my plea upon the facts I have stated concerning our auspicious experiment in the United States.

THE RT. REV. BISHOP KARL IRBE (Latvia)

IN order to solve the question of how co-operation is to be arranged in order to reach the goal, as has been pointed out by the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, it is first of all necessary clearly to see where the different churches agree and where they don't.

The following points seem to be matters of general agreement: (1) The difficult position of the Western nations is a natural outcome of their turning away from God. (2) Only Christ is able to master the conditions and save us from the evils. (3) It is the mission of the Church to bring the masses, now estranged from Christ, back to Him again.

If the question only was to realize these principles common to all churches, a co-operation in order to solve the problems would not be difficult to establish. There are, however, other questions leading to great and decisive differences of opinion, which are stumbling-blocks in the path of co-operation.

To such questions belong :

(1) The different position taken up by different Christian denominations with regard to their co-operation on political, industrial and social issues.

Some keep more or less away from such co-operation, others consider it as an imperative duty, others again claim for the Church in all these matters the exclusive right of decision.

(2) The necessity of a common spiritual foundation expressed in a common confession as the ' sine qua non ' of the possibility of practical co-operation.

(3) The formal refusal of the Roman Catholic Church to take part.

We thus find that there are many obstacles to be removed before a co-operation of all the churches can take place. That is no reason why we should not work. The eventual union of the many denominations, which we pray and hope for as a gracious gift from God, will perhaps be slow to come, but the imperative call of the Lord to all churches, actually going out to every member of any church to clasp hands in common endeavour, is too strong to be overheard.

The followers of Antichrist have already formed a league for the destruction of the Kingdom of God. Is it then meet that the bondsmen of Christ pass by each other with indifference or even fight one another, and should they not rather go forward together in common action ? It is painful that such a desire for co-operation is not yet generally expressed, but it does exist, thank God, and we

therefore ask, in spite of existing difficulties, which we do not ignore: What must and can be done to inspire with enthusiasm those who are willing and to bring them into closer union, and thus to remove the obstacles? Which are the best methods to be accepted?

In all times the main question has been to find the right people. If they are wanting, even the best methods are useless; if found, the proper ways and means will be at hand. Thus we have to ask ourselves: Where are the right people to be found? It is good that we need not look very far to find them. God has already given them to us. The proof is this Conference. Had not the right people been there, this Conference would not have taken place. No wise methods have gathered these groups of men and women together from all parts of the world and kept them here in the Swedish capital for two weeks. That has been done by the right people, or rather by God, who has bestowed His grace upon them. We owe thanks to the Lord for this. Hereby is the answer already given as to the methods of continued co-operation. We shall, before going away, elect an international or interdenominational committee of those right people we have learnt to know, that they may continue as we have started, and we will leave it to them to find the suitable methods. We will give them no instructions, but assure them of our entire confidence and pray for them. And we will not keep the blessings we have received here through common work and common prayer to ourselves alone, but pass them on to our compatriots and co-religionists, describing to them the work started and the ends aimed at by this Conference. Let us strive to win the totality of our congregations for the great cause of this Conference and to establish a mutual understanding with the other congregations in our respective countries. If, however, any organized congregation should hesitate to

make the cause of our Conference their own, then we will work on through local committees. For such committees we must find members who are not only planning and passing resolutions, but who are willing also to undertake the humble work of opening up the individual souls, which is of so capital an importance. In order that the local congregations or committees should remain in continual contact with each other and with the International Committee, and be able to receive the necessary impulse, and have means to attract new adherents and workers, this Conference should issue a monthly paper. This paper should appear in English and German, and edited in such a way that beside genuine material for the scholar it should also contain articles calculated to appeal to the interest and understanding of the less educated. The editors of religious magazines too often forget that they do not write for theologians only, but also, and in fact foremost, for laymen without theological or philosophical training. And too often it is left out of account that they do not speak to contemporaries of the Nicean Council, nor to the religious interests of the Middle Ages, but to living men of the twentieth century, the century of technical inventions and material interests.

It is desirable that the editing of such a paper should be placed in the hands of first-class trained journalists. The best ones are scarcely good enough, for it is the high and sacred cause of the Kingdom of God that is at stake ; in short, they are going to work for God. That paper should be without fear before men and without any false charity. It should scrutinize in the light of divine truth the struggle for gain and power of the great ones of the world, as well as the envy and hatred of the small. The Church of Christ must do away with the distrust with which it is rightly or wrongly confronted, as if it only took

to heart the well-being of the rich and influential and left the interests of the poor and humble alone.

Translation and editing should be done by the local committees. The distribution should be supported by voluntary contributions. All this will cost money, scarcely at the disposal of the Conference, but the Lord, whose servant it is, is a wealthy Lord, whose treasures never are consumed. And He has said: 'If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you' (Matthew xvii. 20). Everything hangs upon faith. But a quite distinct faith, namely, the only redeeming faith in Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of the individual soul as well as of the world-soul. He, the Holy One, is the Reformer of the world, not we poor, erring, sinful human beings. After all, the question is not to reform but to create the world anew, and that He alone can perform, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given.

OTHER ENGAGEMENTS

At 7 p.m. a Service was held in Jacobs Kyrka, when sermons were preached by Professor H. Westergaard (Denmark), The Bishop of Bergen, and Dr. Byström (Stockholm).

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1925

MORNING SESSION (9.30 A.M.–12 NOON)

Chairman—THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Prayers were said by THE VERY REV. DR. USSING (Denmark).

A Delegation from the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland was received; and BISHOP ALEXANDER, Metropolitan of Pinsk, expressed the interest and sympathy of the Orthodox in Poland in the work of the Conference.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE CONFERENCE

THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY

(The Very Rev. G. K. A. Bell, D.D.)

TO-DAY brings the sessions of our Universal Conference to a close. We have dealt in Christian fellowship with particular problems which confront the modern world. But I am sure that the feature of these days which has impressed us most, and made us most grateful to God, is not the thought and care expended on the subjects for debate. It is the simple fact that, in a troubled world, men and women of different nations, whom politics and political societies have failed to draw together, have been drawn together here by Christ. It is the simple fact that

men and women of many Christian communions, separated in many ways from one another, have met in this place in worship and love.

There can be no doubt of the common desire of the Conference that what can be done should be done to cherish this feeling and fact of brotherhood; to develop the measure of unity which we have reached; and to give what we have gained to others. And there is no doubt that we should all wish, if I may single out one special point in the 'stretching forward to the things which are before' (Phil. iii. 13), that, as we have heard the voice of youth in this hall, we should hear the call of youth outside, learn from it, speak to it, and work with it.

But words are not deeds. And though to have held our Conference is good, it is not enough. I do not mean that we must plan another on a vaster scale in the next few years. I mean rather that we must take some action of a definite kind to continue the spirit and the work of this. May I then suggest that the continuation of the Life and Work Conference has three distinct sides—distinct, but each necessary to the other?

(1) *First*, within ourselves as individual delegates. After this Conference we cannot say that our different nations will never quarrel, or go to war. But we can say that we ourselves will do our very best as priests or ministers of our church, or as members of the parliaments of our nations, as voters in general elections, as teachers, as writers in the Press, or as individual citizens, to refrain from kindling words, from acts of bitterness or hate; and to use the language and pursue the works of peace. We can say that we at least resolve, we six hundred, that we will strive for reconciliation and co-operation: and that in times of doubt, across the frontiers which divide, we shall remember one another as brethren, and as brothers, putting aside

distrust and suspicion, seek to understand our brothers' deeds, our brothers' words.

(2) *Second,* within our different countries and churches. The public opinion of the world is made up of the public opinion of the different groups of which the world is composed. This Universal Christian Conference represents a very small fraction of the general opinion of the different national and ecclesiastical groups from which we come. At the present moment the rank and file of the churches, take them as a whole, are hardly alive to the international character and obligations of the Christian religion. And as we have to do with the churches, and not with a number of eager individuals scattered all over the world, this fact is important. It is sometimes said of an institution as of an individual, ' It would take an earthquake to shake him.' Well, an earthquake has come. Yet in certain vital matters we, our countries, our churches, remain unshaken. And we, who have come here for the most part as representatives of our churches, have a special responsibility from this Conference to those churches.

' There is a darkness at the foot of the lighthouse,' Dr. Deissmann reminded us. Let us each look to the territory in which our own lighthouse stands, and, in the same speaker's moving words, ' begin our work of international reconciliation at home.' Yes, and let us do our best to awaken the international spirit in our own churches, and in our own lands. And to this end, I would suggest one or two unpretending plans.

(*a*) There is something which we Conference delegates can do with ourselves. Why should not international groups out of this very assembly meet in different parts of Europe and the world, in quite limited numbers, for a few days at a time, from year to year, to consider together some definite one of the various problems of Life and Work ?

These groups should be composed so as to represent the different countries, and should be restricted as to number just so far as is needed to facilitate intercourse and debate. And they should also be composed of men and women of different tempers and different views, those who have not been here as well as those who have, and especially have a strong representation of the young, of university teachers, officials in government offices, laymen and clergy. I should be very happy if such a group could be gathered under the shadow of the Cathedral at Canterbury: and there are many places besides in different countries.

(*b*) And again for our churches. I would suggest that when we return to our homes we should endeavour to secure the setting up (if not already in existence) in each General Church Assembly a special Committee on Relations with Foreign Churches. It would be the purpose of this committee to be in real communication with similar committees abroad and to educate its own church-people by discussion, by annual report, by lectures, as to the life of the churches abroad, and the lines along which progress in international or inter-church relations has been and might be made. And it would not be amiss, I think, if side by side with this the various social service committees of our churches had their own official correspondents for, and regular relations with, similar social service committees in other lands. Our churches in the different nations need to understand and to know one another better.

(3) *Thirdly* and lastly, we reach the continuation of the Conference at the centre. Here we are faced with a greater difficulty. It would be inexpedient, the Report of the Fifth Commission declares, to attempt at this moment to form any authoritative or permanent organization.

I can conceive very great gains from an International Christian Council which in certain grave questions, or in

certain grave emergencies, could genuinely focus the considered opinion of all the churches (or of all save one great Church), and could in its action or judgment have the general public opinion of the churches behind it at a particular time. But the creation of such a Council, and the winning by it of the confidence of the churches, must take time. In particular I would say that (in addition to the right spiritual motive at its back) there are four conditions indispensable to its success :

(1) It should know exactly the work it is to do.
(2) It should have thoroughly adequate funds.
(3) It should have the secure, if gradual, support of the constituent churches. For it will be on the churches at large, and not on leading individuals, that its authority will rest.
(4) It should have the absolutely right man as its secretary—a man very hard to find, but on the finding of whom, more than on any other human factor, the value of the Council would depend.

All these conditions are necessary, I think ; and for the additional reason, as Bishop Billing so acutely observed in relation to social questions, that to speak effectively, and command a hearing, our International Christian Council must have not only spiritual power but real knowledge behind it. Indeed, by far the larger part of the work of the Council would be a profound and persistent and impartial study of the many simple or complex international, inter-racial and industrial questions, which are or may be before us.

It seems to me, then, that the Conference would be wise to accept the proposal of the Fifth Commission to appoint a Continuation Committee on the lines which it suggests, giving it perhaps power to co-opt, and with a special

instruction to include the young. I should like this Committee to go carefully into the possibilities of the formation of an official International Council: not forgetting the provision for study and research of which Bishop Billing has spoken. And it would be of help, I think, to the Committee to study the genesis and working (including the limited number of members) of the one Council known to myself in which the conditions outlined above are most nearly fulfilled—the International Missionary Council, which itself sprang out of a continuation committee of the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910.

So we depart from the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, thankful that it has been held, and with hopes and prayers for the future. We have made a beginning. We know the difficulties in the subjects discussed, and they are not solved in a moment. We know our differences, and they do not vanish at the passing of a magician's wand. But we are called to go forward—in fellowship both of study and service. And we shall study our problems together, and serve each other, the better because we have been here. May we not take to ourselves and our Life and Work Conference, and apply them in their widest range, these words of St. Paul, 'Brethren, I count not myself yet to have apprehended: but one thing I do, forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before, I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.'

Dr. Kapler (Germany)

Two questions arise from the Report of Commission V. First: Should the work of the Conference be continued, or has its purpose now been fully achieved? and secondly: If the first question is answered in the affirmative, what kind of organization should it receive?

With reference to the first question, the Report of the Commission states briefly the arguments that have convinced me. The Conference should be the voice of the Christian conscience resounding through the world, which summons it to view the sorrows and the losses of men and of nations in the light of the Gospel and to seek its healing in the spirit of Jesus Christ. If this is right—and we the representatives of the different Christian churches have, by our presence here and by our participation in the Conference, acknowledged that it is right—then there can be no doubt of the necessity of its continuance. For the sorrows about which our work is concerned endure, and are still on the increase. How can the Christian conscience be satisfied to remain silent having once raised its voice? The very idea of the Conference involves the idea of its continuance.

Secondly, What form should the organization take? To many who have a lofty idea of the function of the Conference, the thought of a World Alliance of Christian churches may have suggested itself. In my view, insuperable difficulties stand in the way of this, and the Commission is wise when it merely proposes the formation of a Continuation Committee. This committee would carry on the practical work of the Conference. It would decide what measures were in harmony with the purpose of the Conference, or might be recommended to the churches, and it would lay down the lines along which further co-operation between the churches in the sphere of practical Christianity might be achieved. In its proposals the Commission has rightly emphasized that the Continuation Committee would not speak in the name of the churches, and could have no binding power over them. The measure in which it would be able to fulfil its function would depend upon how far it had the confidence of the churches, and how far it succeeded in overcoming the many difficulties which there are between the different churches

and nations and the hindrances to mutual trust and confidence which arise from these.

As regards the constitution of the committee the Commission recommends that the existing International Committee of the Conference should serve as a model. Thus it would embrace American, British, European and Orthodox sections. A fifth section could be added to represent all the churches not represented by the sections just mentioned. In connection with the European section, the question was raised whether a grouping according to churches should be substituted for the present grouping according to countries. The point is that individual countries have several churches independent of each other, the number of which may be in certain circumstances greater than the number of the representatives which correspond to the total population of the country. Still, it would be better to leave on one side a change of this kind, as other difficulties might arise, while the hope might be entertained that the different churches of a country might unite in sending a common representative, or take it in turns to send one. If therefore the basis of the International Committee be substantially retained for the Continuation Committee with the extension just mentioned, a small change in the numerical constitution is required. If we begin with the European section, in which I am naturally interested, of eighteen seats in the section only four are assigned to the German Evangelical Church Federation, while this Church Federation with its nearly forty million souls embraces considerably more than half of the seventy-four million souls of the whole section, and is not far behind the forty-seven millions of the British section, to which ten representatives are assigned. Further, the Church Federation embraces twenty-eight churches, which in creed,

constitution and administration, are entirely independent, and as Lutheran, Reformed and United Churches represent various types of Protestantism. An increase of German representatives to six is therefore reasonable. This would not be at the cost of the other churches of the European section, but could be secured by raising the number of representatives of this section from eighteen to twenty. Other sections have expressed similar views regarding a small increase of their representatives. If these views and wishes are taken into account, the total number of members of the Continuation Committee would be sixty-seven. This would be a sufficiently broad basis for the representation of the various churches.

With these suggestions I recommend to the Conference the acceptance of the proposal of the Commission. May I make one further remark? It is obvious that a college of sixty-seven members, scattered all over the world, would not be able to perform lasting practical work. It is therefore indispensable for the discharge of current business to constitute a small executive committee, the scope, composition and competence of which require further consideration.

THE REV. A. E. GARVIE, M.A., D.D. (Great Britain)

COMMISSION V. had a different, and in some respects a more difficult task than the other commissions. It had not merely to compare and combine material provided for it by the various sections; it had to forecast the course and the result of the Conference before it had taken place. A stage direction in one of the old miracle plays ran: 'Cross the stage Adam and Eve going to be created.' So the Conference had to be envisaged before it had come into existence. How far would the Conference be prepared to go in continuing its work? Should caution or courage be the counsellor? By a free discussion in which all the

members took some part it was made clear that *something* must be done, but that *something* must be done with such care as not to provoke the distrust or opposition of any of the churches represented. Looking back on the Conference and the impressions it has made, the Commission can, I think, be credited with a 'prophetic soul.' I am confident that you will by your acceptance of its proposals show that it has anticipated adequately your wishes, aims and hopes. That you may more fully understand the report, it has been decided that a speech should be made in each of the three languages of the Conference to commend these proposals. I now address myself specially to the American and British groups.

The representatives here present had no authority from the churches sending them to initiate a rigid permanent organization. All that their mandate seems to entitle them to do is to provide for the continuance of the influence of this Conference, to conserve such gains in common understanding, fellowship, and purpose as have resulted from it among the Christian churches represented, and to prepare the way, if possible, for such another Conference as may be able to carry further the good work here and now begun. It is not the initiation of a new movement, but the continuation of the present movement that the conditions under which this Conference has been constituted alone allow. The Commission has recognized this limitation in its proposals.

Accordingly it has provided that the membership of the Continuation Committee shall be determined by this Conference before it breaks up. The members of the Conference are themselves selecting their representatives on this Committee; and the matter is not being referred back to the churches represented, although it is conceded that where the representatives desire to obtain confirmation

of their action here they may do so. While not claiming any authority as representative of the churches the Continuation Committee will in the interests of the movement keep in as close touch as possible with the churches, so that in any action which may be decided on, the approval and support of the churches may be assured ; since it is the prime business of the Committee to draw closer the bonds of common interest among the churches. As regards the number of members, and the distribution, the proposals made rest on very careful calculations so as to secure adequate representation of the varied interests, national and confessional. It was at first decided to have a smaller number, but when it was discovered that in two sections a larger number was necessary for such adequate representation, all the sections were proportionately increased ; and what is now submitted is the result of most earnest, not to say anxious, consideration, and will, it is hoped, approve itself to the Conference as just.

This division into sections is for convenience ; and can be readjusted as may be needful. For instance, the inclusion of Canada, Australia, and South Africa in the last group is no sinister attempt of the Commission to break up the British Empire ; if, after consultation, it is found that these lands desire to be associated with the British group, their desires will be respected. In the same way Latin America may desire to be included in the American group, and the Near East in the Orthodox Oriental. Let no one regard these proposals as like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unchangeable. What will best promote concord will be the guide of all practical action.

While the functions of the Continuation Committee are clearly defined, and the scope of its activity is distinctly limited, as the present situation seemed to demand, sufficient liberty is allowed, and adequate power provided, to enable

its members, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, with wisdom and courage to exercise such a leadership among the churches in the matters with which the Conference has been concerned as will (let us all hope and pray) reveal the essential unity of the Church of Christ, and will through the Church realize the purpose of God for mankind in Christ Jesus our Saviour and Lord.

REPRESENTATION ON THE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE

PROFESSOR CHOISY (Switzerland), following Dr. Garvie, who had spoken on behalf of the British section, read the names of the members proposed by the European section.

PROFESSOR GLUBOKOWSKY (Bulgaria) read the names proposed by the Orthodox section, pointing out that the door must be kept open for official representation from the Russian Church in due time.

THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY (England) added, by way of explanation, that it was necessary, owing to the general character of the Orthodox section, that the different Oriental churches, both the National churches and the ancient Patriarchates, should all have their place on the Continuation Committee : places also being reserved for the Russian Church.

THE REV. A. J. BROWN, D.D. (U.S.A.) read the names of those proposed by the American section.

DR. SCHOLZ (Germany)

(Chief Ecclesiastical Councillor and formerly Chief Court Chaplain)

THE question of the continuation of the Conference must be answered chiefly in the light of the general conditions of the world. If it is possible to form alliances between states, combinations between industries, a synthesis between

different systems of thought, it ought not to be impossible to form associations between churches. If this were not so, they would lose their influence upon mankind. World-wide intercourse between nations requires joint action on the part of the churches. But if the churches aim at discharging this function, they must not renounce their God-given character. The Church of Christ is not international, but is rather above and beyond national life. It admits that the nations have a right to exist with their special characteristics according to the word of the Lord, but it aims at sanctifying their life through the word of God. The individual churches tolerate no surrender of their characteristics, but are under an obligation to form their own life according to their own discipline by the power of the Spirit and on the basis of their own history. It is never possible through the supremacy of some kind of common ecclesiastical machinery (*Kirchenkomplex*) for any particular church to serve Christendom with the special gifts bestowed upon it, but only when every church receives the recognition due to its own nature and history. This service owes its inspiration to the faith in the Lord of the Kingdom ; but it has at the heart of it the consciousness that Jesus taught us to pray for the coming of the Kingdom of God and therefore this coming rests on the will of God and not on the activity of man.

Now, this joint action and influence of the churches is subject to the divine law of all life whereby the will of God determines the birth and the growth of the seed of the eternal word, and every human artifice that contradicts His will is excluded. But it would be artificial work if a union of the churches were formed embracing the world and disposed to ignore the confessional churches that had existed for sixteen hundred years, and was without any historical understanding of the will and of the ways of

God. What has now been commenced can only be continued in such a way that the churches preserve their own characteristics. But a committee might be formed in order that their will might function in joint activity in the direction of a practical application of Christianity (Life and Work). This Conference in which we are engaged and united has brought us nearer to one another and has proclaimed joyfully the possibility of common work. What has been begun must be continued and the most effective way of securing this is by the formation of a Continuation Committee. For this committee to function everything depends on giving it some practical work to do. Without this it would be in danger of becoming useless and falling to pieces. The following practical activities are suggested :

1. *The Christian Press.* The Continuation Committee ought, either by its own action or by means of a strong energetic Press organization already existing, such as the German Evangelical Press Union, to facilitate the exchange of Christian journals, to communicate events of general Christian interest to the individual churches for publication in their journals. Further, a list of religious journals and papers might be drawn up, so that everyone might know where to turn for information in respect to the different churches and their activities.

2. *A Christian Book Association.* The aim of this is to make known books of general interest and to secure that Christian literature should have an ever wider influence. The exchange of spiritual ideas which would result from this will be a powerful means of mutual understanding and mutual encouragement. But as books of bad taste and corrupt morality are articles of international trade, a Christian Book Association might be able to perform a great moral service by informing its business agents in individual countries of licentious productions, in order that

the Christian churches might counteract with their spiritual power and with their moral zeal the international trade in immoral literature.

3. A further piece of practical work would be the promotion of the Research Institute advocated by Bishop Billing.

4. The Committee would be in the position to give effect to the opinion of the Christian churches on the question of the fixing of the date of Easter and on the reform of the calendar.

5. It would perform a great and an important task if it waged war against the international white slave traffic in co-operation with other organizations so that this terrible present-day evil might be met and counteracted with all energy.

The Conference which is coming to an end has generated impulses which must now be embodied and made serviceable to the Christian churches. New problems and new tasks of general Christian interest will again and again emerge and press for happy solution. As the Conference cannot meet frequently, the Continuation Committee should be the watchful eye, which sees the signs of the times, the watchful eye and the holy will, which endeavour by prayer and work to carry on the purposes of God. Through its work, the spirit that animates us here in Stockholm will remain living and will perform a service in faith which will be to the honour of God, which will bring blessing to His children and will serve the ends of the salvation of mankind.

THE REV. ROY B. GUILD, D.D. (U.S.A.)

THERE will be many estimates of the value of the Universal Conference on Life and Work.

The most important estimate will be that which will be based on the influence exerted, not only on the participants

in the Conference, but on the communities throughout the world. We have been stirred by the great messages that have been given, have been heartened by the spirit which has pervaded the sessions, have been thrilled by the visions of the possibilities of the outcome of these days of fellowship. In our enjoyment of it all, we have thought constantly of other groups of men and women who desire just what we have received. These groups have been discussing for years the problems we have been discussing; some are in great cities, some in towns, and more in villages. They live at close grips with the situations that are demanding co-operation in Christian thinking and working and living. The success of this Conference will be in proportion to the assistance rendered to these groups in meeting their problems and arousing other groups to attempt the same.

On this closing day, we are taking time to consider how we may secure this success. As we do so, we can be assured that what has been so splendidly begun, will continue. It would be as impossible to stop the waves of the ocean, were a great mountain to be plunged into the midst of it. It is not a question with us, then, of continuing the work of the Conference, but of conserving, of intensifying, of directing that influence. We must make the words 'Stockholm Conference' synonymous with the world-wide extension of the whole plan and purpose and spirit of the Universal Conference on Life and Work. This is a tremendous task that must be performed. This is the task that is to be given to the Continuation Committee of the Conference.

The Committee when it meets will ask as the first question: 'What have we to give to the world?' The best part of all this Conference is somewhat intangible; it can hardly be transported. That which means the most to us is the fact that those who are here are here in the spirit

in which we are and that we are going from here in that spirit. It is this that has heartened us the most. There is only one way in which we can make others realize this, and that is to have similar meetings on a smaller scale for a similar purpose. We all know that these days mark the culmination of years of such meetings This Conference is a pyramid of experiences, not a sudden balloon ascension into a rarefied atmosphere that has momentarily exhilarated us. It is the knowledge of this fact that gives us confidence. We must broaden the base and raise the apex of this pyramid.

There is another fact that is a more tangible asset, a more transportable commodity. It is the splendid deposit of careful, searching, constructive thought that has been given to the common tasks of Christians in all parts of the world. There has been a remarkable balancing of the discussion of fundamental principles and sound practices. This Conference and the Continuation Committee can depend on the common sense, the high idealism in the Christian spirit of the suggestions that have been made to give weight to them, which no external authority could give. All of this is now gathered together and is a very substantial treasure for distribution, and there is still room in this storehouse for more.

As the Committee takes up its work, it will realize that it is not moving out into new and untried fields. It will find that trails have been made and developed into great highways. In most of the countries represented here, there has been much experience in co-operative religious work. It has been going forward in the United States for a century beginning with the gathering together of a few individuals and coming to the day when practically all the great communions co-operate in works of love and mercy. This Committee, composed of men of many nations, will avail

itself of the lessons that have been learned in the doing. In the field of co-operation of great Christian communions, the United States have had nearly a score of years of experience. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is now in the fifth quadrennium of its history.

The first difficulty that will be met by the Continuation Committee will be the fear of organizations. There may be only one thing that is more to be feared, and that is lack of organizations. 'Disembodied spirits do not saw much wood.' The spirit of this Conference must be given a body. This need not be debated before you. Then comes the question of authority. The Federations of Churches as well as the Federal Council know that authority is given by the participating communions to do certain work, but no authority over any participating organization is given. There must be no grounds for the belief that a super-ecclesiastical organization is being erected in town or large city, in state, or nation, or in the world. Herein lies the fear of organization. It is a baseless fear, because at the moment when there is an assumption of authority, at that moment the organization will fall to pieces.

The Continuation Committee is primarily a body of councillors. There may be some executive work to do, but only as it is the co-ordinated work of all who participate. It is not another organization, but a clearing-house of organizations.

In our great cities, in four of our commonwealths and in the nation, the Council of Churches is to the religious life what the Chamber of Commerce is to the business life.

The Continuation Committee will be an international clearing-house for all nations which are organized nationally along these lines.

Again, there is fear about the employment of a secretary. It is true that an unwise secretary can do much damage,

especially if he comes to feel that he is the organization. Many co-operative movements have been wrecked at this point. It has been as much the fault of the committee that is chosen to direct the secretary, for neglect of duty, as of the over officious secretary. We need have no fear in this line because of the wisdom already displayed by the leaders in this undertaking. There must be an organization and there must be a co-ordinator in that oganization, call him what you will and secure and maintain however you may. Every Chamber of Commerce in the world succeeds in proportion to the ability of that secretary.

There must be a habitat for the organization. It may be only a room fitted with a desk, a chair, a telephone, and supplied with stationery. There must be this tangible evidence of the existence of this Committee. It may, in the beginning, be in the offices of some one of the participating organizations. As the work demands it, office and secretariat can be increased. Better have work demanding secretaries than to have secretaries trying to find work by which to justify their existence.

And, of course, there must be money for this Committee. To have the largest success, the money must come from the many, not the few. During the first three years special funds may be secured from a limited number of givers, but either all will be giving at the end of that time or the organization will not have justified itself. Without doubt the Committee will utilize the available resources of men and machinery before creating much new machinery.

The first function of this Committee may be to begin preparation for another Conference to be held in the not too distant future. Not that the Committee is only to get up another meeting, but to do all the things necessary to make another meeting worth while. What an amount of information must be gathered and analyzed and given out!

What a task to carry the plan, the spirit and the purpose of this Conference out to all corners of the world, to watch the results of these efforts and bring back the experiences for our inspiration and edification three to five years from now! In the beginning, the councils of city churches in America let their programme grow. The things that needed to be done always kept ahead of the workers.

We long ago learned that there is great need of co-operation of the larger religious units, to secure the best results in the smaller ones. As the Federal Council has become a greater force in America, it has been easier for councils to carry out programmes in the smaller communities. The most serious hindrance to this work in America is the apparent indifference of the state religious organizations. In only four commonwealths is state-wide co-operation a real factor in the life of the state. We must have this before the Federal Council can progress much further in its influence outside the large cities.

As the state councils can help so materially in securing success in local communities, even so the development of an international clearing-house and centre of actual co-ordination in thought and effort will make more effective national co-operation.

The task is a great one. Its boundaries are the boundaries of the Kingdom of God. Our part will be to give this Committee our whole-hearted support. We must let the members know we believe in the principles involved; we believe in them, and we believe that God wills that His Kingdom shall come and His will will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

Professor Dr. A. Titius (Germany)

The following proposal was presented to the Conference by Professor Titius on behalf of eleven professors and others;

We move the formation of a permanent committee of the World's Conference on Life and Work for the study of the economics and charitable tasks of the Christian churches in all countries. The committee will try to clear the principles of Christian work in the described directions and to inform the Christians of all countries and churches on the work universally done in an unprejudiced and trustworthy way. Especially the committee will issue a periodical which, without repeating the work done in other places, will from the commanding point of view of the Gospel and the norms contained in the Gospel, give a review of the work and the tasks of Christian Socialism and of social literature and periodicals.

Titius, Alfred E. Garvie, Elie Gounelle, W. M. Tippy, Charles S. Macfarland, J. R. Slotemaker de Bruine, A. Keller, Alfr. Th. Jörgensen, J. Baltzer, Georg Streiter, Philipps.

M. le Pasteur Elie Gounelle (France)

I have asked in my Report on the Church and Economic, Industrial and Social Problems, for the establishment of an International Economic Commission of the Churches of Christ to study from the moral and spiritual standpoint, in other words, from the fundamental viewpoint of the right to salvation, the conditions of the workers, the relations of capital and labour with a view to protesting against the flagrant violations of the moral law in business, industry, etc., to recommend the most positive experiments in reform

and the best practical solutions it is possible to find. How happy and proud I am that Bishop Billing has expressed the same idea of an international institute to deal with scientific, moral and social problems, and that this scheme, the details of which the executive committee must study, is supported by several eminent members of this Conference.

Bishop Billing has rightly and wisely emphasized the difficulties, mainly psychological, of such a project, which demands above all straightforward recommendations adequate to practical and complex problems whose moral principles are affected by or conflict with technical questions. It is said difficulties exist to be overcome. We must face other difficulties, all those practical obstacles that prevent things being done, such as the finding of ample resources, sufficient means and personnel. There is, of course, enough money in the churches of the world to carry our project through, if God so wills, and if it stirs the conscience of Christendom.

My time is short and I must touch in a few words on the methods to be followed and the ends we must have in view.

The method must before all else be spiritual; thus will our institute be distinguished from all the similar work of the International Labour Office, for instance. It must—and here is its distinguishing mark—study everything in the light of the Gospel and seek everything in the Spirit of Christ. Secondly, the method must be absolutely scientific; discoveries, observations and inquiries must conform to the processes of the most exact, objective and impartial science. Here we are on the same lines as the International Labour Office, whose inquiries and admirable publications are models for the whole world to follow.

Finally, our method will be co-operative and democratic. By this I mean we shall keep before us the most urgent interests of the disinherited classes, the welfare of the

proletariat, following the example of our Master who came ' to serve, to seek and to save that which is lost ' and who wept for the multitude. The Church must see the people with the heart, the mind and the eyes of Jesus. May our devotion accomplish social justice and multiply the number of loaves to go round ! And we must co-operate with all who strive after truth, justice and social peace. We must forge the bonds to bind the fortunate few and the masses together. We must see that all the forces of new growth and progress act together instead of overlapping or conflicting. It is a question of drawing the churches to the people so that then we can draw the people to the churches and Christ.

And gladly I agree with the observation of Bishop Billing that it is most important that this proposed institute should not be suspected of conservatism and reaction.

I heartily rejoice that this Conference appears unanimous in asking the Executive Committee to name a commission with a definite mandate to formulate in three articles the main ends in view :

The commission must organize a bureau of information and inquiry (these two things depend on one another) for the churches. This implies a competent personnel and substantial equipment, such as a library as extensive as possible ; a collection of documents on all social and economic problems and works ; and especially an international review of the social gospel, or rather, perhaps, an international undertaking comprising three or four Christian social reviews (one for each of the chief languages or divisions of humanity) for the better understanding of the needs of the widely diverse parts of Christendom. This review would be on the same lines as the splendid scholarly *International Review of Missions*. Scholarships could also be provided to promote social studies and research.

The commission must set up a headquarters (an office or

secretariat), where all Christian institutions, leagues or societies which are concerned with moral, social and economic problems and questions of teaching and the Press, etc., may be known, registered and linked up.

There are in nearly all the countries from which we come many organizations or associations for social study and social service. But they all lack a connecting link to one another. Not one knows or profits by the others nor do they pool their experiences. An international federation of social Christian societies would be a tremendous benefit to all. A central office of the religious Press of the world would enable us to exchange our principal periodicals and know one another better. My final thought is that the international office of the churches for dealing with social questions should be for the Church what the International Labour Office is for Labour, and could, when we are of one mind, support those great social reforms publicly demanded or 'recommended' by the International Labour Office. On these lines such an institution would be a great achievement, in fact, an achievement of our Conference on Life and Work, and could appeal to the heart of the proletariat of the world who have deserted our services chiefly in continental Europe. We shall need, Ladies and Gentlemen, to adopt an attitude of mind of this kind in face of their just claims so that the masses may once again crowd into our cathedrals and our churches, making the Houses of God once more the true houses of the people.

Lastly, the Commission must have a programme of definite action and itself act by protesting against all the injustices in the name of the Gospel and by organizing lectures, meetings, conferences, missions for spreading the social gospel. In short—I will condense what I want to say—it is a question of preparing for, when the moment comes, the people without distinction of class and to the

glory of the great social Christian crusade for the salvation of the people.

Dr. Spiecker (Germany)

(President, German Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches)

It is a welcome task to be allowed once more to refer to the proposal which Bishop Billing made on Friday, the 21st inst., on behalf of and under the instructions of the Swedish delegation and in agreement with Pastor Elie Gounelle of Paris, and which I have accordingly constituted as a formal proposition to the World Conference. The proposal is to found an ethical and sociological institute. The aim of this is to deal with all present-day economic and social problems in a strictly scientific and absolutely impartial manner, and at the same time to provide a platform where we, the participating communities, may hold joint conferences on the questions that concern us, with the co-operation of the representatives of the institute.

Now this afternoon Professor Titius has, with a number of friends, brought in a motion to the effect that the previously mentioned tasks should be consigned to an international committee with instructions to deliberate upon them and to report. The gentlemen who brought forward the motion think that the appointment of such a committee would involve less expense and would therefore be more easily carried out than the foundation of an institute. This must be admitted, but nevertheless we should take into account that the task at issue is of such great and far-reaching importance that it cannot possibly be carried out, with any hope of success, by an international committee, which would meet only once or at the most twice a year. If anything effectual is to be accomplished in this sphere, the parties or circles in question will be prepared to bear the ensuing costs. On the other hand, we must also consider

that in parliamentary life the assignment of such a motion to a committee at the end of a meeting is generally looked upon as a postponement *sine die*. I am certain that the proposers had no such aim, and yet there can be no doubt that even if the Continuation Committee were to transfer this whole matter to a special committee, public opinion would, without any doubt, regard this step as a shelving of the whole matter.

We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that our proposal has the important purpose—not to fill up—that would be impossible—but to bridge the deep gulf which, in civilized nations, separates employers and employees, through the formation of industrial councils or similar societies in such a way that, through these united efforts, we may arrive at an understanding—at first perhaps only in isolated cases, but in course of time in all; and that we may (*D.v.*) also attain social peace in all spheres.

There have been industrial councils, some of which have come to an end, because they were built up on a wrong foundation. But there are even now such councils in smaller spheres, which have had highly beneficial results. But in order to further such councils, we need an authority or a board which, resting on a strictly technical foundation, carefully works through the present problems and views them in the light of the high ethical principles of Jesus Christ. If it works conscientiously and trustworthily, the proceedings of such a board must and will win the confidence of the parties in question, and then we shall also be able to realize the high ideal of progressive understanding between employers and employees.

We can indeed scarcely imagine a more beautiful termination of our public conferences. May the Lord add His blessing to it!

LICENTIAT STANGE (Germany)

THERE is not one among us who would have the courage to measure the importance of this Conference. History will have to be the judge in days to come. But even so, one may dare to say to-day: the Conference was a first great utterance on the part of the Christian churches of the world here united. And if it were nothing more than this, it would have justified itself. The Continuation Committee itself which we are preparing will in the first place obviously be regarded as a continuation of work already begun.

But at once the question arises which we dare not pass by at this moment: the continuation of this united voice has a right to exist only if it can come about with complete candour and frankness. Have we the courage?

I know that I express the view of many here when I say that sometimes in times past we have lacked complete frankness in our speeches. Many special aspects of questions have been put side by side without our coming to the real subject of discussion. Allow me at once to avail myself of this much-needed candour and to refer to the point on which it seems to me the final question turns. In this Conference there has been voiced a double-sided conception of the Kingdom of God, which no one with the catchwords, pessimistic, optimistic, individualistic or social, can dispose of, but which touches deeply on the ultimate purpose of the Gospel. We are glad of the frankness of our discussion. But we have perhaps missed on the whole the real root of the question.

Here it seems to me the decisive task for the continuation of the Conference lies. From close contact with more than twenty-five European churches the European secretary of this Conference may dare to say that the world is not quite so simple as many leaders of more fortunate continents

appear to describe it. If we desire a thorough discussion that goes right to the heart of things and the ultimate questions of the Gospel, then let us proceed with the continuation of the Conference.

Professor Choisy (Switzerland), The Rev. J. E. B. Sawbridge (England), Professor Bartlet (England), The Rev. R. H. Tribe (England), and Bishop Billing (Sweden) also spoke.

APPOINTMENT OF CONTINUATION COMMITTEE

At the close of the discussion The Metropolitan of Thyateira moved and Dr. Arthur J. Brown seconded the adoption of the Proposals of the Commission[1] on the Continuation of the Conference with regard to a Continuation Committee as follows:

Preliminary Statement on the Status of the Continuation Committee

The Commission reports that it has given careful consideration to various suggestions regarding the formation of some organization which shall follow the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work. The Commission deems it inexpedient and beyond the proper jurisdiction of the Conference to attempt to form any authoritative or permanent organization. The Commission, however, recognizes and sympathizes with the general feeling, which has been expressed in many quarters, that the Conference should not disband without making some provision for carrying on the work which has been so auspiciously begun. It would be lamentable if a Conference which has been so long planned and prayed for, and which records a high mark in the movement for co-operation in the fellowship

[1] The three Secretaries of this Commission were the Rev. A. E. Garvie, D.D., the Bishop of Haderslev, and Professor Choisy.

and service of Christ, should evaporate in mere discussion, interesting and inspiring as it is to us who are privileged to participate in it.

It is to be clearly understood at the outset that any agency that may be appointed shall not deal with questions of creed or ecclesiastical organization, but that it shall strictly limit itself to the class of subjects under consideration at the Conference, namely, the Life and Work of the Church of Christ, and in particular the assertion and application of Christian principles to those problems, international, economic, social, civic, with which the future of civilization is so vitally concerned.

It is also to be understood that it shall have no power to speak in the name or on behalf of the churches or to take any action that shall commit any church, its deliverances being simply its own opinion, unless any particular deliverance or deliverances shall be expressly approved by the church or churches concerned.

The Commission therefore recommends :

RECOMMENDATION.

I. That the Conference appoint a Continuation Committee from its present membership, international in character and as broadly representative as practicable, with duties which should include the following :

1. To perpetuate and strengthen the spirit of fellowship which this Conference so happily exemplifies.
2. To publish the proceedings of the Conference in official and also in popular form.
3. To carry on the work of the Conference and to consider how far and in what ways its practical suggestions may be made operative.
4. To gather information regarding the methods of co-operation among the churches in the various

countries for the objects which are the concern of the Conference, to take counsel with them as to methods of closer international co-operation, to do what may be found wise to facilitate the formation of such agencies in countries where they do not now exist, and to issue from time to time such publications as will serve to keep the churches informed regarding the work of the Committee and such other matters as are germane to the purposes for which the Committee exists.

5. To consider the practicability of holding another Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work at some future date.

II. That the Continuation Committee consist of 67 members, due care being exercised to make it as representative as practicable, both geographically and denominationally, the membership for this purpose to be distributed as follows:

American Section	13
British Section	10
European Continental Section	20
Eastern Orthodox Church Section	12
Churches in other lands which are not represented in the preceding sections	12

1. That the representatives of the various sections who are present at this Conference be requested to nominate to the Ad Interim Committee (hereinafter described) immediately or as soon as possible after the Conference, the persons who shall represent them on the Committee, and that a meeting of the Continuation Committee, in so far as it has been elected, be held, together with the Ad Interim Committee before the representatives leave Stockholm.

2. That the Committee shall appoint such officers, executive, and sub-committees as it may deem desirable, determine its methods of procedure, its times and places of meeting, and such other details as are involved in the performance of its duties.
3. That vacancies occurring in the membership of the Committee shall be filled by the Committee after consultation with and with the consent of other members of the Committee who represent the section or group in which the vacancy or vacancies occur, in order to preserve the proper distribution of the membership of the Committee.

III. That the Committee shall not attempt to raise or administer funds, except for the expenses that are necessary for the proper discharge of its duties, and that it be authorized to seek contributions for this purpose.

Nomination of ad Interim Committee

The Commission voted to nominate to the International Committee the four Presidents of the Conference, the Vice-President of the European Continental Section, the General Secretary of the International Committee, and the three Secretaries of this Commission, to serve as an Ad Interim Committee to convene the Continuation Committee and to act for and in its behalf until it shall be able to perform its duties.

The Resolution was put to the Conference, and

Carried unanimously.

The List of Members of the Continuation Committee is given on pages 756-760.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1925

AFTERNOON SESSION (2–4 P.M.)

THE MESSAGE OF THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON LIFE AND WORK

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER (Chairman) read the Message in English, DR. KAPLER in German, and PROFESSOR MONOD in French.

The Message

I

1. The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, assembled at Stockholm from August 19 to 30, 1925, and composed of representatives of the greater number of Christian communions coming from thirty-seven nations of the Old and New Worlds, and of the Near and Far East, sends this brotherly message to all followers of Christ, beseeching them to join with them in prayer, confession, thanksgiving, study and service. We regret that not all Christian communions have found it possible to accept our invitation, for in view of the vital and far-reaching issues with which we have been concerned, we cannot but hope for that co-operation of all parts of the Church of Christ without which its testimony and influence in the world must be incomplete.

2. For five years men and women have planned and prayed that this Conference might be held. Other efforts for closer relations between the Churches have prepared the way. But this has proved the most signal instance of fellowship and co-operation, across the boundaries of nations and confessions, which the world has yet seen. The sins and sorrows, the struggles and losses of the Great War and since, have compelled the Christian Churches to recognize, humbly and with shame, that ' the world is too strong

for a divided Church.' Leaving for the time our differences in Faith and Order, our aim has been to secure united practical action in Christian Life and Work. The Conference itself is a conspicuous fact. But it is only a beginning.

3. We confess before God and the world the sins and failures of which the Churches have been guilty, through lack of love and sympathetic understanding. Loyal seekers after truth and righteousness have been kept away from Christ, because His followers have so imperfectly represented Him to mankind. The call of the present hour to the Church should be repentance, and with repentance a new courage springing from the inexhaustible resources which are in Christ.

4. It is a matter for deep thankfulness that in the plan of God and through the guidance of His Spirit the representatives of so many Christian communions have been led to assemble and have renewed in common fellowship their faith, hope and love in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. It is a matter for deep thankfulness that in spite of differences, sincere and profound, they have been enabled to discuss so many difficult problems with a candour, a charity and a self-restraint, which the Spirit of God alone could inspire. As we repeated the Lord's Prayer together, each in the speech his mother taught him, we realized afresh our common faith, and experienced as never before the unity of the Church of Christ.

II

5. The Conference has deepened and purified our devotion to the Captain of our Salvation. Responding to His call 'Follow Me,' we have in the presence of the Cross accepted the urgent duty of applying His Gospel in all realms of human life—industrial, social, political and international.

6. Thus in the sphere of economics we have declared that the soul is the supreme value, that it must not be subordinated to the rights of property or to the mechanism of industry, and that it may claim as its first right the right of salvation. Therefore we contend for the free and full development of the human personality. In the name of the Gospel we have affirmed that industry should not be based solely on the desire for individual profit, but that it should be conducted for the service of the community. Property should be regarded as a stewardship for which an account must be given to God. Co-operation between capital and labour should take the place of conflict, so that employers and employed alike may be enabled to regard their part in industry as the fulfilment of a vocation. Thus alone can we obey our Lord's command, to do unto others even as we would they should do unto us.

7. In the realm of social morality we considered the problems presented by over-crowding, unemployment, laxity of morals, drink and its evils, crime and the criminal. Here we were led to recognize that these problems are so grave that they cannot be solved by individual effort alone, but that the community must accept responsibility for them, and must exercise such social control over individual action as in each instance may be necessary for the common good. We have not neglected the more intimate questions which a higher appreciation of personality raises in the domain of education, the family and the vocation, questions which affect woman, the child and the worker. The Church must contend not for the rights of the individual as such, but for the rights of the moral personality, since all mankind is enriched by the full unfolding of even a single soul.

8. We have also set forth the guiding principles of a Christian internationalism, equally opposed to a national bigotry and a weak cosmopolitanism. We have affirmed

the universal character of the Church, and its duty to preach and practise the love of the brethren. We have considered the relation of the individual conscience to the state. We have examined the race problem, the subject of law and arbitration, and the constitution of an international order which would provide peaceable methods for removing the causes of war—questions which in the tragic conditions of to-day make so deep an appeal to our hearts. We summon the Churches to share with us our sense of the horror of war, and of its futility as a means of settling international disputes, and to pray and work for the fulfilment of the promise that under the sceptre of the Prince of Peace, 'mercy and truth shall meet together, righteousness and peace shall kiss each other.'

9. We have not attempted to offer precise solutions, nor have we confirmed by a vote the results of our friendly discussions. This was due not only to our respect for the convictions of individuals or groups, but still more to the feeling that the mission of the Church is above all to state principles, and to assert the ideal, while leaving to individual consciences and to communities the duty of applying them with charity, wisdom and courage.

III

10. If this goal is to be attained we recognize the pressing need of education. The individual must be educated by the Church, so that he may be enabled to exercise a Christian discernment in all things. The Churches must educate themselves by study, conference and prayer, so that being led by the Spirit of Truth into all truth, they may be enabled in increasing measure to apprehend the mind of Christ. We recognize that the root of evil is to be found in the human will, and we therefore desire to re-emphasize our

conviction that this will must be surrendered to the high and holy will of God, whose service is perfect freedom. Even Christian ideas and ideals cannot save the world, if separated from their personal source in the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and unless themselves taken up into the personal life of the believer.

11. To this end we address our appeal first to all Christians. Let each man, following his own conscience, and putting his convictions to the test of practical life, accept his full personal responsibility for the doing of God's will on earth as it is in heaven, and in working for God's Kingdom. Let him in entire loyalty to his own Church seek to have a share in that wider fellowship and co-operation of the Christian Churches of which this Conference is a promise and pledge. In the name of this wider fellowship we would send a special message of sympathy to all those who amid circumstances of persecution and trial are fulfilling their Christian calling, and we would comfort them with the thought that they are thus brought into fellowship with the sufferings of Christ.

12. But we cannot confine this appeal to the Churches, for we gratefully recognize that now we have many allies in this holy cause.

We turn to the young of all countries. With keen appreciation we have heard of their aspirations and efforts for a better social order as expressed in the youth movements of many lands. We desire to enlist the ardour and energy of youth, the freshness and the fullness of their life, in the service of the Kingdom of God and of humanity.

We think also of those who are seeking after truth, by whatever way, and ask their help. As Christ is the Truth, so Christ's Church heartily welcomes every advance of reason and conscience among men. Particularly we would invite the co-operation of those teachers and scholars who

in many special realms possess the influence and command the knowledge without which the solution of our pressing practical problems is impossible.

In the name of the Son of Man, the Carpenter of Nazareth, we send this message to the workers of the world. We thankfully record the fact that at present even under difficult conditions a multitude of workers in the different countries are acting in accordance with these principles. We deplore the causes of misunderstanding and estrangement which still exist and are determined to do our part to remove them. We share their aspirations after a just and fraternal social order, through which the opportunity shall be assured for the development, according to God's design, of the full manhood of every man.

13. We have said that this Conference is only a beginning. We cannot part without making some provision for the carrying on of our work. We have therefore decided to form a Continuation Committee to follow up what has been begun, to consider how effect can be given to the suggestions which have been made, to examine the practicability of calling another such Conference at a future date, and in particular to take steps for that further study of difficult problems and that further education of ourselves and of our churches, on which all wise judgment and action must be based. May we not hope that through the work of this body, and through the increasing fellowship and co-operation of the Christians of all nations in the one Spirit, our oneness in Christ may be more and more revealed to the world in Life and Work ?

14. Only as we become inwardly one shall we attain real unity of mind and spirit. The nearer we draw to the Crucified, the nearer we come to one another, in however varied colours the Light of the World may be reflected in our faith. Under the Cross of Jesus Christ we reach out

hands to one another. The Good Shepherd had to die in order that He might gather together the scattered children of God. In the Crucified and Risen Lord alone lies the world's hope.

Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

Discussion

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER explained that the Message was intended to be a general expression of the principles which had governed the Conference, of its faith and its hope. He hoped that the Message might be adopted unanimously, even though individuals might feel that there were details in phrase or emphasis in parts of the Message which they could have wished put in a different way.

DR. WILHELM FREIHERR VON PECHMANN

MR. PRESIDENT,

This morning your Lordship emphasized the difference between official and unofficial speakers and expressed the wish that this afternoon the latter might take part in the discussion. I speak as one of these, like my honoured friend Dr. Klingemann, who spoke before. I mention this in order to put right a misunderstanding which has emerged, as though Dr. Klingemann's speech, if in another form, was an official pronouncement of the German delegation, like that of Dr. Kapler. At the same time let me say that this indication has only formal significance, and that among many friends both within and without the German delegation, for whom Dr. Klingemann has spoken from the heart and the conscience, there is none who would side with him more joyfully and more thankfully that I do.

If now, my Lord, I speak unofficially, in harmony with your wish, I do so not of my own accord but solely in obedience to one or more of the authoritative persons in which our Conference is so rich. I speak reluctantly and with a deep sense of responsibility. Yet I have scarcely had time to read the proposed Message of the Conference, at least I have not had the quiet time necessary for calm reflection. But I have agreed with my instructions, as far as they go. I could not, I must not decline them. Like the first speaker I must above all give expression to thankfulness. Whatever one's attitude to the Message may be, whether one regards it as necessary or desirable, whether one approves of it in its present form wholly or substantially, or disapproves of it and rejects it, one thing is certain, the task of drawing it up was so difficult as to be almost insuperable. Its composition has involved a great deal of labour and care and sacrifice. I can say this all the more readily as I have taken no part in it. I am certain I shall be expressing the feeling of the whole assembly when I, without prejudice to the differences of opinion on the whole or in some details, offer our sincere thanks to the framers of the Message.

Scarcely less difficult than the drawing up of such a message is its discussion in such an assembly as ours. We must exercise great restraint or we shall soon be at sea. As far as I am concerned I regard reserve as a duty in any case. It is a pity that we have received the Message so late. But from all one has heard this was natural and scarcely to be avoided. Those who are responsible for the direction of the Conference awaited the trend of the deliberations and wanted to gauge the feeling of the assembly before they came to a definite conclusion, whether and in what sense a Message ought to be proposed. That was quite right. It was inevitable that considerable time

should be spent in overcoming the serious difficulties that stood in the way.

When we come to particulars, there will be scarcely one among us, not even the honoured authors—who would agree unreservedly with every sentence. It is inevitable that in drawing up such a document as this there should be many compromises. I shall limit myself to a few questions. As regards I, 3, I need give no assurance that I not only value the feeling of penitence, the foundation of all Christian experience, but also the confession of guilt, at the right time and the right place, also public confession. And I do not by any means exclude the Church from this. I am doubtful about this here and chiefly because I fear misunderstanding and misinterpretation which in view of its wide publicity could scarcely be avoided, and because I ask myself whether there is sufficient ground to provoke such misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

As regards II, 5, I would remind you of the few words which I spoke yesterday on this point.

On II, 8, there is much I wanted to say and to say very earnestly, but though I find it difficult to be silent, I will refrain now.

I would gladly emphasize that I find myself in positive agreement with much that there is in the Message for which I am thankful. But the repeated indications of the Chairman's bell warn me that I must hasten on. Only in passing I would refer to the important and happily worded sentence according to which the acceptance of the Message in no way implies agreement with all the details. On this account all hesitation in accepting this significant Message as a whole is abandoned. By doing so I give my adhesion to the Conference itself and especially to the continuation of its work. (*The Lord Bishop of Winchester*: 'Two more minutes.') I thank you, my Lord, for these two minutes,

and I will use them to say a word about the Conference.

I frankly acknowledge that I was among those who came here with very modest expectations and not without serious fear and anxiety. But now that we come to the end of our significant Conference, I see my expectations far surpassed, and my fears undermined and confounded. May this remain still our blessed experience! We need to be modest, humble, sober and continually on our guard that our expectations are not pitched too high. We need open eyes and true hearts to face the serious difficulties and dangers with which we have to reckon and which we have to fight. The longer we remain in this spirit, the more confidently we may hope that God will bless our work. Everything depends on this. The longer we continue thus the richer will be our share in this blessing.

Miss Constance Smith (England) and The Rev. H. P. Bull (England) both cordially supported the Message.

Dr. N. Beskow (Sweden) thought that the Message fell short in its treatment of Christianity and War. He missed clear and outspoken words on the relationship of the Church to War and to political questions.

Professor Monod (France) said that the Message was the outcome of ardent prayers and brotherly conference in the presence of God, and was meant as a guide and inspiration to the Christian conscience all over the world. It should go in the first place to the Churches, and then to the civilized world as a whole. After all it was upon the spirit of brotherhood, and not upon resolutions, that the lasting results of the Conference would depend.

Professor Hadorn (Switzerland) agreed that war was not sufficiently condemned in the Message as it stood.

Professor Adams Brown (U.S.A.) expressed the earnest hope that the Message as a joint confession of sin and declaration of faith would be accepted by all. It was hardly possible for those present then to measure the importance of such a joint sincere acknowledgment of their common guilt, their common trust, and their common sacred duty.

The Bishop of Winchester then put the Message to the Conference and it was carried by an overwhelming majority (four dissentients).

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1925

THE FINAL SESSION (5–6.30 P.M.)

HALL OF THE MUSICAL ACADEMY

Chairman—The Archbishop of Upsala

H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden

I have been asked by the Swedish Local Committee and by all those of my countrymen who have been taking part in the Conference or who have been associated with it in some way or other, to express to you all their deep satisfaction, that the Conference on Life and Work has been held in the capital of Sweden. We have all felt that this meant a great responsibility. I know that everyone who has been at work on the preparing of the Conference has done his best, because they all wanted to help to further the great cause for which you have been assembled. I hope that you will carry away with you a pleasant memory of our country, forgetting those deficiencies which must necessarily exist in such a large undertaking.

Unity in confession is by no means necessary for creating the spirit of goodwill and understanding amongst men. This has been amply proved by the Conference on Life and

Work which is now drawing to a close. It is fortunate that the welfare of mankind does not demand that we should all think alike. That being so, is it not a good thing that varied opinions should be frankly stated, as they have been during this Conference, all the more as the foundation, on which we all stand, is one: the acknowledgment of Christian ideals! On this common basis different views can be all the more openly given both publicly and privately, and all this should help to carry the point at issue forwards towards a happy solution.

But there is *one* condition for this. There is *one* condition to be fulfilled to make an exchange of views fruitful. That is, that the true spirit of fellowship should prevail, the true spirit which desires to *understand* other views, the true spirit of respect for another opinion than one's own.

Fellowship implies tolerance. In speaking of tolerance I do not mean that we should simply leave each other alone, that we should not take any notice of other people or of their views. That is surely a form of slackness, of mental laziness, which cannot be encouraged. Tolerance should always be inseparable from the true spirit of *understanding*.

It seems to me that it ought to be one of the most important fields of enterprise in every Christian church in our day to promote this true *understanding*. Every denomination should join a most vigorous propaganda in this respect. For if you can bring about a better understanding amongst men, much will have been done towards creating a happier and a more righteous world.

I believe that the present Conference may have done much to create a better understanding between the Christian Churches represented here. They have been able to make each other's acquaintance in a manner hitherto unknown. They have exchanged views publicly and privately on many subjects, vital to all of us. Is it too much to say at this

moment, that they have been drawn nearer to one another, and that a foundation has been laid on which further collaboration can be built up?

This is indeed an achievement for which we cannot be grateful enough. For the *Christian Churches* must surely be the *first* of all communities to show a spirit of fellowship and of understanding. They must set the example of carrying out the commandment: 'Love ye one another' and 'What ye would that others should do to you, do ye also to them.' Thus the Church will set the example to the *nations*, helping them to put aside old prejudices and old misunderstandings, helping them to understand and appreciate the views prevailing in other countries.

And thus will also be set a noble example to the *classes* within the nations. All that is possible ought to be done to try and make them see each other's point of view. Surely there is a real Christian vocation in encouraging them to that mutual goodwill which makes for justice and fair judgments; helping each group to appreciate not only the ideals of the man on its own side, but also the ideals of the man on the other side.

But the Christian Churches of to-day must not only aim at a better understanding between each other. They must do all in their power to get a true and deep understanding of the times and of the circumstances in which we live. In this respect too the Universal Conference has contributed in no small degree. It is to be hoped that Christendom throughout the world will apply much of its will-power and much of its energy for promoting what may be styled practical Christianity, the application of which is also necessary for keeping and strengthening its own inner life. Our religion is not only belief, it must also mean putting that belief into practice.

Before I conclude, I return once more to the point where

I started: unity in confession is not a necessity for our Churches. Individuality, personality, is a precious thing. This applies to individuals and communities alike. Effacing individuality, whether it be in a person or in a community, is a grave thing to undertake, a thing which may bring loss with it. Uniformity is not always as desirable as it may sometimes seem.

The aim of this Conference has therefore been not to create uniformity, not to interfere in the least degree with the individuality of our Churches, but to promote *understanding* and to further *co-operation* in the solution of problems, where co-operation is found possible. Let us hope that this work of co-operation and understanding, which has only just been started, will show that it has been called into being at the right moment. Let us hope that the 'Life and Work' movement may be allowed to contribute to the development of mankind, to the peace of the world and to goodwill amongst men.

At the close of this speech the whole Conference rose to their feet, as a warm tribute to the Crown Prince for the words which he had spoken.

Dean Shailer Mathews (U.S.A.) spoke with appreciation and humour of the gain which had come to delegates of very different temperaments and traditions meeting for the Conference at Stockholm: and of the happy possibilities for co-operation in a Christian spirit which the meeting had opened out. He hoped that the day would come when his Baptist colleagues would wear the vestments of Upsala and carry the candles of Alexandria.

Bishop Georgios (Syria) gave greetings to the Conference from Jerusalem, the mother city of the Christian Church.

Deaconess Emma von Bunsen (Germany) expressed her thanks to the Conference for its sympathetic understanding

of the prevailing distress. She felt sure that the work thus begun by the Conference in the name of Christ would pour forth streams of blessing along many channels in a sorrowful world.

THE METROPOLITAN OF MALABAR, MAR TIMOTHEUS (Assyrian Church), greeted the Conference in the name of a great and ancient but now sorely stricken Church.

M. LE PASTEUR L. APPIA (France) interpreted the significance of the Conference for the whole Church of Christ, and expressed the feelings of thankfulness to God entertained by the French delegation.

THE BISHOP OF TOKYO (Dr. Motoda) gave the Conference a message of goodwill and Christian fellowship in the name of 200,000 Christians in Japan, and as Chairman of the Japan Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. He rejoiced at the thought of realizing a Christian unity through Life and Work. He also asked for the leadership and guidance of Western Christianity for the Christians of Japan.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, after noting one or two limitations inevitable in such a Conference, *e.g.* diffuseness, owing to the absence of definite resolutions and the multiplication of topics, and the difficulty of language, paid a warm tribute to the interest taken by the Royal Family in the Conference and the welcome given by the state, the city of Stockholm, and the Church of Sweden. He further praised the admirable courtesy and efficiency of the local committees and organizations. The chief gains were 'imponderabilia,' gains of the spirit, a sense of fellowship in Christ, a sense of friendship, and the opportunities for learning. All would go home, bound to study and think, bound to act and not merely talk, and bound to mediate to others the lessons borne in upon themselves.

VOTE OF THANKS

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER (England) moved a very cordial vote of thanks to the Swedish nation, to the Crown Prince and Crown Princess and all the Royal Family, to the people of Stockholm, and all classes of society, and especially to the Archbishop of Upsala.

This was carried with acclamation.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA

WHEN something great has been achieved in history, closer investigation shows two things :

(*a*) What now seems to us great and inspiring, noble and pure and beautiful, was in fact mixed with human shortcomings, pettiness—yea, even sordid ambitions, mean and dark motives, dissensions and human, often all too human, weakness and egotism.

But God uses not only sincere and self-sacrificing wills, but also human wretchedness to fulfil His plans, or, rather, out of human wretchedness and in spite of admixture with unworthy aims and ignoble souls, truth prevails for the benefit of mankind.

(*b*) In studying history—the great history of mankind, of the Church, of nations, and the little histories of individuals, I have over and over again been struck by another observation.

The triumph of the Cross, the ascendancy of the beggar orders and the glory of the Reformation, the victories at Thermopylae and Lützen and Gettysburg, and the voyage of the *Mayflower*, all seem to us self-evident. We learn even in our school-books that it could not have been otherwise. These things were achieved—perhaps not easily, but at any rate they stand as historical facts.

But when we turn to reality, we see that the situation was entirely different. All wise people thought it impossible. One can easily prove with obvious facts, weighing one power against the other, that such a thing could never have happened, or been accomplished under the circumstances. But an imponderable factor was involved which could not be weighed. That imponderable factor is called Faith. Faith that believes the impossible, because it believes in God. But human eyes could not foresee the event. It was not accomplished with ease, but on the contrary was accomplished with the utmost exertion of every power; it was necessary to give out every drop of will and every ounce of blood in straining to the utmost the forces of soul and body and spirit. The champions of the cause stood on the verge of defeat. Just a little, little insignificant superiority—as when in a race one runner comes in a half second before the other—and the thing was achieved. What seems to us self-evident proved to be the necessary result of many series of deep-lying causes that came into existence, humanly speaking, through the unreserved and desperate exertions of a few poor human beings.

It is impossible for us to say whether history will record that something great has happened here in the fates of the Church and mankind. It is true that we ourselves, or most of us, have experienced something great during these days. The very fact that so many representatives from so many different quarters of the Church have come here was almost incredible. And many attempts have been made to prove to us, through the Press, correspondence and private conversations, that it was impossible, and that our strivings for such a meeting were a futile waste of human endeavour—perhaps even wrong, since man must not attempt to undertake what God can never permit. Mind and spirit and body have not had much leisure during the

last few weeks. I praise God for the blessed hours, few as they have been, of intimate personal communion with some friend during a brief hour, and for communion in worship and the unspeakable consciousness of God's presence and power. Sitting in Commission V with the smaller group, or here before the Conference and looking at these faces—coming from the seats of ancient Christendom or from the Universal Nation of young strength; from the Old World and the New, from two of the three great sections of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church (I mean from Orthodox Christendom and Evangelic Christendom; Roman Christendom being represented among us only in the form of a few observers and many sincere and ardent intercessions for the joint and brotherly life and work of Christians); from India, Japan, China, Australia and South Africa; as well as from the centres of Western civilization—and seeing in spirit those streams which from distant sources in time and thought and space have in straight or crooked courses come through deserts and fertile valleys of history and joined here at one hour and one place, I have sunk into deep contemplation. Facts, names, happenings, words and formulas, and incidents in Church history, which have existed for me only in writing, in memory, in study, have arisen and become living, enjoying for at least a few weeks a fresh consciousness and a visible—to all the world visible—manifestation of an inner and real unity in God, and I have thought: in a week, when these faces, already dear to us, have vanished and these people have scattered to their distant homes, I shall say to myself: 'It was only a dream, an illusion,—a momentous dream, however, with its foundation in that deeper reality which the world does not see.'

We have experienced here something that is incomparably greater than all the gifts of intelligence and will, acquired

maturity and education which all of us represent together. We have experienced something greater than humanity. In spite of a few tactless and unwise words, and perhaps not a few tactless and unwise actions and thoughts behind the Conference, we have experienced a wonderful spirit of self-restraint. I quite understand the tears, in a late night or morning hour, of that old churchman who has been active in so many conferences, and who suddenly was overcome by an overwhelming feeling of the severe discipline of God's majesty that has made itself felt during these days.

I have spoken about our personal experience being to a certain extent hidden from those who have been only spectators. I do not attempt to answer the question whether history will record that something great has been achieved not by us, but by God through our gathering.

But I can witness that the two observations I mentioned in the beginning have been true before and during our meeting.

(*a*) Much human weakness, some mixed and ambiguous motives, dissensions and human and all too human pettiness, vanity and egotism have been evident in the preparations for and during the progress of the Conference. Once more have we witnessed how God can use us, in spite of our sins and miserable incapacity, for accomplishing His will. And now, at the end of this meeting, we ask Him to forgive us. We ask each other for forgiveness. And we join in adoration of His will and holiness.

(*b*) My second observation is also true here. Now that the Conference is over everybody will see how natural it was, how it came as a necessary result of the actions and reactions and conditions of our time. It was an expression of a general longing. Of course there are evidences of purposeful and well-directed human efforts. But the

Conference is to be regarded as the result of natural, easily comprehensible causes. Indeed, it went by itself.

In fact, there is something to be said about that. Without estimating or in any way overestimating the significance of what has happened, there is something to be added.

It is so easy to forget. That which recently was the object of doubt, hesitation, opposition, perhaps scorn, shows itself shortly afterwards to be the most self-evident thing in the world.

But the very conception of such a Conference, even in much smaller proportion than those we now see before us, was considered by wise men in Church and State as impossible. And how often have I not been told through the Press, through correspondence and through private conversations with very prominent and highly regarded persons, as well as through general opinion—how often have we not all been told that we were fools, attempting the impossible ? There are always people who not only do not make anything themselves except what touches their own personal interest, but also are angry at others who try to do something. It was not easy—it was very difficult. Every bit of power in body, spirit, will and prayer had to be given without reservation. The thing could not have been accomplished at a lesser price. There was no choice. But we owe it to our Creator, who has bestowed upon us all the good things and gifts that we possess—we owe it to Him to give them back in devoted service to His will. If we try to keep something safe in reserve for ourselves, for our own purposes, or if, fearing that the enterprise will not succeed, we lay something aside for the sake of safety, we are doomed to defeat. In giving a considerable and well-proportioned share of work to a certain end, man can be heartily and happily conscious of his own power, of what he is able to accomplish. But in putting desperately every considera-

tion, every ability, every hour, every ounce of force in body and mind and heart, to a cause that seems to be God's will, in rendering service in every department where service is needed and giving himself without reserve to the aim put before his eyes by God or by illusion, it is certain and has been proved a thousand times that man only becomes conscious of his own incapacity and worthlessness. But at the same time the small and wretched human being experiences God, who alone has power.

We are here, many of us, gathered, who can witness that whether this meeting will have a lasting value or not, it has come into existence only through a desperate, no, trustful exertion of powers that we have not, but that God granted.

Prayers have been answered. We prayed in the beginning of this meeting that it should be marked and guided not by human weakness and human ability, but by God's spirit. We praise God in this closing hour that our prayer has been fulfilled.

After the singing of a hymn, THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA pronounced

THE BENEDICTION.

OTHER ENGAGEMENTS

The Stockholm Committee and the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo entertained the delegates to dinner in the Grand Hotel at 8 p.m. Speeches were made by THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA, BISHOP IHMELS, DR. FREDERICK LYNCH, PROFESSOR MONNIER, PROFESSOR GLUBOKOVSKY, MISS GARDNER and THE METROPOLITAN OF SOFIA. The speeches of Bishop Ihmels and Miss Gardner are given below.

The Bishop of Saxony

It will be three weeks to-morrow since I was permitted to take part in the inauguration of our Conference in the Blasieholm Church.[1] Three weeks—how long they seemed, and yet how swiftly they have passed! Now the end of our Conference has come, and as I helped at the beginning, so it is my privilege to take part in the conclusion.

No one need fear that I shall overlook the difference between then and now. The opening address was given in the Church. To-day we are gathered together in the Banqueting Hall. And yet, although I shall not ignore this difference, I must at the outset ask you to sympathize with me if to-night, as on the first occasion, I speak only with the greatest seriousness. Outsiders have acclaimed our Conference as an event of the first importance for church, yea, for world history. We, who were allowed to take part in it, should as a matter of course show greater modesty. But it will still remain true, that church history has never witnessed an event which could be compared with this. It is a great thing that the churches have summoned up courage, unitedly, to face the problems of the present. No one will therefore expect me to speak of these highest things in a flippant manner. The experience of these last days urges upon us the serious question: What is the result of the Conference?

It seems to me that we should first of all thank God with all our hearts for giving us this spiritual fellowship. A few years ago we should perhaps have thought it impossible for the chosen representatives of the most different peoples, many of whom had only recently been hostile to one another, and of the most different communions, to gather together for serious united work. What seemed impossible has come to pass. We have met together, and not merely in

[1] See p. 13 *supra* for meeting of the International Committee.

a formal way. We have really tried to work together in the unity of the Spirit. Above all, those of us who collaborated in the various commissions have been privileged to look into each others' hearts, and I am sure that we shall not forget that. This personal contact and fellowship is sure to be of the greatest importance for the further united work and development of the Church. We know that the Church of Christ is not formed by constitutions, however important, nor by any outward thing, but, humanly speaking, by personalities alone. For that reason it seems so full of promise that the personalities were able to meet here and learn to understand each other.

During this time of fellowship we have already reached valuable common ground. We who have gathered together here have certainly differed from one another, and not merely on side issues. Fundamental differences have repeatedly emerged. Therefore we thank God all the more for what He has given us in the way of common work and knowledge. However, we do not imagine for one moment that the differences between us have ceased to exist. It would indeed be a bad prospect, if mature men and women could in a few days unlearn all they knew. God has given us something greater, namely, that we should meet for united work in the interest of common ends in spite of all our differences, and at the same time learn from one another in the attainment of these ends.

Two things have brought us together. We have realized with fresh force that the Church of Christ can have but one task: to witness to His Gospel. But at the same time we are quite sure that in our time everything depends on whether we apply the Gospel to the whole sphere of public life and especially to economic and political life. You will agree if I express this in another way. We are at one in the belief that the Kingdom of God is of an absolutely

supernatural nature, that it involves the sovereignty of God in the heart. But we have also heard Our Lord say that the Kingdom of God must permeate like leaven the whole range of the natural conditions of life. Opinions were certainly divided as to the extent of this permeation. But we agreed upon two decisive principles. The Church must be extremely careful not to intervene in purely technical problems in political as well as economic life. So much the more serious is her obligation to work for the permeation of social life with the thought of God in the political as well as the economic sphere. However difficult it may seem in individual cases to keep the two spheres apart, yet the fundamental distinction between them seems to us of paramount importance. Yet even the possibility of permeating social life in this way was conceived in very different ways. Some had very optimistic views, while others thought it necessary to deduce the opposite view from the Bible. But even the former could not disregard the fact that the reality of sin remained a permanent obstacle in the way of influencing natural social conditions, and on the other hand the latter could not think of making this permanent imperfection an excuse for inaction. On the contrary we reminded ourselves of the fact that the greater the difficulties the more seriously we must work at overcoming them.

In this way we have created a broad basis for common work, and on this absolutely everything depends. I should have spoken of the results of the Conference, but these results will reveal themselves only in the future. For me there hardly exist more hopeless words than the words 'in vain.' The thought that these three weeks in Stockholm could have been in vain, must be absolutely unbearable, especially to those of us who are getting on in years and must count the days that are left to us to work

in. Therefore we pledge our faith that they are 'not in vain.' At the beginning of our Conference I was able to remind you that this time may be the time of Our Lord. To-day we go away pledging ourselves that this time shall become the time of Our Lord. We shall to the best of our ability fight for the recognition of Our Lord as the Lord of public and economic life. Above all things, however, let Him be the Lord of His Church, before whose word and will we all bow.

In the name of the Lord, I beg all the delegates of the Conference to join in this fellowship of work; but I may surely extend this request to all those who to-day celebrate the occasion with us. Indeed, we cannot be grateful enough for the friendly hospitality which has been extended to us in Sweden and especially in this city. From the illustrious Royal Family who have not only added splendour to our Conference but followed its deliberations with the closest and most earnest attention, all the different social circles of this city, and above all, her chosen representatives have worked together in a way almost embarrassing to us, to make our days here happy and fruitful. I can assure them, that these days will remain with us a radiant memory, and will again and again fill us with gratitude. We all feel especially grateful to the man who first initiated the Conference, I mean my one-time Leipsic colleague, Archbishop Söderblom. But since we have been bound together in a fellowship of giving and taking, may I ask that we remain united in common work for the future? Among all the elevating words that have been spoken during these last days one bold saying particularly struck me, namely: 'The world is waiting for us Christians.' Let us venture to believe this and act accordingly.

I therefore conclude with the motto which very plainly suggests itself to-night, 'Pro fide et Christianismo.'

MISS LUCY GARDNER (England)

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

I have the honour to address you to-night in your capacity of Chairman of the Swedish Committee, and to offer to and through you the thanks of the Conference. The pleasant task allotted to me is one that I am sure every member of the Conference will envy me, and I fear that I shall but imperfectly express for them what we all feel. I have one qualification for it, and that is that I can speak from first-hand experience of a contact with the work of your Committee.

If I were to try to speak adequately of the many ramifications of your work, I fear we should all be so late home to-night that we might miss the train for Upsala to-morrow.

For many months now I have been in close touch with the work of your Committee, first in a quiet and lady-like way —letters exchanged between London and Stockholm with that leisureliness that characterizes the postal communications between the two countries; then air mail was brought into use once or twice a week—then daily, and then we had to resort to cables, and finally, nearly a month ago, I met the work of the Committee face to face, so to speak. And I remember, as I speak, that the section I have the honour to serve is only one out of four, and, may I say, with all respect to the others, the easiest and the simplest to manage. But I am quite sure that the courtesy and efficiency that was always extended to us has been equally extended to all my brother secretaries, and that they would unite with me in gratitude for what was done for us before we came.

But that pales before the wonder of the reception of the Conference when it came. From the moment of our entry into the country and until the present, we have been loaded

with that thoughtful and imaginative kindness that has anticipated our wants and satisfied our desires. I fear I shall have difficulty on Monday with one of the British delegates who just says quite firmly and gently, but persistently—I refuse to leave Stockholm. She is really expressing a truth—and that truth is that we all feel that not only the beauty and the amenities of the place, but the sense of a watchful kindness and helpfulness, has gone deeply into our hearts and will there abide. It has not been my experience before to find that a meagre label on my luggage impressed even the hard heart of a Customs official, nor to be given on arrival a sort of Christmas stocking in the shape of a bag of good things—the beautiful Handbook, invitations to receptions and parties and excursions, and above all, the Hymn-book. I hope the Archbishop knows how much his work on that book has done for us, by enabling us all to unite in worship and praise. I imagine that one of the moments that will live for ever in our memories was the singing of Luther's hymn in the Cathedral last Wednesday week, and the magic word 'Communio' will be a password now in all the countries of the world. Nor have I heard of a city where people would hand their latch-keys to perfect strangers and allow them the run of their homes, with no supervision at all, whilst the kindnesses of the hosts and hostesses who are at home is the common talk of the Conference.

I should also like to say a little about the Bureau and its quite wonderful work. The translation of the manuscripts alone has been simply a colossal task, and it has been done at a speed that I hardly like to think of—and we owe to Dr. Brilioth and his helpers a great debt of gratitude. And I should like to include with them the printers, who must, also with him, have worked day and night for our help.

I cannot close without offering one word of thanks to the staff in the Information Bureau. It is impossible for me to try to count the different ways in which the Bureau has helped us, but I imagine it is at least 528—if that is the number of delegates in the Conference, and possibly twice that number. And how clever they are—I don't know where we should have been without them. Possibly in prison—certainly in the dumps—for there is nothing so miserable as ignorance. They speak to us each in our own tongue. To speak English is easy—to speak French is possible—to speak German is a triumph; but these people can all speak Swedish! Oh, truly they are clever.

Then I must say a word of those who serve tables—I mean the shorthand-typing staff who have been at work early and late in our service. I know something of what it means to work at such a speed and with constant interruptions, and I congratulate the staff on their efficiency, good-temper and big output. The stewards and guides who never sit down and the boy scouts swift to help—the lightning producers of Life and Work—have all contributed to the success of the Conference, and to them we offer our heart-felt thanks.

I hardly dare begin to speak of the beloved President—in fact, I am not sure that he comes, so to speak, within my terms of reference—or indeed that he even comes within anybody's terms of reference. But I will just say that we have grown to love him and that the memory of his great vision—his fun and his spiritual understanding, will always be very precious. To him, to your Royal Highness, to General Malm, to Major Sjöstedt, and to all your helpers, known and unknown, and to M. The Clock I beg to offer the thanks of the Conference. And in conclusion I will say simply this, that you have created an atmosphere in which the Conference could blossom and

expand—an atmosphere comparable in its radiance to the glorious sunshine we have enjoyed—and both have been the gift of God.

I will ask the members of the Conference to rise and join with me in the toast of the Swedish Committee, its officers and its staff.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 30, 1925

CLOSING SERVICE AT THE CATHEDRAL, UPSALA

THE delegates went by special train to Upsala Cathedral, where they attended Divine Service.

THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA recited the Nicene Creed in Greek.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA preached.

THE SERMON

'GRACE be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. i. 2).

Veni, Sancte Spiritus :
Reple tuorum corda fidelium.
Et tui amoris in eis ignem accende,
Qui per diversitatem linguarum cunctarum
Gentes in unitate fidei congregasti :
Halleluja ! Halleluja ! Amen.

Jesus said : 'Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them' (Matt. xviii. 20).

We are more than two or three. But however many hundreds we may be, and however many thousands or millions our Conference may represent, however wise and good, however powerful and influential men may be—yet

their number and position in the world gives no authority and power in the Kingdom of God. That depends on whether Jesus is with them.

If Jesus is with them, if people are gathered together in His Name, in His Spirit, so that He is in the midst of them, then the little group that was wont to come together in Jerusalem in the upper chamber, round Mary and John, is able to conquer the world. In that case Augustine and his mother Monica can wander through the heavenly spaces. Valdes and his friends, Pauperes de Lugduno, form a small community which no gathering of human power has been able to destroy. The love of Christ made Saint Francis and his companions irresistible. The psalms and the words from the Bible which resounded on the *Mayflower*, in spite of the seaway, still re-echo like a mighty thorough-bass through the institutions and 'melting-pot' of North America. The resolution taken by the brothers Wesley and their two companions behind the now darkened wall of Lincoln College changed, without their will, the history of the Church.

Not even the lonely man need be alone. Jesus said of Himself: 'Ye shall be scattered and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me' (John xvi. 32). Jesus said of us: 'If a man love Me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him' (John xiv. 23).

The lonely Paul boasted of his weakness in order that the power of Christ might rest upon him (2 Cor. ii. 9).

Because Christ was with him, the lonely Luther influenced the history of the world more profoundly and more permanently than any man since our Saviour. The lonely John Calvin spiritually built up his Geneva, in its vale of wondrous beauty, into a city upon the rock.

'So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy' (Rom. ix. 16).

'With force of ours we nothing can.'

The Lord has been with us. It is He that hath compelled us. His is the work. We have perceived the might of His spirit. We have experienced during our meeting something of the severe discipline of the Lord and of His unconceivable mercy.

Two men are here gathered together. John, the Apostle of tender love and contemplation, had at Our Lord's breast learnt the rule: Brethren, love one another. Paul, the greatest disciple of the Saviour, bore witness: 'I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me' (1 Cor. xv. 10). His faith worked by love (Gal. v. 6).

The third man, Peter, the spokesman of the disciples, still tarries. Christendom stands out as divided, but Christ is one. The division cannot be according to His will. When Christendom is gathered together in life and work around the Saviour He will be in the midst of us, irresistible through the almighty power of love.

'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.'

Let us offer to Him a silent prayer each of us in the words that He Himself has taught us

(*The Lord's Prayer in silence*).

The old Gospel for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity, which the law of the Church in this country requires us to consider to-day, has been read from the altar. It tells us (Mark vii. 31-37) how Jesus said sighing to a man who was deaf and had an impediment in his speech: 'Be opened.' 'His ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain.' The event made such an impression on those who were present that the

meaning of the words on the lips of Jesus has been preserved in its Aramaic form even in the Greek text and in all translations : ' Ephphatha.'

To-day the message to the Church and congregation of Christ is ' Ephphatha.'

> Ephphatha, open our ears and hear.
> Ephphatha, open our mouth and speak.

I

The Church will surely listen. The Church is too ready to adapt itself to what is said in what are known as ecclesiastical or well-minded circles. Jesus acted otherwise. ' If your righteousness doth not exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven.' The Church listens too much to man, too little to God. Let no one imagine that he hears the voice of God better because he turns a deaf ear to what is said and heard in his own day. Woe unto you, says Jesus, because you do not learn from the signs of the times.

Jesus mentions (in Luke viii.) what stops up the ears. In the first place temptation and resistance. In the second place cares and riches and pleasures of this life. In the third place, and perhaps this holds good of most people, the enjoyment of the good things of life. In order to hear we have to watch and pray.

When the multitude heard only a thunder or the voice of an angel (John xii. 29), Jesus heard the voice of the Father and spoke and acted accordingly. What is perceived in the questions that have occupied our prayers, our consideration and our counsels before now and which have now compelled us to come together in Stockholm ? Answer : terrifying thunders have rumbled around, a confusing turmoil rages round us : the tranquillizing voices of angels are also heard, but do they speak truth ? We must now

search our hearts and ask ourselves: Have we during these days heard somewhat better than before what the heavenly voice has to say to us?

II

Ephphatha, loose the string of the tongue and talk. There is talking enough in Christendom. There is preaching without end. Luther's rule is seldom followed: 'Erst das Maul aufmachen, dann etwas sagen, dann das Maul zumachen.' The boy wakes during the sermon and asks his father: 'Is he not through yet?'—'Yes, he is through, but he cannot stop.' Hear from St. Paul how things ought to be in our churches (1 Cor. xii. 22): 'If there come in one that believeth not or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all. And thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so, falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth.'

Very little has been recorded of what Jesus said. But Jesus thought for thirty years about what He was to say. And what He said is heard through the ages. Our lips often hold their peace when they should speak, while many times they speak when silence would be better. The right words said at the right moment, how often have we longed for them during the last few years in order that they might comfort the conscience of Christendom and give voice that should be heard over the whole world to dumb lamentations, a dumb sense of sin, a dumb striving after righteousness.

But words are not enough. Words are cheap. We must give ourselves. 'The waste of life lies in the love we have *not* given, the powers we have *not* used.'

Our first action must be that we, as Christians and

members and servants of the Church, must acknowledge our obstinate deafness and our loquacious dumbness. Our next action must be that Christianity, following the Master's example, should show the world its spiritual unity.

Otherwise, according to Jesus' own words, the world cannot believe that He came in God's name. The divisions and silence of Christendom impeded the Saviour's work.

He was Himself the everlasting Word of God. He spoke through the service in which He gave His life. Logos, the eternal truth of God, was made flesh and blood in Him, voice and action in us; and through us and through the congregation on earth, God's living Word wishes to speak the will of God and carry out the will of God in our communities.

A Swedish workman writes: 'Preachers and priests sin greatly in not preaching against the social and economic injustices. It is a shame that the Christians did not become friends of peace until they were frightened into it by the experiences of the war and their terror of a Bolshevik revolution. Why did not the Bible teach them? I hope that a blessing may rest on the Ecumenical Conference.' Such an expectation involves a terrible responsibility.

A spokesman for millions of working and thinking men greeted our meeting with the following words:

'Multitudes of people have again and again been turned away mourning because when a testimony of faith in the imperious rule of the Christian spirit was demanded to check and shame the passions and the follies of blind men, that testimony was not delivered, but something so feeble, so temporizing, and so false was given out instead.'

And this correspondent goes further. He is not content with strong words. He continues :

'The state of the world to-day once more calls for the aid of the Christian spirit, not only as a judge and a healer, but as a guide. Whilst men and nations in their distress of fear run hither and thither seeking safety where the experience of centuries shows there is no refuge, it is the duty of the Church to rally them to a confidence in the inner light and its attending moral courage, so that they may walk with firm confidence in the ways of the Spirit which are the ways of both honour and life.'

We pray with the poet :

'WORD, who wast ere man
His brief course began,
Whose life to God and man reacheth,
Whose grace the dumb to speak teacheth,
Come, with Thy strong hand
Loosen our tongue's band !

Let us not with cold
Eyes earth's wrong behold ;
But, when cowardice prevaileth
And the tongue with terror faileth,
Strike our hearts with shame,
Our lips with love's flame !

Chiefly, let us be
Peacemakers like Thee ;
Bringing to shy souls and grieving
Words of cheer, that they believing,
And all fears put by,
May on God rely !

O strong WORD and true
Our bruised earth renew !
To Thy holy Kingdom win us !
Work Thy miracle within us !
Thou who art God's Yea
Say now *Ephphatha !*

LUNCHEON IN THE UNIVERSITY HALL

The delegates, led by the CROWN PRINCE and PRINCESS, proceeded from the Cathedral to the Aula of the University for luncheon. Speeches were made at the Luncheon by RECTOR MAGNIFICUS STAVENOW, H. E. HJALMAR HAMMARSKJÖLD, THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, PROFESSOR DEISSMANN, PROFESSOR MONOD, BISHOP BRENT, and THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. The speeches of H. E. Hjalmar Hammarskjöld and Professor Deissmann are given below.

HJALMAR HAMMARSKJÖLD

(Governor of the Province of Upsala, former President of the Swedish Council)

ALL the members of the Conference have received, I feel sure, a very deep impression of the profound interest which all sections of the Swedish people have shown in the noble aspirations of your Conference. You have just heard a representative of the highest lay culture say how welcome you are in the hall of the largest and oldest university in our country, a University whose theological faculty has always followed and often led the great movements in the sphere which you represent. Everyone knows the age-long ties that so closely unite the churches and the seats of science and learning, and we should never forget that ministers of religion on leaving the universities become in the most backward country districts the torchbearers and pioneers of culture.

But we other Swedes, who belong to the University only through our grateful memories, desire to offer to the Conference our homage with the deepest sincerity, confidence and hope.

It is a truly splendid mark of union and goodwill that has just been manifested in the capital of our country. This

manifestation is specially dear and precious to us, not for reasons of idle curiosity or national pride, but because we regard it as the sign of the dawn of a new era which will follow the darkness of misunderstandings, hatreds, sufferings and catastrophes.

Of course, we do not forget that the way ahead will always be full of dangers and difficulties. We realize that in this imperfect world there is not nor ever will be panaceas for all ills. For earthly problems there exists no absolute solution.

Even for those problems that in essentials are spiritual, that is, are the concern of religion and the Churches, the Conference has wisely refused to seek for an impracticable uniformity of solution and perhaps a uniformity not even desirable in view of the price of inflicting heavy sacrifices on countless believers.

Instead of striving for unity in dogmas, rites and church government, the Conference has set itself to explore and affirm the ground common to all Christians without distinction of communion or nationality. Starting on this firm basis common to all and inspired by the Holy Word, the Conference has turned its attention and its activities to a large number of the most important problems which concern the world as it is, whether they affect the internal affairs of any country or can be justly called international.

Surely it is not surprising that in these spheres of action it is difficult to recommend a complete series of absolute solutions which could be accepted without doubts and reservations.

By no means surprising. Man is an apprentice, and an apprentice he will remain even after he has sought and found the powerful aid of divine grace.

But everything depends on the spirit in which he undertakes his apprenticeship. All his efforts will bear real fruit

more conducive to the salvation of the individual, the family, the nation and humanity, when they are guided by the spirit which must guide them.

Religion, faith and Christianity all leave their mark on our work and enable men and peoples to reach nearer to the ideal which we dream of in our best thoughts and hopes. Since there is an interdependence that must bind individuals and peoples together, they must make efforts in common and be inspired with the common spirit of religion, faith and Christianity.

Man is not only Christian but also a member of a family, a workman or an employer, a citizen or public official. The nation does not close its doors like a church. It comprises an economic society and a body politic, a state. Individuals and all communities must have their qualities or rather the qualities they chance to have, imbued with higher and eternal qualities. It is said that the best Christian is the best soldier, and there is no paradox in that, for soldiers are not responsible for wars. Similarly, it should be said that the best Christian is the best father, the best workman or employer and the best citizen. Everywhere and always, in private and public life, religion must guide, fashion and improve us as far as the infirmities of our poor human race permit.

The Conference has devoted great attention to international relations. Here again it is the spirit that is most important.

We are all agreed in wanting peace and striving to get rid of war. In our desire to banish war we keep in view certain hopes of peace. For, if there is nothing in war that resembles peace, in peace we sometimes find ourselves face to face with situations, acts and attitudes termed pacific, but which look singularly like war.

To banish war, which is the obvious negation of normal

and desirable relationships, we must never lose sight of the fact that in our time war is often a symptom rather than the desire itself, just as a fever, it is said, sets up a reaction in the body against the injury or infection within it. We must investigate the very causes of the evil in order to avert and destroy them.

We all feel that it is the rule of right and justice that must take the place of the recourse to violence. It is of course a question of international law and justice between nations.

Just in this respect such conferences as yours must exercise an invaluable influence.

All laws, even those passed for the internal good of a state, need for their efficient application the support of a widespread conviction as to their usefulness. However, as far as internal laws are concerned, there is a publicly recognized power which has passed them and set up means for carrying them out.

In the case of international law all this is lacking. The commonwealth of nations possesses neither government, parliament nor police.

For this very reason a united public opinion is an essential condition for the establishment and application of international law. This public opinion implies a unity not only of interests and ideas, sentiments and aspirations. A common basis for this hope already exists in all the Christian nations. But it could be greatly increased. Here is one of the precious fruits which your Conference has brought, here is one subject which will win for it universal recognition.

This year we are celebrating the three hundredth anniversary of the chief work of Hugo Grotius. This great man, who laid the foundation-stones of a system of international law, was also an ardent champion of the union of the Christian Churches. In this year of celebration I

do not want to see merely a chance coincidence, but rather the eloquent expression of a natural connection. Without a public opinion among the nations no true international law is either possible or practicable.

But law is not everything. There are other international forces that will be quickened by this Conference.

The work of Grotius is called *De jure belli ac pacis* (The law of war and peace). May it be granted by the grace of God that this Conference has opened a splendid chapter of the great book, which will be constantly added to and revised, and bears the title ' De fide, spe, et caritate ' (Of faith, hope and love).

With this avowal of confidence we have the honour of welcoming with the greatest respect all the members present here of the Universal Conference.

Professor Dr. Adolf Deissmann

To-day the Conference, whose deliberations have resounded throughout the world, turns back from Stockholm to the city where the idea of it originated. And before we separate, our desire is to take home with us a breath of the fine spirit that gave it birth. We link together Stockholm and Upsala, Church and University. They are intimately related, and remind us of the great historical connection of Christianity and Learning, with their mutual indebtedness, which has continued for more than fifteen hundred years. It is true that at the outset the Gospel had nothing to do with learning. It did not spring from the lecture rooms of Alexandria, Athens or Rome, but had a humble origin. It was first preached as bread, a common, human, universal need. And when we heard, during the Cathedral service, that great word of the Master in its Aramaic form, ' Ephphatha ' (be opened), it came upon us as the rushing wind of a new Pentecost.

It came to us not as a reading from a manuscript or parchment with an academic ring about it, but as spirit and fire and power from on high. It never entered the minds of the first disciples of Jesus to found a university or to build a cathedral. If they had built a House of God at the time when, amid the multitudes of the weary and heavy-laden, the eyes of the blind were opened and the ears of the deaf unstopped, it would have been a simple church for fisher folk on the shores of the Galilean Sea, or in the midst of the cornfields, a Peasants' Church, more like the one that stands near the Cathedral and the University of this city.

But when Christianity, after the age of its creative origin, undisturbed as yet by history, became at length a great historical force and began to absorb and to enrich all the human values of its environment, then was concluded that noteworthy alliance between the Gospel and Learning which has proved to be ever since one of the great factors of Christian history.

Stockholm and Upsala! Let us go back sixteen hundred years and say, Nicaea and Alexandria. What would Nicaea have been without Alexandria? Alexandria was the lighthouse, whose light streamed out to Nicaea. Alexandria is living in our midst to-day, as Nicaea, through its creed, rose again just now in the Cathedral. When the venerable man who has just given us his impressions of the Conference, the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria, in the liturgy of our Farewell Service, 'prayed' the Nicene creed in Greek (I say 'prayed' deliberately) then for one sacred moment, the ages that separate Stockholm and Nicaea seemed wiped out. The formula which, in our theological seminars, we handle as ancient metal, recovered the living fire, the fluidity, the passion of its origin, and we all felt ourselves to be at one with the Greek Christian

in the possession of the best which he, as heir of the ancient Christian East, had to contribute to the service of High Mass in northern Upsala.

Nicaea and Alexandria! We can follow this parallelism all through the history of our religion. What would the thought of the Middle Ages have been without Paris? What would the English Church have been without the ancient British universities? What would Protestantism have been without Wittenberg and Geneva? Nicaea and Alexandria, even when as in the case of Trent and Wittenberg, the parallelism is one of contrast, the same law of mutual influence and penetration is illustrated. And now to these parallels we gratefully add that of Stockholm and Upsala.

We greet with joyful emotion the Swedish Alma Mater, to whom we owe the origin of our movement. This university has always been closely identified with the Swedish Church, with that Church which of all the Churches of the world was the one that could act as a rallying-point for the great Ecumenical Conference we have had in Stockholm. The Swedish Church was the only one among the sister Churches who could open the door of hospitality to all. It unites the early saints and fathers with the Reformers, the ancient Church and the Church of the Middle Ages with that of Gustavus Adolphus, the classical liturgical tradition and a lively sense of the dignity of worship, with the best influences and forces of the Reformation. All this is preserved and fostered by the Swedish universities and in a special degree by our Alma Mater—Upsala. It is closely connected with the Church by its very constitution. It takes part in the election of the Archbishop and the Archbishop is, as such, its Pro-Chancellor. This appears to us as illogical. If anywhere to-day a great benefactor should devote money to found a

new university, this new school of learning would certainly be given a constitution traced out with logical and even geometrical precision, with a careful delimitation of the boundaries between the pure and applied sciences. We prefer the old scheme, even if it does seem illogical. The greatest things in life do not conform to the standards of logic. Through its close connection with the Church, Upsala has always been the centre of the religious life of Sweden and has exerted an influence far beyond the limits of its own land over world-wide Christianity.

It was a Professor of the Theological Faculty of Upsala who conceived most clearly and most strongly the ecumenical ideas that have come to expression during these last days. Later as head of the Swedish Church he has brought these ideas to a richer and fuller expression than any other man of our generation. Enriched with all the knowledge of our age, with a mind closely knit with that of his own people and at the same time receptive to the influences from outside, especially from France, Great Britain and Germany, Nathan Söderblom, in his work on the History of Religion, in Upsala and afterwards in Leipsic, illustrated the truly ecumenical words of Goethe :

> ' The East is God's,
> God's is the West ;
> Lands North and South
> In Him find rest.'

When in 1914 amid the alarms of war, he entered upon his high office in his own church and as Pro-Chancellor was again closely connected with the university, then the thunders of war stirred the latent powers of his noble soul, understanding and sympathy, pity and believing confidence. In the glaring fire of the European tragedy a vision was given to him, the vision of humanity united by God in Jesus Christ. All this was reflected in his first Pastoral

Letter in 1914, with its impressive sincerity and its paradoxical boldness.

The ecumenical idea came to birth here in Upsala after acutest suffering like the dawn after a stormy night. It has formed a union with all that remained to torn and wounded humanity of evangelical and New Testament convictions. It has formed a complex of sympathetic feeling in the midst of hate and ruin. This came to a head in the idea of a Conference. It took practical shape during the war in the great international series of lectures on the Unity of the Church, made possible here in Upsala through the Olaus-Petri foundation.

Thus knowledge and suffering were united. Our Conference owes its origin to that union. It is impossible to value too highly the knowledge that issued from Upsala and that made Stockholm possible. The finest spiritual energies of Upsala were directed in this way to the highest and greatest ends.

This seems to me to be typical of the Swedish universities. They are not only the channels of the highest possible national and academic culture, but they add to this the highest culture of Europe, and in this respect are superior to many other universities. The far-famed scientists and teachers of Upsala, with their rector at their head, steeped in all that is best in their fatherland, fulfil Goethe's ideal of 'Good Europeans.' But, further, I should like to add, the young students of the universities have come to our help during our stay in Stockholm as interpreters and guides. They have been our real friends and have shown us what Upsala, what the Swedish universities are and what they are able to perform. We shall all rejoice, if in the future we shall see again in the streets of our European and American University and High-school cities, the white caps and cockades of the Swedish students.

We shall all feel sad when we say good-bye to Stockholm and Upsala. Still we shall bear their dear names in our hearts as the signs and the tokens of a world-wide Christian and academic fellowship. To the Alma Mater Upsaliensis, which is the home and the hearth of our Ecumenical Movement, we offer our deepest and sincerest graditude. Vivat Academia !

APPENDIX I

THE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE

LIST OF MEMBERS

Chairman: The Archbishop of Upsala (retiring Jan 1, 1927).

Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee: The Bishop of Winchester (retiring Jan. 1, 1927).

General Secretary: Dr. Henry A. Atkinson.

Associate General Secretary: Rev. Adolf Keller, D.D.

International Central Office: Paul H. Steele, M.A., 41 Parliament Street, London.

Members of the Continental European Section (20)

Austria

Dr. Victor Capesius.

Czecho-Slovakia

The Right Rev. Bishop Jur. Janoska, D.D. *Substitutes*: Rev. Prof. Francis Zilka; The Most Rev. Karel Farsky, Patriarch of the Czecho-Slovak National Church.

Denmark

The Right Rev. H. Ostenfeld, D.D., Bishop of Själland, Copenhagen. *Substitutes*: The Right Rev. V. Ammundsen, D.D., Bishop of Haderslev; The Right Rev. C. Ludvigs, Bishop of Aalborg.

Esthonia

The Right Rev. J. Kukk, Bishop of Esthonia, Reval. *Substitute*: The Rev. H. B. Rahamägi, D.D.

Finland

The Right Rev. J. Gummerus, D.D., Bishop of Tammerfors. *Substitutes*: The Rev. Arthur Hjelt, D.D.; The Right Rev. Max v. Bonsdorff, D.D., Bishop of Borga.

France

M. le Professeur Wilfred Monod.[1] *Substitutes*: M. le Professeur Henri Monnier; M. le Pasteur Louis Appia; M. le Pasteur J. Jézéquel.

Germany

Dr. H. Kapler,[1] President of the German Evangelical Church Federation; Dr. Wilhelm Freiherr von Pechmann; The Right Rev. Bishop D. Ihmels;[1] Dr. Simons, Reichsgerichtspräsident; Prof. Dr. Deissmann; Prälat Dr. Schoell.[1] *Substitutes*: Vice-President D. Dr. Conrad; President D. Lampe; Professor D. Rendtorff; Professor D. F. Siegmund-Schultze; Licentiat Stange; Professor D. Titius; Praeses D. Wolff; General Superintendent D. Zoellner.

Holland

Prof. Dr. J. R. Slotemaker de Bruine. *Substitute*: Prof. Dr. W. J. Aalders.

Hungary

The Right Rev. A. Raffay, Bishop of Budapest. *Substitutes*: The Right Rev. Bishop L. Ravasz, D.D.;[1] Prof. A. de Boer, LL.D.; Baron Adalbert von Kaas.

Latvia

The Right Rev. Karl Irbe, D.D., Bishop of Latvia.

Norway

The Right Rev. Jens Gleditsch, D.D., Bishop of Nidaros, Trondhjem. *Substitute:* Professor Dr. L. Brun, Oslo.

[1] Members of the Provisional Executive Committe

Poland

General Superintendent Julius Bursche, Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Substitute*: Dr. Blau, General Superintendent, United Evangelical Church of Posen.

Roumania

Dr. Stephen von Ugron. *Substitute*: Dr. Wahlbaum.

Sweden

His Grace The Archbishop of Upsala.[1] *Substitute*: Dr. Yngve Brilioth.

Switzerland

Dr. Adolf Keller, of Zurich.[1] *Substitute*: Prof. Eugène Choisy,[1] of Geneva.

MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN SECTION (13)

Principal: Rev. Peter Ainslie, D.D.; Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, D.D., LL.D.; Rev. Arthur Judson Brown, D.D., LL.D.;[1] Rev. Prof. Wm. Adams Brown, D.D., Ph.D.; Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., LL.D.;[1] Rev. Lynn Harold Hough, D.D.; Dean Shailer Mathews; Rev. Samuel H. Chester, D.D.; Bishop James Cannon, Jr.; Rev. Dr. E. P. Pfatteicher, D.D.; Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D.; Rev. William Y. Bell, D.D.; Dr. Henry A. Atkinson.[1]

Alternate: Rev. Fred. W. Burnham, LL.D.; Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins, Jr.; Miss Margaret E. Hodge; Rev. Wm. P. Merrill, D.D.; Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, D.D.; Bishop John L. Nuelsen, D.D.; Mrs. Margaret Barrett Montgomery; Rev. C. L. King, D.D.; Rev. L. S. Barton, D.D.; Mr. E. Clarence Miller, LL.D.; Rev. John McNaughter, D.D.; Bishop Clement; Mr. Fred. B. Smith.

[1] Members of the Provisional Executive Committee.

MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH SECTION (10)

The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Winchester ;[1] The Rev. Principal A. E. Garvie, D.D. ;[1] His Grace The Archbishop of Dublin ; The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Lichfield ; The Very Rev. J. A. McClymont ; D.D., C.B.E. ; The Rev. R. I. Drummond, D.D. ; Sir William Ashley ; The Very Rev. The Dean of Canterbury ; Miss Lucy Gardner ;[1] The Rev. J. G. Tasker.

Substitutes : The Rev. M. Spencer ; Professor D. Miall Edwards, D.D. ; The Rev. J. Mansie ; The Rev. P. T. R. Kirk ; The Rev. W. Blackshaw ; The Rev. Will Reason ; The Rev. E. O. Davies.

MEMBERS OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX SECTION (12)

His Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. *Substitute* : His Grace The Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos,[1] representing also His Grace The Archbishop of Cyprus.

His Beatitude The Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria, Meletios. *Substitute* : His Grace The Archbishop of Nubia, Nikolaos.

His Beatitude The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Damianos. *Substitute* ; His Grace The Archbishop of Jordan.

His Beatitude The Patriarch of Antioch.

His Grace The Metropolitan of Athens. *Substitute* : Professor Alivisatos, Athens.

His Grace The Metropolitan of Sofia, Stephan. *Substitute* : The Right Rev. The Bishop of Znepole, Paissij, Protopresbyter Dr. Stephan Zankow,[1] Sofia.

[1] Members of the Provisional Executive Committee.

The Right Rev. The Bishop of Ochrida, Nicholai Velimirovitch. *Substitutes*: Archimandrite Valerian Pribitchevitch; Dr. Irinej Georgevitch.

His Beatitude The Patriarch of Bucharest, Miron Christea. *Substitutes*: His Grace The Metropolitan of Transylvania, Nicolai; Archimandrite Julius Scriban.[1]

His Grace The Metropolitan of Varsava, Dionysius. *Substitute*: The Right Rev. Bishop of Pinsk, Alexander.

MEMBERS OF CHURCHES IN OTHER LANDS (12)

Not yet elected.

REPORT

OF THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE, AUGUST 30, 1925

The first meeting of the Continuation Committee was held on Sunday afternoon, August 30, in the University Hall, Upsala, Sweden. The meeting was called to order by the Archbishop of Upsala, and upon his motion the Bishop of Winchester was elected temporary Chairman. Prayer was offered by Dr. Garvie. Thereupon it was voted unanimously to elect Dr. Henry A. Atkinson as General Secretary of the Committee, and Dr. Adolf Keller as Associate General Secretary.

It was voted to appoint a Provisional Executive Committee, which would serve until the meeting of the Continuation Committee, to be held approximately one year hence. The following persons were named as members of this Committee:

His Grace The Most Rev. Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Upsala.

The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Winchester.

[1] Members of the Provisional Executive Committee.

His Grace The Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos Strinopoulos.
Dr. Arthur Judson Brown.
D. Dr. Kapler.
Dr. A. E. Garvie.
Dr. S. Parkes Cadman.
The Rt. Rev. Bishop L. Ravasz.
Dr. Wilfred Monod.
Archimandrite Julius Scriban.
Prof. Dr. Stefan Zankow.
The Rt. Rev. Bishop D. Ihmels.
The General Secretary, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson.
The Associate General Secretary, Dr. Adolf Keller.

REPORT

OF THE SECOND MEETING OF THE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE, AUGUST 31, 1925.

The second meeting of the Continuation Committee was held in the Parliament House, at Stockholm, at twelve o'clock, on Monday, August 31, with the Archbishop of Upsala in the chair. Prayer was offered by Bishop Ihmels.

Voted: That the four Presidents who have served during this Conference—the Archbishop of Upsala, the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Archbishop Germanos, and Dr. Arthur J. Brown—be recognized by the Continuation Committee as joint-presidents of the Conference, unless and until such time as the Sections meet and elect each its own nominee to the Continuation Committee, to take the place of any of the Presidents so named.

It was agreed that the General Secretary and Associate General Secretary of the Continuation Committee shall have joint authority for all executive details in connection with the work of the Continuation Committee, the Provisional Executive Committee and its sub-committees.

Voted: That the four Presidents, the Archbishop of Upsala, the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Archbishop Germanos, and Dr. Arthur Judson Brown, elected as the Presidents of the Conference, or their successors in office, serve as actual Presidents of the Continuation Committee in turn each for one year, and, beginning at the present time, the rotation in office be as follows:

From the present date to January 1, 1927, the President of the Continental European Section, the Archbishop of Upsala.

From January 1, 1927, till January 1, 1928, the President of the British Section.

From January 1, 1928, till January 1, 1929, the President of the Orthodox Section.

From January 1, 1929, till January 1, 1930, the President of the American Section.

Voted: That each Section nominate to the Continuation Committee for election one Vice-President to represent it on the Committee, and the Vice-President of the Section whose President is serving the Committee for any current year, act in place of the President at any meeting when the President cannot attend.

The Archbishop of Upsala announced that Dr. Kapler had been named to represent the Continental European Section as its Vice-President.

Voted: That the question of representation from the fifth group of churches be deferred for action until a later meeting of the Continuation Committee, and that the General Secretary be authorized to correspond with the churches, and secure from them the names of their delegates.

Voted: That questions relating to membership of the Continuation Committee of members and substitutes be left to the Sections themselves.

It was stated by the Archbishop of Upsala that the Patriarch of the New Czecho-Slovakian Church, Karel Farsky, had been added to the Committee, as an additional substitute for Bishop Janoska.

Voted: Upon the motion of Dr. Deissmann that each of the four Presidents of the Continuation Committee be elected in turn to serve for one year as Chairman of the Executive Committee, the rotation being determined according to that agreed upon in relation to the presidency of the Continuation Committee, the President next in order of succession being elected as Chairman for the current year.

Under this vote it was agreed that the Bishop of Winchester be named as Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee until January 1927.

Bishop Ihmels asked that his vote be recorded as negative, he being of opinion that the President of the Continuation Committee of each year should serve that particular year as Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Voted: That Miss Lucy Gardner, Prof. Choisy, and Licentiat Stange be added to the membership of the Provisional Executive Committee.

Voted: That a volume or volumes should be published, containing the speeches, messages and full record and history of the Universal Christian Conference, the contents of this volume to be as follows:

1. History.
2. Messages, official statements, speeches, sermons.
3. Papers, introductions, and such of the reports as in the wisdom of the Committee fit into the general scheme of the publication.
4. The minutes of the Conference.
5. A list of the members.

Voted that the minutes and the record be published in English, with short summaries in French and German, and that the speeches and addresses be published in the languages in which they were spoken, with translations into the other two languages.

A discussion followed regarding the publication and the funds necessary. The General Secretary stated that the American Section, in co-operation with the British Section, would become responsible for two-thirds of the cost of the publication of the book, providing that the total cost was not over £1000 sterling, and providing further that the Continental European Section become responsible for one-third of the total cost.

Voted: To confirm the action taken by the Secretariat, on the authority of the Business Committee of the Conference, regarding the publication of the proceedings of the Conference in popular form, and that the General Secretary be instructed to make certain that similar action is taken regarding the report to be made in the German and English languages, and further, that the official minutes of the Conference be published in a separate book, and that an Editorial and Publication Committee be appointed, the Publication Committee to be as follows:

The Lord Bishop of Winchester.
General Secretary, Dr. Atkinson.
Associate General Secretary, Dr. Keller.
Dr. A. E. Garvie.
Dr. Adolf Deissmann.
The Archbishop of Upsala.
The Dean of Canterbury.
Dr. Y. Brilioth.

Voted: That the next session of the Committee should be held in about a year, and further, that the Committee should meet, if practicable, in the Section from which the

President is chosen; thus, the President for next year being in the European Section, the meeting shall be held somewhere in Continental Europe.

The Dean of Canterbury made a statement regarding plans for the future work of the Committee, and recommended that special committees should be set up. The plan suggested is as follows:

That three advisory sub-committees be appointed, with instructions to take steps during the next twelve months, with a view to presenting special nominations and suggestions of action to the Continuation Committee on the following subjects:

1. How best to secure the help of Youth of all countries for the purpose of carrying out the intentions of Life and Work.
2. How best to secure the help of industrial workers and experts.
3. How best to secure the help of professors, and teachers in the theological seminaries.

He suggested that committees be formed and that the Provisional Executive Committee be asked to set up these committees, name the chairmen, and give them authority to add to their numbers. He suggested further that the question of preparing a Universal Church History be considered, and that the proposal in regard to a Social Service Institute be referred to the advisory sub-committee on social service, with instructions to recommend ways and means of putting this into operation.

Voted: That the Provisional Executive Committee be empowered to form these groups for study, in accord with the foregoing statement, and further, that the Committee be requested to examine the relation of the Continuation Committee and its work to other Committees doing similar

work, especially to those matters relating to social service institutions and the World Alliance.

Voted: That the Message of the Conference be sent to the Heads of all the Churches.

Voted: That the matter of text-books be referred to the Provisional Executive Committee, with the recommendation that the whole matter be dealt with by its sub-committee.

Voted: To recommend to each Section the desirability of instructing the churches regarding the work that has been accomplished during this Conference, and devise ways and means of securing fuller support of the churches themselves.

REPORT

OF THE MEETING OF THE PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AUGUST 31, 1925.

In accordance with the vote taken by the Continuation Committee, it was *voted*: That the question of the Institute and Bureau of Research be referred to a committee composed of:

Prof. D. Titius.
Dr. A. E. Garvie.
M. le Pasteur Elie Gounelle.
Dr. Worth M. Tippy.
Dr. Chas. S. Macfarland.
Prof. Dr. J. R. Slotemaker de Bruine.
Dr. Adolf Keller.
Dr. J. Baltzer.
Dr. A. Th. Jörgensen.
Dr. Streiter.
D. Philipps.
The Rt. Rev. Einar Billing.

With Prof. D. Titius as Convener.

Voted: That the question of text-books and the proposals relating to possible action of the Conference be referred to a committee composed of:

Prof. Otto Nordenskjöld.
Dr. Peter Ainslie.
The Rev. Arthur Hjelt.
Dr. Verner Söderberg.

With Dr. Nordenskjöld as Convener.

Voted: That a Committee be appointed for bringing about closer co-operation between the churches and teachers and theological professors.

The following persons were named:

M. le Pasteur Wilfred Monod. Dr. Adolf Deissmann.
Prof. William Adams Brown. Dr. A. E. Garvie.
The Rev. J. Vernon Bartlet. Dr. Stefan Zankow.

With Dr. Deissmann as Convener.

Voted: To appoint a Committee for co-operation with youth.

The following persons were named:

Mr. Basil Mathews. Miss Lucy Gardner.
Rev. Walter W. Van Kirk. Mr. H. L. Henriod.

Voted: To appoint a Committee on co-operation with labour, with

Rev. Dr. W. M. Tippy.
The Rt. Rev. Bishop L. Ravasz.
M. le Pasteur Elie Gounelle.
Sir R. Murray Hyslop,

With M. le Pasteur Gounelle as Convener.

It was recommended that this Committee add others to its group, co-opt the services of others, and work in very close co-operation with the Committees named above.

The above Committees were named in accordance with the suggestions of the Dean of Canterbury, and adopted by vote of the Continuation Committee.

The Committee suggested that the sub-committees first of all put themselves in touch with the organization doing work in these various fields, and that they be granted the right to co-opt such other members to help them as they may deem necessary.

The following communication from the World Alliance was read :

' His Grace the Archbishop of Upsala.

My dear Archbishop :

In pursuance of our conversation last night, I now send you as requested the names of the members whom the Management Committee of this Alliance have appointed to confer with you on the question of co-operation between the World Alliance and the Conference on Life and Work. At its meeting, on Friday, the International Committee had before it a report of sub-committee " A," with reference to the memorandum presented by the Swedish Council on this subject, and the following resolution was adopted :

> " That the Management Committee be authorized to appoint delegates to meet such committee as the Conference on Life and Work may appoint, with instructions to report to the Management Committee as to the method by which the Alliance can co-operate with the Conference in all that concerns the international relationships between the peoples of the world."

The members whose names are mentioned below have now been appointed by the Management Committee as delegates, and they have been authorized to serve as members of the said sub-committee, if you so desire.

(Signed) W. H. Dickinson.

Names of delegates :

The Rt. Rev. V. Ammundsen.
Prof. E. Choisy.
Dr. Spiecker.
Dr. Francis Zilka.
Rev. Dr. Frederick Lynch.
M. le Pasteur Jézéquel.
Sir Willoughby H. Dickinson.'

In accordance with this letter, the Committee appointed the following members to represent the Continuation Committee in conference with the World Alliance :

Prof. Eugène Choisy.	Rev. Dr. Fred. Lynch.
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson.	Rev. Dr. Adolf Keller.

The Committee adjourned to meet at the call of the Chair.

REPORT

OF THE MEETING OF THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE, AUGUST 31, 1925.

Following the meeting of the Provisional Executive Committee, the Editorial Committee met and agreed :

First.—To request the Archbishop of Upsala to secure for it the documents and papers relating to the Conference, and put them at the disposal of the Committee in preparing the official volumes ;

Second.—It was *voted* unanimously to invite the Dean of Canterbury to become editor-in-chief of the volume ;

Third.—It was *voted* that Dr. Garvie be authorized to enter into negotiations with some British publishing firm, relative to the publishing of the book ;

Fourth.—It was agreed that the General Secretary should meet with the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Garvie, the Dean of Canterbury, in co-operation with Dr. Hellerström, in London, early in October, and take steps at that time for the publication of the record.

APPENDIX II

ORDER OF SERVICE

UPSALA CATHEDRAL

30 AUGUST, 1925

HÖGMÄSSA

10.30–11 : ORGELSPEL

PRELUDIUM

INGÅNGSPSALM. Sv. Ps. 22

Gud trefaldig, statt oss bi Och låt oss ej fördärvas! Gör vår själ från synden fri, Låt himlen av oss ärvas. Styrke oss din kraft, att vi Det onda övervinne, Och så med kristligt sinne Det sälla målet hinne. Hjälp, att dig vi älska må Och såsom oss vår nästa ; Vår tro, vårt hopp befästa ; Gud, hjälp oss till det bästa. Amen, amen, ske alltså! Halleluja! Halleluja!

(*Hymnus ad Introitum. Communio* 13)

Dieu Père, habite avec nous,
Tournant vers nous ta face,
Afin qu'évitant ton courroux,
Nous mourions en ta grâce,
Préserve nous du malin,
Par une foi sincère,
Que ta bonté suggère
Jusqu' à l'heure dernière.
Seigneur, prète nous ta main,
Pour être enfin capables,

De surmonter le diable
Rusé et redoutable.
Ainsi soit-il, Dieu bénin,
Nous te glorifions sans fin.

Gott der Vater wohn uns bei
Und lass uns nicht verderben,
Mach uns aller Sünden frei
Und helf uns selig sterben.
Vor dem Teufel uns bewahr,
Halt uns bei festem Glauben,
Und auf dich lass uns bauen,
Aus Herzensgrund vertrauen ;
Dir uns lassen ganz und gar,
Mit allen rechten Christen
Entfliehn des Teufels Listen,
Mit Waffen Gotts uns rüsten.
Amen, Amen ! das sei wahr,
So singen wir Hallelujah !

In all danger be our stay,
O Father, Son and Spirit,
Cleanse us from our sins, we pray,
And let us life inherit !
Keep us from the Evil One,
Firm in the faith abiding,
In Christ our Saviour hiding,
And heartily confiding.
Let us put God's armour on,
With all true Christians running
Our heavenly pace, and shunning
The Devil's wiles and cunning.
Amen, Amen, be this done !
Hallelujah ! Hallelujah !

Introitus

Helig, Helig, Helig är Herren Sebaot. Hela jorden är full av Hans härlighet.

Herren är i sitt heliga tempel, Hans tron är i himmelen. Han är ock när dem, som hava en ödmjuk och förkrossad ande. Han hör de botfärdigas suckan och vänder sig till deras bön. Låtom oss därför trösteligen gå fram till Hans nådetron och bekänna vår synd och skuld.

(*Introitus*)

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Plena est terra gloria tua.

Dominus est in sacro templo suo, thronus ejus in coelis est. Etiam adest iis, qui contrito ac humili spiritu sint. Gemitum eorum audit, qui delictis doleant, et se ad eos orantes convertit. Ideo cum fide ad thronum gratiae prodeamus nos miseros peccatores confitentes :

Syndabekännelse

Gud, var mig nådig efter din godhet, utplåna mina överträdelser efter din stora barmhärtighet. Två mig väl från min missgärning och rena mig ifrån min synd. Ty jag känner mina överträdelser och min synd är alltid inför mig. Mot dig allena har jag syndat och gjort vad ont är i dina ögon. Vänd bort ditt ansikte från mina synder och utplåna alla mina missgärningar. Skapa i mig, Gud, ett rent hjärta och giv mig på nytt en frimodig ande. Förkasta mig icke från ditt ansikte och tag icke din helige Ande ifrån mig.

Himmelske Fader, hör min bön för din käre Sons, Jesu Kristi, skull. Amen.

(*Confessio*)

Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum

dele iniquitatem meam. Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea, et a peccato meo munda me. Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco et peccatum meum contra me est semper. Tibi soli peccavi, et malum coram te feci. Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis et omnes iniquitates meas dele. Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis. Ne projicias me a facie tua et Spiritum sanctum ne auferas a me. Amen.

KYRIE

Herre, förbarma dig över oss !
Kriste, förbarma dig över oss !
Herre, förbarma dig över oss !

(*Kyrie*)

Kyrie eleison !
Christe eleison !
Kyrie eleison !

GLORIA

Ära vare Gud i höjden och frid på jorden, till människorna ett gott behag !

(*Gloria*)

Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

LAUDAMUS. Sv. Ps. 24. 1.

Allena Gud i himmelrik Må lov och pris tillhöra För all den nåd, han kärleksrik Med oss har velat göra ! Han jorden skänkt stor fröjd och frid. Ack, mänskan må väl glädjas vid Guds evigt goda vilja.

(*Laudamus, Communio* 8, 1)

Gloire soit au Père d'en haut !
Qui nous comble de grâce,
Il nous garde de tout défaut,

Rien ne nous embarrasse.
En nous le Seigneur prend plaisir,
Sa paix, suivant notre désir,
Ira de race en race.

Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'
Und Dank für seine Gnade,
Darum, dass nun und nimmermehr
Uns rühren kann kein Schade.
Ein Wohlgefalln Gott an uns hat ;
Nun ist gross Fried ohn' Unterlass,
All Fehd hat nun ein Ende.

All glory be to God on high,
Who hath our race befriended !
To us no harm shall now come nigh,
The strife at last is ended !
God showeth His goodwill to men,
And peace shall reign on earth again :
Oh ! thank Him for His goodness.

KOLLEKT

Herren vare med eder !
Med dig vare ock Herren !
Låtom oss bedja !

O allsmäktige och miskundsamme Gud, som förlänar dina trogna gåvan att värdigt och troget tjäna dig, giv oss att vi må övervinna allt som hindrar och nå fram till det som du har utlovat. Amen.

(*Collecta*)

Dominus vobiscum.
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Oremus.

Omnipotens et misericors Deus, de cujus munere venit, ut tibi a fidelibus tuis digne et laudabiliter serviatur :

tribue, quaesumus, nobis, ut ad promissiones tuas sine offensione curramus. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Amen.

EPISTEL. 2 Kor. iii. 4-18

Käre bröder, en sådan tillförsikt hava vi genom Kristus till Gud. Icke som om vi av oss själva vore skickliga att tänka ut något, såsom komme det från oss själva, utan den skicklighet vi hava kommer från Gud, som också har gjort oss skickliga till att vara tjänare åt ett nytt förbund, ett som icke är bokstav, utan är ande ; ty bokstaven dödar, men Anden gör levande. Om nu redan dödens ämbete, som var med bokstäver inristat på stenar, framträdde i härlighet, så att Israels barn icke kunde se på Moses' ansikte för hans ansiktes härlighets skull, vilken dock var försvinnande, huru mycket större härlighet skall då icke Andens ämbete hava ! Ty om redan fördömelsens ämbete var härligt, så måste rättfärdighetens ämbete ännu mycket mer överflöda av härlighet. Ja, en så översvinnlig härlighet har detta ämbete, att vad som förr hade härlighet här visar sig vara utan all härlighet. Ty om redan det som var försvinnande framträdde i härlighet, så måste det som bliver beståndande hava en ännu mycket större härlighet. Då vi nu hava ett sådant hopp, gå vi helt öppet till väga och göra icke såsom Moses, vilken hängde ett täckelse för sitt ansikte, så att Israels barn icke kunde se huru det som var försvinnande tog en ände. Men deras sinnen blevo förstockade. När det gamla förbundets skrifter föreläsas, hänger ju ännu i denna dag samma täckelse oborttaget kvar ; ty först i Kristus försvinner det. Ja, ännu i dag hänger ett täckelse över deras hjärtan, då Moses föreläses. Men när de en gång omvända sig till Herren, tages täckelset bort. Och Herren är Anden, och där Herrens Ande är, där är frihet. Men vi alla som med

avhöljt ansikte återspegla Herrens härlighet, vi förvandlas till hans avbilder, i det vi stiga från den ena härligheten till den andra, såsom när den Herre verkar, som själv är ande.

(*Epistola. 2 Cor. c. iii.* 4-18)

Πεποίθησιν δὲ τοιαύτην ἔχομεν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. οὐχ ὅτι ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἱκανοί ἐσμεν λογίσασθαί τι ὡς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἱκανότης ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης. οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ. Εἰ δὲ ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντετυπωμένη λίθοις ἐγενήθη ἐν δόξῃ, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μωϋσέως διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τὴν καταργουμένην, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος ἔσται ἐν δόξῃ; εἰ γὰρ ἡ διακονία τῆς κατακρίσεως δόξα, πολλῷ μᾶλλον περισσεύει ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξῃ. καὶ γὰρ οὐ δεδόξασται τὸ δεδοξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει εἵνεκεν τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης. εἰ γὰρ τὸ καταργούμενον διὰ δόξης, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὸ μένον ἐν δόξῃ. Ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμεθα, καὶ οὐ καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου. ἀλλὰ ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν. ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει, μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται· ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται· ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα. ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν· οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐλευθερία. ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος.

GRADUAL. Sv. Ps. 534.

1. Ack, saliga dag, som i hoppet vi bida, Då världen är vorden Guds rike till sist, Då mänskornas släkte förlossningen funnit Och folken bekänna, att Herren är Krist. Då döden är dödad och synden försvunnen Och frälsningens fullhet för evigt är vunnen.

2. Han kommer, han kommer, den dag, som vi bida, Dess strålar vi skåda på morgonens sky. Än mörkret är mäktigt i dimmiga dälder, Men dagen begynner på höjderna gry. Han kommer att stilla de sörjandes trängtan, Han kommer att fylla de heligas längtan.

3. Han kommer, han kommer, den dag, som vi bida, Då folken förenas i kärlek och tro Och himmelens Herre på jorden är konung Och de i hans skugga få saliga bo, Den dag, som fullkomnar de heligas böner, Den dag, som vår tro med beskådande kröner.

4. Han kommer, han kommer, den dag, som vi bida, Den ljusaste dag, som i världen har grytt, Då Herren allsmäktig allena regerar Och Satan och synd för hans anlete flytt Och skapelsen, frälsad från synder och strider, Förkunnar hans ära till eviga tider.

(*Graduale. Communio* 43)

1. Oh ! quand luira cette aurore bénie
Où ton pouvoir sur la terre établi
Nous pouvons voir la mort enfin bannie.
Où prosternés, Seigneur à tes genoux
Les peuples s'uniront pour reconnaître
Que toi seul est le Rédempteur le Maître.

2. Il vient, ce jour, répondre à notre attente—
Notre regard contemple au firmament
Une lueur dorée, éblouissante—

Il va, ce jour béni, en un moment,
Franchir les monts, dissiper les nuées,
Chasser la nuit qui emplit nos vallées.

3. Il vient, ce jour que désirait notre âme—
Le monde entier s'unit pour adorer—
Et notre amour, comme une unique flamme,
A Dieu s'élève, afin de l'implorer—
Il entendra notre ardente prière,
Son règne enfin descendra sur la terre.

4. Il vient, ce jour dont la clarté sereine
Réveillera l'amour, la vérité—
Où, de Satan brisant la lourde chaîne,
Le monde, enfin délivré du péché,
Proclamera du Dieu fort la victoire,
Établira sa souveraine gloire.

---

1. O, seliger Tag, des in Hoffnung wir harren,
Da einstens die Welt Gottes Reich worden ist,
Das Menschengeschlecht zur Befreiung gekommen,
Die Völker bekennen, dass Herr ist : Der Christ !
Getötet der Tod und die Sünde zerronnen,
Erlösung in Fülle für ewig gewonnen.

2. Er kommt ! Ja er kommt, jener Tag, des wir harren,
Auf Morgenrots Wolken sein Licht wir schon schaun.
Noch herrschet das Dunkel in nebligen Tälern,
Doch glänzt auf den Höhn jungen Tags erstes Graun,
Er kommt, um zu stillen der Trauernden Tränen,
Er kommt, zu erfüllen der Heiligen Sehnen.

3. Er kommt ! Ja er kommt, jener Tag, des wir harren,
Da Völker sich finden in Liebe und Treu,
Der Herr aller Himmel wird König auf Erden
Und selig die Menschheit sich gründet aufs neu,

Der Tag, der der Heilgen Gebete erfüllet,
Der Tag, der das Suchen im Schauen uns stillet.

4. Er kommt ! Ja er kommt ! Heil dem Tag, des wir harren !
Der strahlendste Tag, der der Welt je geleucht !
Da ER, der Allmächtige, alleine regieret,
Und Satan und Sünde Sein Angesicht fleucht !
Da sündlos die Schöpfung, erlöst von all'm Streiten,
Verkündigt sein Lob bis in ewige Zeiten !

---

1. O jubilee day of the world's expectation
When Earth is God's Kingdom of blessed accord,
When man's erring race finds the path of salvation
And all shall acknowledge that Christ is the Lord,
When sin has been banished and death slain forever
And blessed redemption will part from us never.

2. It cometh, it cometh, the day of our longing
Whose beams we behold in the clouds of the morn.
Though shades in the mist of the valleys are thronging,
The day on the summits already is born.
It cometh to quiet the tears of the grieving,
The hopes to fulfil of the faithful believing.

3. It cometh ; not long are the years now remaining.
All nations, united in love and in peace,
Shall know heaven's Lord upon Earth now is reigning
And dwell in His shadow, and warfare shall cease.
The wonders long prayed for shall then be unfolding.
Our faith shall be crowned with the grace of beholding.

4. It cometh, the day of the old prophet's story,
Most bright of all days that have dawned on our race,
When the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth in glory,
While Satan and Sin shrink in fear from His face ;
When, saved from the bondage of strife, all Creation
Proclaims through the ages the joy of salvation.

EVANGELIUM. Mark. vii. 31-37

Vid den tiden begav Jesus sig bort ifrån Tyrus' område och tog vägen över Sidon och kom, genom Dekapolis' område, till Galileiska sjön. Och man förde till honom en som var döv och nästan stum och bad honom att lägga handen på denne. Då tog han honom avsides ifrån folket och satte sina fingrar i hans öron och spottade och rörde vid hans tunga och såg upp till himmelen, suckade och sade till honom: 'Effata' (det betyder: 'Upplåt dig'). Då öppnades hans öron, och hans tungas band löstes, och han talade redigt och klart. Och Jesus förbjöd dem att omtala detta för någon; men ju mer han förbjöd dem, dess mer förkunnade de det. Och folket häpnade övermåttan och sade: 'Allt har han väl beställt: de döva låter han höra och de stumma tala.'

(*Evangelium. Marc. c. vii.* 31-37)

Καὶ πάλιν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων Τύρου ἦλθεν διὰ Σιδῶνος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρίων Δεκαπόλεως. Καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ κωφὸν καὶ μογιλάλον, καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἵνα ἐπιθῇ αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἀπολαβόμενος αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου κατ' ἰδίαν ἔβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ καὶ πτύσας ἥψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐστέναξεν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἐφφαθά, ὅ ἐστιν διανοίχθητι. καὶ ἠνοίγησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ ἀκοαί, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐλύθη ὁ δεσμὸς τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλάλει ὀρθῶς. καὶ διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσιν· ὅσον δὲ αὐτοῖς διεστέλλετο, αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον περισσότερον ἐκήρυσσον. καὶ ὑπερπερισσῶς ἐξεπλήσσοντο λέγοντες· καλῶς πάντα πεποίηκεν, καὶ τοὺς κωφοὺς ποιεῖ ἀκούειν καὶ ἀλάλους λαλεῖν.

TROSBEKÄNNELSEN

(*Credo Nicaenum*)

HYMN

(*Hymnus*)

Rex gloriose Martyrum, corona confitentium,
qui respuentes terrea perducis ad coelestia,
aurem benignam protinus intende nostris vocibus.
Trophaea sacra pangimus, ignosce quod deliquimus.
Tu vincis inter Martyres, parcisque confessoribus.
Tu vince nostra crimina, largitor indulgentiae.

FÖRSAMLINGSSÅNG. Sv. Ps. 124, 2

Vår egen kraft ej hjälpa kan, Vi vore snart förströdda ; Men med oss står den rätte man, Vi stå av honom stödda. Frågar du va namn han bär ? Jesus Krist det är. Han är den Herren Gud, Som, klädd i segerskrud, Sin tron för evigt grundat.

(*Hymnus. Communio* 15, 2)

Seuls, nous bronchons à chaque pas,
Notre force est faiblesse ;
Mais un héros, dans les combats,
Pour nous lutte sans cesse.
Quel est ce défenseur ?
C'est toi, puissant Sauveur,
Dieu des armées !
Tes tribus opprimées
Connaissent leur libérateur.

Mit unsrer Macht ist nichts getan.
Wir sind gar bald verloren ;
Es streit für uns der rechte Mann,
Den Gott hat selbst erkoren.

Fragst du, wer der ist ?
Er heisst Jesus Christ,
Der Herr Zebaoth,
Und ist kein andrer Gott,
Das Feld muss er behalten.

With force of arms we nothing can,
Full soon were we down-ridden ;
But for us fights the proper Man,
Whom God himself hath bidden.
Ask ye, Who is this same ?
Christ Jesus is his name,
The Lord Sabaoth's Son ;
He, and no other one,
Shall conquer in the battle.

PREDIKAN

(*Contio—Sermon*)

FÖRSAMLINGSSÅNG. Sv. Ps. 525

1. För alla helgon, som i kamp för tron Stått fast mot världen och nått himlaron, Till dig, o Jesu, höjes lovets ton : Halleluja ! Halleluja !

2. Du var i världen deras fasta hus. Din röst dem ledde fram i stridens brus, Och genom ödsligt mörker sken ditt ljus. Halleluja ! Halleluja !

3. Vi kämpa må med troget, tappert mod, Som fordomtid din helga skara god, Tills hon bekrönt i segerns boning stod. Halleluja ! Halleluja !

4. O, höga samfund, helgon av vår släkt ! Skum är vår stråt ; för er har morgon bräckt. Men alla livas av hans andes fläkt. Halleluja ! Halleluja !

5. Blir dagen tung och själens möda lång, Tyst ! Hör ! I fjärran tonar segersång, Och håg och armar stärkas än en gång. Halleluja ! Halleluja !

(*Hymnus. Communio* 56)

1. Für alle Heilgen in der Selgen Land,
Die Dich im Glauben vor der Welt bekannt,
Dein Nam, o Jesu, wird mit Preis genannt !
Halleluja ! Halleluja !

2. Du warst ihr Schutz und ihre starke Wehr,
Als Herzog führtest Du ihr heilges Heer
Durch Kampf und Not zum Sieg, Herr, Dir zu Ehr !
Halleluja ! Halleluja !

3. Um Treue, Wahrheit Deine Streiter flehn,
Dass wir mit Mut den guten Kampf bestehn,
Bis bald die Tage dieser Welt vergehn !
Halleluja ! Halleluja !

4. O, selger Bund, der uns vereinigt fein,
Wir noch in Schwachheit, sie im hehren Schein,
Und dennoch eins, denn alle sind wir Dein.
Halleluja ! Halleluja !

5. Wie schwer der Kampf und lang der Streit auch sei,
Am Ende doch ertönt Triumphgeschrei.
Der Arm wird wieder stark, das Herz wird frei.
Halleluja ! Halleluja !

---

1. For all the Saints who from their labours rest,
Who Thee by faith before the world confest,
Thy Name, O Jesus, be for ever blest,
Hallelujah ! Hallelujah !

2. Thou wast their Rock, their Fortress, and their Might,
Thou, Lord, their Captain in the well-fought fight ;
Thou in the darkness drear their one true Light.
Hallelujah, hallelujah !

3. O may thy soldiers, faithful, true, and bold,
Fight as the Saints who nobly fought of old,

And win, with them, the victor's crown of gold.
Hallelujah, hallelujah !

4. O blest communion : fellowship divine !
We feebly struggle, they in glory shine ;
Yet all are one in thee, for all are thine.
Hallelujah, hallelujah !

5. And when the strife is fierce, the warfare long,
Steals on the ear the distant triumph-song,
And hearts are brave again, and arms are strong.
Hallelujah, hallelujah !

Litania

Herren vare med eder !
Med dig vare ock Herren !
Låtom oss bedja !
Evige, allsmäktige Gud,
Förbarma dig över oss.
Herre, hör vår bön.
Herre, hör vår bön.
Herre Gud Fader in himmelen,
Herre Guds Son, världens Frälsare,
Herre Gud, du helige Ande,
Förbarma dig över oss.
Var oss nådig.
Hjälp oss, milde Herre Gud.
För alla synder,
För all villfarelse,
För allt ont,
För djävulens försåt och list,
För pest och hungersnöd,
För krig och blodsutgjutelse,
För uppror och tvedräkt,
För hagel och oväder,

För eld och vattunöd,
För ond bråd död,
För den eviga döden
Bevara oss, milde Herre Gud.
Genom din heliga födelse,
Genom ditt kors och din död,
Genom din heliga uppståndelse och himmelsfärd,
I anfäktning och nöd,
I välgång och lycka,
I dödens stund,
På yttersta domen
Hjälp oss, milde Herre Gud.
Vi, arme syndare, bedja dig,
Att du värdes styra och beskärma din heliga kristna kyrka,
Att du värdes bevara alla biskopar, lärare och åhörare i sann lära och heligt leverne,
Att du värdes avstyra falsk lära och all förförelse,
Att du värdes låta ljuset av ditt evangelium uppgå för de folk, som ännu äro fångna i blindhetens och dödens mörker,
Att du värdes återkalla alla villfarande och förförda,
Att du värdes förläna oss seger över våra andliga fiender,
Att du värdes sända trogna arbetare i din skörd,
Att du värdes med ordet giva din Ande och kraft,
Att du värdes hjälpa och trösta alla bedrövade och svårmodiga,
Hör oss, milde Herre Gud.
Att du värdes vara vårt fäderneslands värn och sköld och giva det nåd och ära,
Att du värdes giva alla konungar och folk frid och endräkt,
Att du värdes välsigna vår älskade konung, hela hans hus och dess anförvanter,

Att du värdes förläna din hjälp till rikets styrelse och försvar och välsigna det nu församlade mötet,

Hör oss, milde Herre Gud.

Herre, handla icke med oss efter våra synder.

Och vedergäll oss icke efter våra missgärningar.

Herre, allsmäktige Gud, som hör de botfärdigas suckar och tröstar de bedrövade hjärtan. Hör den bön, som vi uti vår nöd frambära och hjälp oss, att allt det onda, som djävulen, världen och vårt eget kött tillfoga oss, må genom din Andes kraft varda förstört och till intet, på det att vi, frälsta från allt ont, må i din församling alltid tacka och lova dig. Genom din Son, Jesus Kristus, vår Herre. Amen.

(*Litania*)

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Omnipotens Sempiternus Deus.

Miserere nobis.

Exaudi nos, Domine.

Exaudi nos, Domine.

Pater de coelis, Deus.

Fili Redemptor mundi, Deus.

Spiritus sancte, Deus.

Miserere nobis.

Propitius esto.

Parce nobis, Domine.

Ab omni peccato,

Ab omni malo,

Ab insidiis diaboli,

Ab fulgure et tempestate,

Ab subitanea et improvisa morte,

A morte perpetua,

Libera nos, Domine.

Per nativitatem tuam,
Per crucem et mortem tuam,
Per sanctam resurrectionem tuam,
Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam,
In die judicii,
Libera nos, Domine.
Peccatores, te rogamus,
Ut Ecclesiam tuam sanctam regere et conservare digneris,
Ut omnes Ecclesiasticos ordines in sancta religione conservare digneris,
Ut inimicos sanctae Ecclesiae humiliare digneris,
Te rogamus, audi nos.
Ut Regibus et Principibus Christianis pacem et veram concordiam donare digneris,
Ut regem nostrum dilectum et domum regis et propinquos ejus adjuvare digneris.
Te rogamus, audi nos.
Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis,
Neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis.

Fader vår

Fader vår som är i himmelen.
Helgat varde ditt namn, tillkomme ditt rike, ske din vilja såsom i himmelen så ock på jorden.
Vårt dagliga bröd giv oss i dag.
Och förlåt oss våra skulder, såsom ock vi förlåta dem oss skyldiga äro.
Och inled oss icke i frestelse, utan fräls oss från ondo.
Ty riket är ditt och makten och härligheten i evighet.
Amen.

(*Pater Noster*)

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·
Ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,
ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·
Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.
ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασίλεια καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
Ἀμήν.

Tackom och lovom

Tackom och lovom Herren !

Herren vare tack och lov ! Halleluja ! Halleluja ! Halleluja !

(*Benedicamus*)

Benedicamus Domino.

Deo Gratias ! Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Välsignelsen

Böjen edra hjärtan till Gud och mottagen välsignelsen !

Herren välsigne eder och bevare eder ; Herren låte sitt ansikte lysa över eder och vare eder nådig ; Herren vände sitt ansikte till eder och give eder frid !

I Guds, Faderns och Sonens och den helige Andes, namn. Amen.

Amen, Amen, Amen.

(*Benedictio*)

Inclinantes corda vestra ad Deum, suscipite benedictionem.

Benedicat vos Dominus et custodiat vos: ostendat Dominus faciem suam vobis, et misereatur vestri: convertat Dominus vultum suum ad vos, det vobis aeternam pacem. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Amen, Amen, Amen.

HALLELUJA

(*Alleluia*)

SLUTPSALM. Sv. Ps. 139

1. Vi lova dig, o store Gud! Med makt och ära går ditt bud, Ditt helga ord, Kring himlar och kring jord. Helig, helig, helig är Herren Gud.

2. Din kyrka glädes i ditt skygd, Hon på ett hälleberg är byggd; Till domens stund Hon vilar på sin grund. Helig, helig, helig är Herren Gud.

3. Allt folk skall samlas i dess famn Och böja knä i Jesu namn Och lova Gud Med kristna tungors ljud. Helig, helig, helig är Herren Gud.

4. Allt folk omkring din tron en gång Skall sjunga segerns höga sång, Där kerubim Besvara serafim: Helig, helig, helig är Herren Gud.

(*Hymnus ad Exitum. Communio 7*)

1. Te celebramus, summe rex!
Nam coelos, terras, tua lex
Et personat,
Et sacrosancta stat:
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus est Dominus!

2. Laetatur te ecclesia
In petrâ nixa solida,
Hâc stabilis,
Ad horam judicis :
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus est Dominus !

3. Grex omnis, flexo poplite,
Jungetur Jesu nomine,
Et quaeque mox
Sonabit Christum vox :
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus est Dominus !

4. Tum psallet orbis palmifer,
Ad tuum thronum hymnifer,
Quâ Cherubim
Respondent Serafim :
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus est Dominus !

---

1. Wir loben Dich, o grosser Gott !
Voll Leben waltet Dein Gebot,
Dein heilig Wort,
Und segnet jeden Ort.
Heilig, heilig, heilig Gott Zebaoth !

2. Die Kirche ruht in Deinem Schutz
Du bist ihr Felsenburg, ihr Trutz,
Dein Gnadenbund
Ist ihres Glaubens Grund.
Heilig, heilig, heilig, Gott Zebaoth !

3. Der Menschheit Fülle sammelt sich
In ihrem Schoss und preiset Dich
Und lobt Dich, Gott !
Mit fromem Glaubenswort :
Heilig, heilig, heilig, Gott Zebaoth !

4. Einst werden Völker ohne Zahl
Erlöst in Deinem Himmelssaal
Nach sel'ger Weis
Dir jubeln Lob und Preis :
Heilig, heilig, heilig, Gott Zebaoth !

Laudemus Dominum

Laudemus Dominum, benedicamus semper, sit benedictio; cantemus illi, dicamus hymnum. Gloria Deo, gloria Patri in saeculorum saecula.

Officianter : Domprosten och Domkyrkans Prästerskap. Patriarken av Alexandria. Ärkebiskopen i Upsala, Biskopen i Borgå och Professor Edgar Reuterskold.
Predikant : Ärkebiskopen i Upsala.

Kyrie. Joh. Lindegren. (1842-1908.)
Rex Gloriose Martyrum. Otto Olsson. (1872.)
Halleluja. N. Jommelli. (1714-1774.)
Laudemus Dominum. F. Anerio. (1560-1614.)

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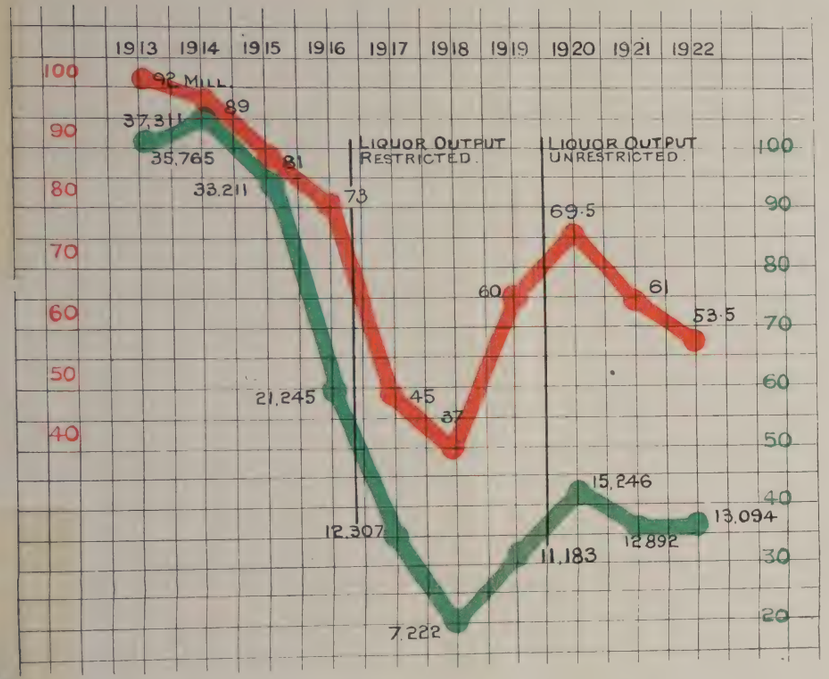
TO ILLUSTRATE PAPER ON "THE DRINK PROBLEM IN ENGLAND AND WALES."
BY THE REV. HENRY CARTER.

CHART I

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION (U.K.) AND WOMEN'S CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

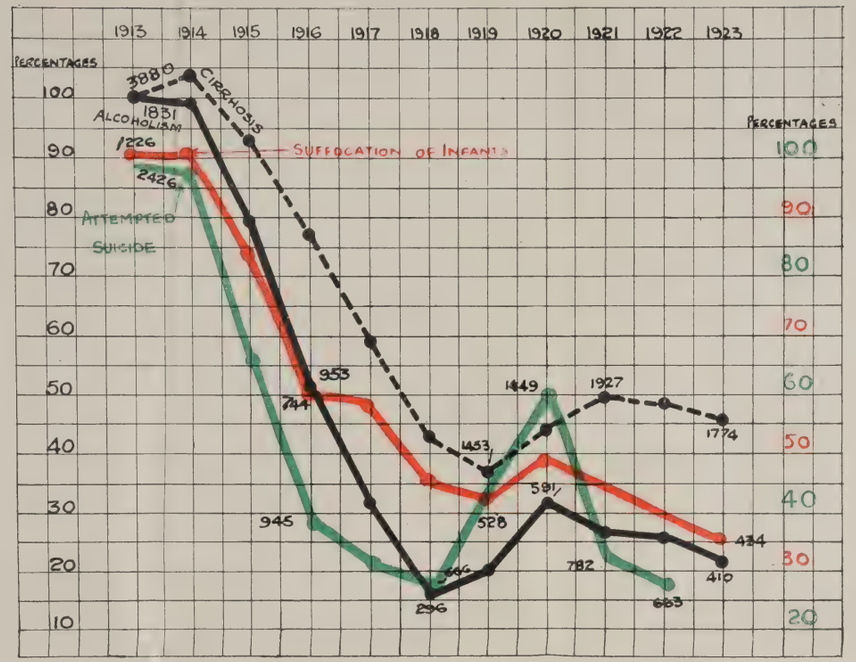


RED:—ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL: MILLION GALLONS (UNITED KINGDOM).
GREEN:—CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS: WOMEN (ENGLAND AND WALES).

	1913	1918	1920	1922
CONSUMPTION OF ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL (UNITED KINGDOM). IN MILLIONS OF GALLONS	92	37	69.5	53.5
CONVICTIONS OF WOMEN FOR DRUNKENNESS (ENGLAND AND WALES)	35,765	7,222	15,246	13,094

CHART II

ALCOHOLIC PHENOMENA IN ENGLAND AND WALES (BOTH SEXES.)

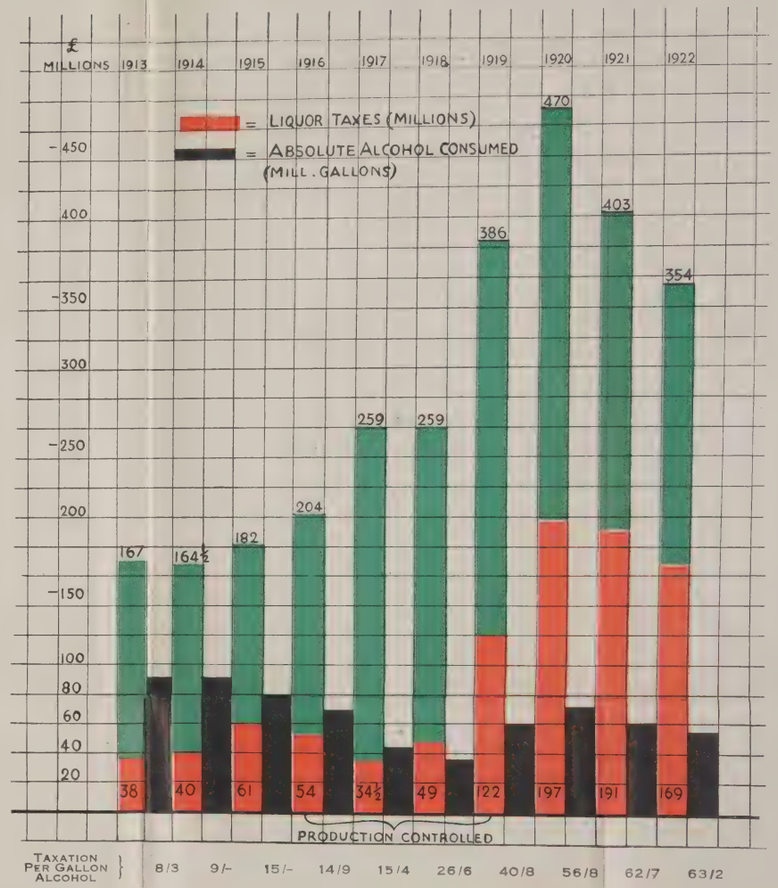


	PERCENTAGES			
	1913	1918	1920	1922
DEATHS FROM ALCOHOLISM	100	16	32	22
,, ,, CIRRHOSIS OF LIVER	100	43	44	49
SUFFOCATION OF INFANTS	100	45	48	40
ATTEMPTED SUICIDE	100	27	59	27

THE TABLE ON LEFT SIDE IN BLACK SHEWS DEATHS AS PERCENTAGES OF 1913
,, ,, ,, RIGHT ,, ,, RED AND GREEN SHEWS DEATHS FROM SUFFOCATION AND ATTEMPTED SUICIDES IN PERCENTAGES OF 1913.

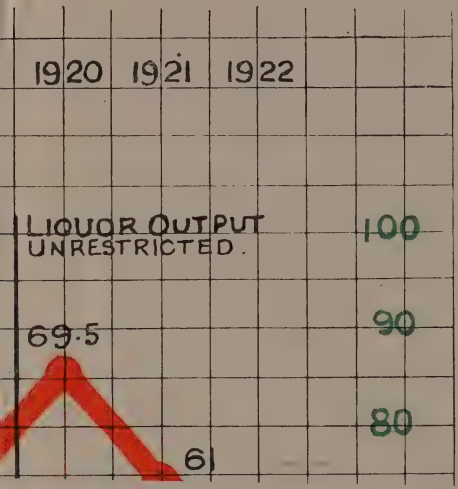
CHART III

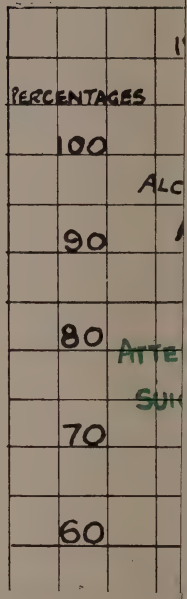
NATIONAL DRINK BILL (U.K.) AND LIQUOR TAXES.



IN ENGLAND AND WALES."
TER.

OMEN'S CONVICTIONS
AND WALES).





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